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AGRICULTURE AND PRICES
IN ENGLAND

VOL. IV.

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HENRY FROWDE



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A HISTORY
OF
AGRICULTURE AND PRICES
IN ENGLAND

FROM THE YEAR AFTER THE OXFORD PARLIAMENT (1259)
TO THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE CONTINENTAL WAR (1793)

*COMPILED ENTIRELY FROM ORIGINAL AND
CONTEMPORANEOUS RECORDS*

BY
JAMES E. THOROLD ROGERS, M.P.

VOL. IV
1401 — 1582

Oxford
AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

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PREFACE.

I VENTURED on stating, nearly sixteen years ago, when I was publishing my first two volumes, and I anticipated that leisure would be afforded me here for continuing my enquiry, that the economical history of England is as important as the study of legal antiquities, of diplomatic intrigues, and of military campaigns. I cannot but recognise that some indications of progress have been made in the acceptance of such a view about the proper functions of history. Nor do I fail to see that, since the date of my earlier volumes, there has been a growing disposition to test economical conclusions by the evidence of facts, and to avoid the temptation of arriving at general inferences from hypothetical and even imaginative postulates. I do not doubt that at no remote period, all history which has neglected the study of the people, and all political economy which has disdained the correction of its conclusions by the evidence which facts supply, will be cast aside as incomplete and even valueless.

Many causes have delayed the appearance of these volumes. I have not had the adequate leisure to follow out my researches. The pains which have sup-

plied me with the facts on which I have commented in the following pages have been incomparably more laborious than those which yielded me the materials of the earlier period. The middle portion of my enquiry has been far darker than the first, while that which remains, if I am ever able to complete my purpose, is, on the whole, the clearest and easiest, at least for the most important objects which I have had in view. My labour too has been entirely unassisted, and has been costly beyond my expectations. But I have achieved the most important part of my object, and am able to put before the public information which others may be able to make better use of than I have made myself; for I reiterate that which I stated previously, that all genuine facts are far more valuable than the inferences of any individual who uses them.

I have to the best of my powers gathered the conclusions which the aggregate of the materials which I have collected suggests, in the chapter on general prices, to be found at the latter part of this volume. They are stated in the briefest form when I refer to the fact that, while the rise, during the last forty-two years of the period before me, in the price of provisions was 2·71, the prices of the previous hundred and forty years being taken as unity, the rise in the price of labour, and of objects whose main value depended on labour, is only 1·64. These figures concentrate the results derivable from an analysis of the facts contained in the third volume, and are of singular significance. They tell of the long cloud which was

coming over the old sunshine of labour, and show how it was that the mass of the people was about to exchange a condition of comparative opulence and comfort for penury and misery, unhappily prolonged for centuries. From the Reformation till the Revolution the condition of English labour grew darker and darker. From the Revolution to the outbreak of the war of American Independence this lot was a little lightened, but only by the plenty of the seasons and the warmth of the sun. From the war of American Independence to the Repeal of the Corn Laws it was at its very worst, and it still suffers from the effects of the two great wars waged with the Colonies and France.

The economical annals of the larger part of the period comprised in these volumes present a picture of steady progressive opulence. Labour was well paid, provisions were cheap, and wealth was accumulated. There is reason to believe that elementary education was by no means rare. No progress was made in the arts of agriculture, except perhaps in the selection of sheep and the profitable development of breeds, or perhaps in a practical study of the conditions under which the best wool could be grown; for exceptional knowledge was under the ban of what was called religion. There was some improvement in manufactures, for they added to the wealth of those who had land and power, and the age was marked by the capital invention of printing, by the revival of the old learning, which unfortunately became only the luxury of the few, and by great geographical discoveries.

The material progress of England was for a time accompanied by great advances in political liberty and by the noble energy of the Commons in Parliament. The action of the House of Commons in the first half of the fifteenth century supplied the precedents on which the liberties of the seventeenth were reconstructed, and it seemed that England would, at a period long before that in which the foundations of her political freedom were actually and permanently laid, be securely opulent and free. But this was not to be. Causes were at work which few probably suspected, and events too surely followed which postponed for centuries the natural growth of English institutions, and the early imitation of them by the civilised world.

By the middle of the fifteenth century the old Church had become hopelessly corrupt though it was still useful to the government. The aristocracy was entirely demoralized, and was split by lawless feuds into bitter factions. The King was always a child. The administration of affairs had fallen into the hands of an unpopular and intriguing party, which was greedy, insolent, and incapable. The long war with France had collapsed, and England was full of soldiers by profession, at all times the most dangerous of the dangerous classes. All the elements of anarchy were ready at hand, and there was nothing to check or control them.

Then came civil war, the strangest civil war ever seen. No one suffered except the combatants. The people took no part in the strife. It was a long battle between two factions of nobles and their retainers.

At last one of the parties ventured on pillaging the people, and a change of dynasty came at once. Parliament lost its power, because it ceased to be the centre of order, but the people prospered. Nevertheless, the despotism which succeeded retained the forms of liberty, and was materially assisted by Parliamentary action, which came to have an acknowledged legal force, and to be recognised as binding by the law courts.

The prosperity of the nation remained unbroken. My reader will find, on looking down the annual record of corn and labour prices, that the means of life were obtained with greater ease, and that the wages of labour were not appreciably lessened. The avarice and caution of Henry VII shut England out from participation in the geographical discoveries of his reign. But these defects of character were accompanied by thrift. No English king ever asked less of his subjects. If he saved, the people saved also.

His son committed himself to a meddlesome and vacillating foreign policy, and to unbounded extravagance at home. But he was popular, as wasteful people generally are. He destroyed the monastic institutions, and confiscated their treasures. On the whole, they entirely deserved to be destroyed. The treasures he squandered in an incredibly short time, and upon invisible objects; the lands he distributed among a new nobility, some still visible, the most servile, the most rapacious, and the most malignant in the English annals. Only the Scotch nobles of the Reformation, being worse, were a foil to them. This

redistribution of land seriously affected the agriculture of the sixteenth century, and the condition of those who lived by wages.

The effect of these changes would have been, perhaps, only temporary, had it not been that they were speedily followed by an enormous issue of base money. Prices rose rapidly and discontent was general. Henry died, and during his son's minority the evil was amplified, and the guild lands in the towns were confiscated. These were the benefit societies of the middle ages. But Somerset did not venture on suppressing the London guilds, which at that time had a meaning and a use, and, what was more important, had the power of effecting dynastic revolutions.

Matters became worse during the reign of Mary. England was impoverished at home and dishonoured abroad. The price of the necessities of life was high, the wages of labour were low, though the rate of the latter, following to some extent the fluctuations of the former, supplies a sure proof that wages were now affording a bare subsistence only.

Then came the fortunate reign of the great and wise Queen. Her first act was to reform the currency. Her hope was that the old prices would recur. But it was too late. How bravely she struggled against the difficulties which surrounded her government is known to all who care to know anything. The economical difficulties of her position were as great as those which attended her in her career as the leader of the Reformation, and as the arbiter between do-

mestic factions in religion and politics. She was very poor, very thrifty, entirely honest, and, as far as possible, truthful. Her success was complete in everything but that in which it was impossible that she should succeed, the restoration of the labourer to his ancient plenty by the reduction of prices to their old levels. No English sovereign has been so popular as Elizabeth was, and none has ever deserved her popularity so thoroughly. She directed the revival of constitutional monarchy, and has been for three centuries the best friend of the dynasties, because the best type of prince.

The facts which have been collected in these volumes will throw, it is hoped, a new light on the social history of England during the period comprised in them. But they have also a further significance, because they refer to that succession of events, from which no little part of the interpretation of present economical conditions in England may be gathered. A constitution may be altered or suspended, and the continuity once broken its reconstruction is invariably and inevitably effected on new lines. But the economical history and identity of a nation are, of necessity and in the nature of things, as unbroken as the generations of the people itself. We not only inherit the blood of our ancestors, but not a few of the effects which have been induced on the continuity of our national life; those which have given that life exceptional strength, and those which make it liable to permanent weakness or occasional social disease. The legacies

of the two great civil wars are seen in the entails of the fifteenth, and the settlements of the seventeenth centuries, the conspiracies of lawyers and landowners against needful responsibilities. The prodigality of Henry, the mischievous mode in which the monastic lands were redistributed, the issue of base money, and the confiscation of the guild revenues, are as surely the cause of English pauperism as dirt is the cause of disease, or as the impoverishment of the crown, itself a result of the same causes, is the origin of parliamentary control and political liberty. It was very fortunate that the timidity of Henry VII shut England out from acquiring any part of central and southern America, for, at a later date, her energies were directed to those parts of the New World which now constitute the great English Republic of the United States.

It cannot be doubted that much of the discredit which attaches to political economy in the present time is due to the dogmatism of writers on the subject, and to their habitual disregard of facts. Most English economists, with the very best intentions, have constructed their systems on what I think may be called the metaphysical method, by which I mean that they evolve their conclusions from their own consciousness, or from unproved hypotheses, or from plausible, but untried generalisations, or from vague hints or tendencies. Not much harm, I admit, comes, whether the autobiographic method which the metaphysician adopts be accepted or exploded. But it is unfortunately very

different with economical reasonings, which not only profess to expound the principles on which the material interests of society depend, but also to prescribe rules for public action, and not infrequently for private conduct. Hence the erroneous or incautious utterances of writers on political economy, whose reputation, however gained, is high, have done more harm than almost any other kind of dogmatism. Mr. Mill's excuse for a limited or regulated protection in young communities has been quoted as a complete and perennial defence for such a policy. But there is no proof that Mr. Mill ever examined the results which have ensued from adopting the policy which he allows, though there was abundant evidence for the purpose. Mr. Ricardo's theory of rents has been accepted as irrefragable, and of the highest practical value for the conduct of society. The slightest reflection will show that it applies only to land under the plough, that there is in fact very little land in settled countries which pays no rent, and that most of his reasoning is relevant to a past time and to obsolete conditions.

There is a peculiar interest in the facts contained in these volumes. In the first two, the principal or dominant event was the Black Death and its consequences. In these two, it lies in the depravation of the currency in England at a most critical juncture. The old world was about to receive the accumulated treasures of the new, and thereupon a general rise in prices was inevitable. Had the administration of affairs in England been in the hands of wise states-

men, or of a great sovereign, like Elizabeth, who is the type of both, that most nefarious public crime would never have been committed. Even at that time its consequences were foreseen, and fully recognised. Had good faith been kept at the Mint, the inevitable change would have been gradual, and prices all round would have accommodated themselves to the course of events. But Henry was reckless and extravagant. He did not dare to ask his Parliaments for money, and therefore took to cheating his people. He inflicted other wrongs on the English, for he educated a number of public men, who were unspeakably servile to him during his life, and when he was dead, felt that they were let out of jail, and looked on the country as their prey.

From the epoch of Henry's death the degradation of the English labourer begins. For nearly three centuries the artisan suffered with the peasant; that is, as long as the combination laws impeded the creation of those labour partisanships which we call trade unions. But the condition of the farm labourer has gone from bad to worse, has become more hopeless. The best and most capable of them have fled from their traditional occupation; and, at the time in which I am writing, as I foresaw when I wrote the last words of my first volume sixteen years ago, the agricultural problem in England is not the adjustment of local burdens, or the arbitration of rent, or the revival of confidence in those who put capital into land; but it is assuredly the recall of the agricultural labourer to effective and hope-

ful industry. It is a striking illustration of the fact, that economical history has no break in its chain of causes, that we are still engaged with a problem which had its remote but certain beginnings in the wantonness of Henry the Eighth, and in the rapacity of that aristocratic camarilla of adventurers which he planted round the throne of his infant son.

JAMES E. THOROLD ROGERS.

OXFORD,

December 29, 1881.

* * The reader will find some errata in these two volumes. Most of them are obvious, and are some of those typographical errors which no pains will exclude. But none in the third volume have been of such a kind as to preclude my drawing the inferences of the fourth, for nearly every figure has been of use to me.

CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I.

	PAGE
Introductory	I

CHAPTER II.

Agriculture in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries . .	38
--	----

CHAPTER III.

On the Distribution of Wealth in England during the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries	70
--	----

CHAPTER IV.

Trade and Markets	139
-----------------------------	-----

CHAPTER V.

Taxes and Contributions	157
-----------------------------------	-----

CHAPTER VI.

Currency	186
--------------------	-----

CHAPTER VI.*

Weights and Measures	202
--------------------------------	-----

CHAPTER VII.

Averages of Prices	PAGE 211
------------------------------	-------------

CHAPTER VIII.

On the Price of Grain	219
---------------------------------	-----

CHAPTER IX.

Hay and Straw	294
-------------------------	-----

CHAPTER X.

Wool and Hides	303
--------------------------	-----

CHAPTER XI.

The Price of Live Stock	330
-----------------------------------	-----

CHAPTER XII.

On the Price of Farm Produce	357
--	-----

CHAPTER XIII.

Articles employed in Agriculture	389
--	-----

CHAPTER XIV.

Agricultural Implements and Tools	411
---	-----

CHAPTER XV.

On the Price of Building Materials, etc.	433
--	-----

CHAPTER XVI.

On the Price of Metals	474
----------------------------------	-----

CONTENTS.

xix

CHAPTER XVII.

	PAGE
On the Price of Labour	489

CHAPTER XVIII.

On the Price of Fish	526
--------------------------------	-----

CHAPTER XIX.

Prices of Ale and Beer	546
----------------------------------	-----

CHAPTER XX.

On the Price of Textile Fabrics and Clothing	551
--	-----

CHAPTER XX.*

Paper, Parchment, Ink, Books, etc.	590
--	-----

CHAPTER XXI.

Sundry Articles	609
---------------------------	-----

CHAPTER XXII.

On the Price of Foreign Produce. Wine	635
---	-----

CHAPTER XXIII.

On the Price of Foreign Produce. Spices, Fruits, Sugar, Confectionery	653
--	-----

CHAPTER XXIV.

On the Cost of Carriage	692
-----------------------------------	-----

CHAPTER XXV.

On Prices Generally between 1401 and 1582	714
---	-----

CONTENTS.

CHAPTER XXVI.

	PAGE
On the Profits of Agriculture	738

CHAPTER XXVII.

On the purchasing power of Wages	750
--	-----

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY.

IN the first two volumes of my History of Agriculture and Prices, I dealt with a period which was marked by two great domestic events, the Black Death and the Peasants' War. The former completely altered the relations of labourers and employers, of tenants and landowners. Despite the incessant efforts of the Parliament and the Administration, the Statute of Labourers failed of effecting its object; the restoration of those old rates of wages which prevailed before the Black Death reduced the numbers of the people. The indirect effects of this great event were even more remarkable. The great landowner ceases to carry on agriculture with his own capital, and farmers' rents of a fixed and almost invariable amount take the place of the lord's cultivation by bailiffs. Attempts were made for varying periods of time to continue the old system, especially by corporations. It is possible that the system of stock and land leasing, which became very general after the change commenced, may have been suggested by the hope that the old state of things might be restored. But it may have been necessitated by the temporary scantiness of the yeoman's capital, and his consequent inability to undertake the risks of a greatly extended tenancy. But the system of stock and land leasing rarely continues for more than sixty years after it is first introduced on any particular estate. Some landowners adopted

the plan immediately on the occurrence of their difficulties in the middle of the fourteenth century. Others struggled on till the end of the first quarter of the fifteenth century. But in the end, all the great landowners conformed to the inevitable change, and let their land on short leases, and as a rule at low and almost fixed rents, to capitalist farmers.

There was only one exception to this custom. Some of the corporations, especially the greater monasteries, appear to have kept in their own hands, and to have cultivated with their own capital, one or two of those estates which they possessed in the immediate neighbourhood of their convents. Thus the abbey of Battle retained Apuldrum and Lullington as home farms, the produce of which is regularly sold to the corporation, the price being credited to the bailiff. Fortunately the series of these accounts is nearly unbroken during the time that the practice lasted, i.e. till about the middle of Edward the Fourth's reign. In the same way the monastery of Sion retained as a home farm its estate at Isleworth, though unluckily only a very few of the Isleworth accounts have been preserved. But with these exceptions, (and I am persuaded that the exceptions were rare,) the landowner invariably let his estates to tenant farmers, and generally to very numerous tenants. The bailiff's account ceases to be a register of produce and of the sale of produce, and becomes a mere rent-roll. Hence the greater part of the evidence which I have collected in these volumes, unlike the facts of the first which were published, is of purchase, not of sale.

The effects were still more marked in the case of the landowner. In the first place, he ceased to have that stake in the country which his ancestors had, a stake which made him above all anxious to maintain the King's peace. He became a mere landlord, subsisting on his rents, and not interested in the produce of the soil, except as a consumer. There are indeed instances to be found, in which the great landowner was also an extensive trader, and apparently sometimes a grower on a very large scale of some particular produce. This kind of

person is to be found exceptionally and frequently in Norfolk. Thus Sir John Fastolfe, as my reader will find on referring to the evidence of the price of corn during the first half of the fifteenth century, was engaged extensively in the barley and malt trade with the Continent, and it appears that much of the wealth of Lord Cromwell, one of the richest men of the fifteenth century, was obtained from the same source of gain. But these traders were few, and the calling they pursued was local as well as exceptional.

It was mentioned in my first volume, that in the fourteenth century the stock of a well-cultivated estate was on an average three times the value of the soil. During the fifteenth century, land greatly increased in value, generally selling for at least twenty years' purchase, though it does not appear that the rent of land was materially raised. Rents were, in point of fact, even when land was let for short terms, fixed or customary. Nor is there any evidence of any competition for holdings, though the land is greatly subdivided. It is probable that population was considerably increased during the fifteenth century, a period of almost unbroken agricultural prosperity.

As the custom of primogeniture was almost universal, the condition of the younger son became greatly deteriorated. Under the old system of landowners' agriculture, all the sons shared in the personal estate of the ancestor, and were therefore abundantly provided for. They were able, with their share of the inheritance, to become the purchasers of land, for it is clear to me, that the practice of entailing larger estates was not general till the great war of succession began, or was imminent, and the great landowners became anxious to protect their estates by the guarantees which the statute *De Donis* secured. But primogeniture and entail seriously affected the fortunes of the younger sons. The fact may be illustrated by the distribution of Church patronage. During the fifteenth century, the great benefices are generally filled by the cadets of the noble houses. In the same period, it appears that the rights of patrons against a reluctant ordinary were successfully vindicated in the

Court of Arches, and that the practice provoked the anger of the orthodox Gascoigne, who hoped that the growing unpopularity of the Church, and the scandals which disfigured its administration, would be corrected by the revival of a sound discipline, exercised by a thoroughly reformed episcopate¹. And if there were scandals among the secular clergy, worse scandals abounded among the wealthier orders of the regular clergy, the monks and nuns of the older orders.

It is clear that the yeomen during the fifteenth century were thriving. They accumulated wealth, and they purchased land. Trade too was carried on successfully; for many a family of ancient gentry, and not a few of what is now the older nobility, were the creation of commerce and manufactures. In particular, the county of Norfolk, then the principal seat of the woollen and linen manufactures, was populous and prosperous. It is said that the foundations of houses can be traced in the outskirts of many of those villages and small towns of north-eastern Norfolk, in which these manufactures were anciently carried on, the produce of which was sometimes exported, but more frequently sold at the great fair of Stourbridge. These manufactures were protected or controlled by frequent acts of the legislature.

I have stated before that the effect of the Peasants' War of 1381 was the practical extinction of villenage. By this I mean any claim on the tenant in villenage of a payment in labour-rents, at the scale of charges which prevailed before the Black Death. The money equivalents of these labour-rents were indeed exacted at least till the conclusion of the fifteenth century, under the name of *opera manualia*, for they form a notable and important item in the receipts of the bailiff or *collector reddituum*. The chivage on non-resident serfs continues to be exigible, though this custom disappears at an earlier date than the payment of the labour-rents. So, again, the exaction of fines on marriage can be traced, as my reader will

¹ See for example *Loci e Libro Veritatum*, p. 32, and the comments (p. 16) on the elevation of George Nevil to the see of Exeter.

find in the collection of social and political notes, as late as 1483. There is no reason to doubt that these liabilities were redeemed by those who were liable to them, or were commuted by the acknowledgment of quit-rents, or, perhaps in some instances, became obsolete or were excused. So cheap were the means of life during the fifteenth century, and so good, relatively speaking, was the rate of wages, that even the farm hind would have found little difficulty in emancipating himself from the ancient charges which were levied on his condition, if he were absent from the manor, or on his holding, if he remained a resident within it.

The condition of the townsfolk was even more satisfactory. The larger towns became counties by themselves, seventeen such districts having been formed at different periods, and with privileges, sometimes as extensive as that of London, which has by prescription a jurisdiction over Middlesex, sometimes limited to the area of the city or town walls. Several of these corporations possessed considerable property. Thus the corporation of Norwich has held from the beginning of the fifteenth century at least, and probably for a far longer period, tenements within the city, as well as the rents of the stalls in the many markets which that city anciently reckoned. Hence the corporation had the means for exhibiting considerable state, was able to make handsome presents to eminent nobles, to undertake important public services, and to give occasional assistance to the king in his necessities.

But beside the property which was held by the corporation in its municipal capacity, the trading towns of the Middle Ages, especially in the fifteenth century, comprised a number of guilds, each of which was possessed of more or less property, the profits of which were managed and distributed by the officers of the guild. In the vast majority of cases those estates had a uniform origin. Members of the guild had provided, in the event of their decease, that a portion of their estate should pass into the hands of the trading corporation to which they had belonged in life, charged with the obligation of an annual or more frequent

mass for the soul of the deceased. Subject to this charge, the officers of the guild were either at their discretion, or according to the limitations of the donor's will, to maintain decayed members of the guild, to educate their children, to portion their daughters, or to give a pittance to their widows. The revenues of the town guilds formed, in short, the benefit societies of the Middle Ages, and obviated (till by the wanton and rapacious act of Somerset, at the beginning of Edward the Sixth's reign, they were destroyed, and their estates confiscated) the necessity of legal relief to destitution. Somerset did not dare to attack the London guilds, and they survive, though under strangely altered conditions. But he spoiled the guilds of Eastern England, and the people of Norfolk, Protestant-minded as they were, rose in arms to put Mary Tudor on the throne, and to frustrate the aims of that cabal of sham Protestants, who under the guidance of the infamous Northumberland had made the name of the English reformation odious to the burghers of the towns. We owe the English poor-law to the greed of the courtiers who surrounded the nonage of Edward the Sixth, the plea for the confiscation having been the 'superstitious use' with which the guild-fellow had burdened his benefaction.

The revolution of 1399 had placed Henry of Lancaster on the throne. There is a marked resemblance between the circumstances of this period and of those of 1688. In both cases, misgovernment had forced all classes to make common cause against the Crown. Richard, like James, was friendless. The desertion of York to the side of Henry was like the desertion of Anne, of the Hydes, and the dukes of Charles the Second's harem to William. The treachery of Northumberland was like the treachery of Marlborough, was as base, was as dangerous, was as selfish. In both cases, there was an infant heir, the supercession of whom was, at the time, a matter of absolute necessity. The revolution of 1399 passed over the heir of the house of March, not wholly in silence, for the claim of Henry appears to have been meant to assert a higher title, if one can interpret its ambiguous language to imply that Henry

was renewing, under more favourable circumstances, the effort which his father made to disable under Parliamentary sanction the issue of females from inheriting the crown in England; while the revolution of 1688 charged James with the fraud of having, in the interests of his Church, palmed a supposititious child on the English succession. As, again, the parliament which deposed Richard was renewed by Henry, through the device which made the writs returnable at too short a period for a fresh election; so, in the face of another legal difficulty, the Convention Parliament was made to bridge over the abdication or flight of James and the accession of William.

The reaction too is very similar. The favourites of Richard and the favourites of James were swept away. Bushey and Green and Bagot are the first victims, Scrope and Despenser the next, the one for old, the others for new offences. But Northumberland was politically the Marlborough of 1399, as greedy, as false, as hypocritical, as confident in his power of deception. He is the most hateful person at the beginning of the fifteenth century, as the great tactician of scientific warfare is at the beginning of the eighteenth. But Northumberland was more unlucky, for he raised a civil war in England, while Marlborough was prevented, by the consummate tact of William, from raising the same issue with any practical chance of success.

Henry again had another enemy in the more zealous Churchmen. His father had notoriously favoured the Lollards in their attacks on the temporalities of the Church, and could not disengage himself from the reputation of having fostered their doctrines. Richard had assured the Church that he would protect its property, but he had persecuted, in his wild raid on the reforming nobles at the conclusion of his reign, some of the political prelates, and apparently the clergy had, almost to a man, sided with Henry in the revolution of 1399. But just as after the deposition of James, there arose a clerical party which doubted of the lawfulness of the act by which Richard had been deposed, and found a representative in Scrope, Archbishop of York, the brother of the attainted Earl of Wiltshire.

The King took energetic means to check this disorder. Scrope was executed by a military tribunal, to the amazement and horror of the religious world. But the sedition was crushed, and Henry, who had anticipated the pardon of his offence by conceding the writ *de heretico comburendo* to the clergy, in the second year of his reign, had little difficulty in a transaction which fifty years before would have set the whole kingdom ablaze. But more than fifty years after the transaction, the execution of Scrope was remembered to the injury of the House of Lancaster in the province of York. The narrative of the Archbishop's passion was told by Gascoigne¹, and has been incorporated into history from that source.

The economical history of Henry the Fourth's reign contains few events. The discontent felt at the opulence of the Church increased, and the House of Commons fully represented the national feeling. In the year 1406, the electoral franchise was declared to reside in all suitors at the County Court, and others. It is impossible to doubt that this definition of the electoral franchise was exceedingly inclusive, and that it comprised tenants under any kind of holding. Such at least is the reflection of the House of Commons in 1430, when the vote was limited to those who had a freehold estate of forty shillings yearly above all charges, and by residents therein, a limitation which was further restrained, two years later, by the rule that the freehold must be in the same county. That the franchise was greatly restricted by the Act of 1430 is manifest from the intention of those who passed the Act, and is further illustrated by the comparatively colourless character of the later Parliaments in the Plantagenet period, except when anger or hope was greatly excited.

It is said that in order to divert further discontent from the Church, Archbishop Chicheley counselled Henry's son to make such demands on France as would necessarily be followed by war. But we are told that Henry the Fifth suppressed the alien priories, and vested their estates and revenues in the Crown,

¹ See *Loci e Libro Veritatum*, p. 225.

a precedent which was sure to beget other precedents whenever it should seem that the interests of the monastic orders were inconsistent, or appeared to be inconsistent, with those of the Crown or the Government. Some of these priories were sold to Chicheley, and formed the foundations which this prelate established at Oxford and Higham Ferrers: most remained in the King's hands, till Henry the Sixth founded from these estates the Colleges of St. Nicholas (since called King's College) at Cambridge, the School and College at Eton, and the great monastery of Sion.

During the fifteenth century a common practice prevailed of appropriating under royal and papal license the great tithes of benefices to monastic and cathedral bodies, to the serious impoverishment of the parochial clergy, and, as we are informed, to the great injury of education and learning and good order. This appropriation of the estate of the secular clergy was a perpetual subject of indignant complaint on the part of contemporaries, such as Gascoigne was, who traces the decline of morals and corruption of manners to this practice. During the reign of Henry the Sixth, the greatest abuses prevailed. The bishops, appointed by papal provision, rarely resided in their dioceses, but hung about the Court, six of them, according to Gascoigne, filling high offices of state at one time, and all neglecting their duties. Kemp, archbishop of York for twenty-eight years, rarely visited his diocese, and suffered his official residence to fall into decay¹. We are told that so great was the popular indignation against these prelates that they dared not live in London in 1450 for fear of their lives, or even enter their dioceses. Two were actually murdered by infuriated mobs; De Moleyns, bishop of Chichester, at Portsmouth, in January 1450, and Aiscough, bishop of Salisbury, at Edindon, in June of the same year. It is certain that the prelates provoked the discontent which led to the downfall of the House of Lancaster² and the exaltation of the House of York, that the ecclesiastics of the time were entirely passive during the bitterest years of the

¹ *Loci e Libro Veritatum*, p. 37.

² *Ibidem*, p. 43.

struggle, and that none of them suffered any loss for being faithful to either side. Bouchier, elected archbishop of Canterbury during the period of Henry's first insanity, served all the monarchs for more than thirty years with equal fidelity, dying in the early part of Henry the Seventh's reign. He was brother of the Earl of Essex. The other bishops were like-minded, were nearly all equally noble, and were all equally versatile.

They sacrificed, it is true, one of their order, who is chiefly known by a surviving work of his, preserved in the Cambridge University Library, and printed some time ago by the Master of the Rolls. It is unnecessary to deal with the literary and historical merits of '*Pecok's Repressor*,' but it is expedient in a work which deals with the social history of England to say a few words on the career of this singular personage. Reginald Pecok, we are told by Gascoigne, the principal author of such facts as bear on the character and fortunes of this prelate, was a Welshman by birth, a fellow of Oriel College (and therefore constantly brought into Gascoigne's company, who was a commoner of Oriel, and a resident within its walls, till his death), a person of considerable parts and capacity, who attached himself to the faction of Suffolk and of the Court prelates. By this means he was allowed to graduate with special privilege at the University of Oxford, and was promoted to the bishopric of St. Asaph, from whence, after the murder of De Moleyns, he was translated to the see of Chichester. Here he incurred all the unpopularity of his brethren, and partly for political reasons, partly because he was charged with innovations in customary beliefs, he was sacrificed in the winter of 1457, was degraded from his bishopric, and consigned to imprisonment in a monastery.

Pecok undertook the defence of the secular clergy in his famous *Repressor*, and, like many others who have attempted to justify an establishment on lower grounds than those of supernatural authority or divine right, incurred at once the hatred of his clients and of the reforming party, for he lowered the pretensions of the former, and affronted those who were bent on a

revolution in which the clergy might be passive, might be even the abettors, but which it was dangerous or offensive to resist. It is true that the principal charges against Pecok were a mischievous meddlesomeness in politics, especially illustrated by his letter to Canynge, Lord Mayor of London, by his loose criticism on the authority of the Fathers, and by his doubts about the historical genuineness of the Apostles' Creed. But these were pretexts under cover of which the clergy and the courtiers of Henry, when the storm was impending, sacrificed the most unpopular of their order with the object of saving the status of the rest. There is however an interest in Pecok's career which is quite apart from his political and literary merits. He is the first author of the Middle Ages who propounded reason as a judge of faith, and who without possessing the instrument which the revival of letters was about to afford, anticipated the destructive criticism of a later period by the mere machinery of scholastic philosophy working on a sceptical intellect. Pecok in short might be claimed as at once the forerunner of the Erastian theory of the Church, and of the Rationalist interpretation of its theology. The occurrence of such a person, a century before the Reformation, at a time when the Church was exceedingly corrupt, and orthodoxy was very angry and very sanguinary, is the most remarkable phenomenon in the literary history of the fifteenth century.

The piety of the fifteenth century created some magnificent institutions, the usefulness of which was greater than that of the monastic orders. Henry, as is stated above, surrendered the lands of the alien priories in order to found King's College, Cambridge, Eton, and the great abbey of Sion. One of Henry's bishops, who by the way adhered readily to the Yorkist cause when it was in the ascendant, William Waynflete, founded an equally opulent college in Oxford. The resources of Waynflete's college curiously illustrate the foundations of this time. Originally it appears that this prelate, of whom Henry had been the patron, for he made him his Provost of Eton and Bishop of Winchester, intended to establish a modest place of education

in Oxford, from the estate which he inherited as the eldest son of a Lincolnshire gentleman. But his opportunities were considerable, and he employed them for the benefit of his foundation. He contrived to add to his first gifts certain considerable estates in the rape of Bramber, to procure the suppression of the priory of Selborne in Hampshire, an opulent monastery whose character was not very good, and the Hospital of S. John in Oxford, the latter on the understanding that his college should perpetually satisfy the charitable duties of the institution which it absorbed and superseded. Appointed one of the executors of Sir John Fastolfe, who had acquired great wealth, partly as a partisan leader in the French war, partly as a successful trader in agricultural produce with Holland and Northern Germany, who was also anxious to devote a part of his wealth to an educational establishment in his native county of Norfolk, Waynflete contrived to divert Fastolfe's benefaction to his own college, and to enrich Oxford at the expense of the place for which the gift was intended. It was in this way that Waynflete built up an institution which was begun in 1448, and settled thirty years later. So another prelate in the same century, and at about the same time, became the founder of a Cambridge college, by suppressing a nunnery on the plea of the dissolute manners of its inmates, and by the transfer of their estates to his new foundation. These and similar acts led the way for that wholesale extinction of the monastic houses which was commenced by Wolsey, and consummated, after the Cardinal's fall, by Wolsey's master, Henry the Eighth, and his servant, Cromwell, the vicar-general, and Earl of Essex. The destruction of the older monasteries was long foreseen, and the way to it made by several emphatic precedents.

During the fifteenth century too, there grew up in England that temper which, while it was willing to accept and maintain the tenets of the Roman Church, was determined to restrain the encroachments of the Roman court by a vigorous and final effort. Pious churchmen, like Gascoigne, traced the bad morals of their age and the hopeless outlook in the future to the all-

devouring rapacity of the cardinals and other officials of the Curia. My readers are aware that it was in the fifteenth century that the doctrine took deep root that a general council was superior to the Pope, perhaps in matters of doctrine, certainly in those of discipline, the tenet which Hallam by an ingenious anticipation calls the 'Whig principles of the Catholic Church¹.' The feeling that England should be independent of the Roman Curia was as keenly entertained in the sixteenth century by Gardiner as it was by Cranmer, and was undoubtedly the lever which Henry the Eighth used in order at once to vindicate Anglican independence in Church as well as in State, to strengthen the Government, to subdue the clergy, and to confiscate the wealth of the monasteries. This spirit survived the reaction under Mary Tudor. I know few facts more significant than the protest of the well-known Bonner, bishop of London, on December 26, 1554, against the act which repeals all statutes made against the see of Rome since 20 Hen. VIII.

Such economists as there were at that time complained that the kingdom was impoverished by the enormous sums, to be spent in simony, which were transmitted to the Roman court by the candidates for the hierarchy. The English kings, who were eager for money, and much in want of it, who had the greatest difficulty in persuading their parliaments to make them grants, whose appeals were met by the constant excuse of poverty, and who resorted to every kind of expedient save that of taxing the public generally without the consent of the Commons, looked grudgingly at the huge sums which the Roman Church extorted from those who negotiated bulls of provision, or the consent of the Pope to their election or consecration. The evil was at its height during the feeble reign of Henry the Sixth, whose debts were enormous, whose expenditure was prodigal, whose revenue had sunk to a fifth of his requisite income, and who was fifteen years of that income in debt.

The war with France was popular. In the first place, the

¹ Middle Ages, chap. vii. part 2.

English people then, as probably the English people now, were under the impression that a foreign empire contributes to the greatness, the strength, the reputation, and the wealth of England. Again, they thought their kings had been wronged by the violation of the treaty of Bretigny, the Great Peace as it was called, and that it behoved them to revive the time when all France south of the Loire was annexed permanently and without any feudal relation to the English Crown. Nor were there wanting solid reasons why they should desire the possession of some part of Southern Europe. As long as England possessed Guienne, wine was cheap in England, and the English people consumed a considerable quantity of French wine as long as it was cheap. Salt too was an important article of consumption, and was procured certainly and cheaply from Southern France. Long after the loss of the French provinces, Henry the Eighth stipulated in his treaties with France for a regular supply of salt from that country, under the name *Sal de Brouäge*¹.

Again, it was believed that the acquisition and retention of the whole or of part of France would relieve the English of those burdens which the necessities of the sovereign constantly imposed on the people through the Parliament. The English army, which was singularly efficient in action, owing doubtless to the fact that it was recruited by voluntary enlistment and was carefully drilled, was a very costly instrument. The pay of the soldier was ample, and as far as the commissariat of the time could secure it, his needs were well attended to. In 1452, during some of the efforts which the country was making to recover what had been lost, the House of Commons granted the king, by an assessment made on the several counties, and on which I shall have to comment hereafter, the services of 13,000 archers, who were to be equipped at the charge of the the several counties, and to be paid at the rate of sixpence a day, this being of course exclusive of provisions. Now sixpence a day in the fifteenth century was the full rate of wages

¹ See *Corps Diplomatique*, vol. iv. part 1, p. 474, Treaty of Apr. 30, 1527.

for artisans, inclusive of provisions. But the pay and maintenance by which the English archers recovered their wonted ascendancy over the French enemy was the least part of the prospect put before the professional soldier. Many a man who enlisted in the king's army as a soldier of fortune had risen to knighthood and even to nobility. The king's service was open to all, serf and free labourer, villain and yeoman. It is true that by this time the degrading conditions of serfdom had become obsolete, but there is no period in English history in which the pride of birth was so general and so arrogant as in the fifteenth century. But a successful soldier could carve out his fortunes, and earn any rank. Not a few of the Plantagenet nobles won their nobility in the long wars of the Edwards and the Henries. An opulent merchant might achieve knighthood, and, even as the Poles, rise to the aristocracy, but warfare was the readiest road to wealth and rank. The Nevilles had been soldiers of fortune in the fourteenth century, the Talbots in the fifteenth. The wealth of Cromwell and Fastolfe was enormous. The value set on the former's estate after his decease was £66,334. Besides, war was the natural profession of the younger son, who was now becoming a serious domestic difficulty, owing to the growing custom of entailing estates, and who was to be provided for, if possible, in the only public services of the time, the Church and the king's army.

It must be remembered that with the exception of a few, and those light export and import duties, which it would seem were hardly worth the cost of collection¹, the taxation of the people was direct. It is true that Parliament frequently granted a tax on exported wool, and this the more readily because they believed that if the exportation of wool were discouraged, the local manufacture of cloth would be secured or at least protected. But there were persons in Parliament who desired, as might be expected in the country whose agriculture was for the time particularly successful, that the foreign trade should be

¹ The need for protecting the fair dealer was probably the reason which made Parliament so willing and even urgent to keep the staple of all exports at Calais.

free, as I shall point out in the case of a remarkable petition about the corn trade, which the king rejected. But a tenth or a fifteenth was a direct tax on the goods and chattels, stock-in-trade and tools excepted, which individuals possessed. Now, were the assessment ever so just, and there is no reason to doubt that some persons who could afford to conciliate the assessors were lightly handled, it is clear that a direct tax will always press with unequal severity upon those who have few or many claims on them, whose property is little more than what they need for bare subsistence or on those who are opulent, on those whose prospects are ill and on those whose prospects are good. It is not likely that benevolences were an unpopular charge in the minds of most taxpayers in the fifteenth century, seeing that they were an occasional property-tax, imposed on the opulent; and we may be perfectly sure that when Richard the Third in his single parliament declared benevolences to be henceforth illegal, he was much more bent on conciliating the London merchants, in whose good will the strength of the Yorkist faction lay, whom Buckingham and Shaw had striven to win over to Richard's side, than in conceding that which would be popular with the majority of his subjects.

Nothing is more frequently alluded to by Gascoigne in his comments on the administration of Suffolk and Somerset than the dowerless advent of Margaret of Anjou, and the losses which that unlucky union produced. Gascoigne tells a singular story of this marriage, for which he vouches. He says that when Suffolk negotiated it, the fact became known early to Charles, that he imprisoned Margaret, as queen of England and therefore his enemy, that he demanded the union of Anjou and Maine as the price of her liberation, and that Suffolk, fearing for his life if he returned without the wife for whom he had negotiated, gave up the counties, and thus interposing hostile territory between Normandy and Guienne, necessitated the loss of both. He adds that, had it not been for this unlucky accident or act of unpatriotic selfishness, Charles would have gladly paid a large compensation for the cession of part or the whole from

the English conquests in France. As it was, not only was the marriage of the portionless Margaret no gain to England, but it was a positive loss, a loss of territory, of honour, and of the hope of a settlement which might have been made on the lines of the great peace of Bretigny.

Those numerous soldiers of fortune, who had been demoralised by a prolonged war, and who now lacked employment, whose expectations were now to be unsatisfied or unsated, were thrown upon England. Here the government was utterly unpopular, the king was loaded with debt, the exchequer was empty, the country was sullen, dissatisfied, and dishonoured, and factions, bitterer than any which England had ever known, were rapidly marshalling themselves against each other. We are told that families were divided on the great question between the rival houses, and that father and son often met in mortal combat. Such are always the risks of civil war, and such might have been its events. But I find no trace of anything more than discontent with the government up to the time of York's second protectorate.

The rising of Cade, who assumed the name of Mortimer, is supposed to have been the revival of those claims to the throne, which the House of Mortimer had made more than a generation before. But 'the complaints of the Commons of Kent,' and 'the requests of the Captain of the great assembly in Kent,' point to social and political grievances. If the story of Mortimer were to be believed, the rising of Cade was as much directed against the Duke of York, now heir presumptive, as against the dynasty still on the throne¹. Margaret had been married to the king for five years and was childless, for Edward of Lancaster was not born till Oct. 23, 1453. That there were persons who sustained the title of Richard from the days when he was a friendless and nameless youth is highly probable. But unless every protestation which he made was false and treacherous,

¹ The proposal of Young, member for Bristol, that York should be declared heir apparent, if it be a fact, seems to me to point as much against pretenders such as Cade, as it does to partisanship towards the Duke of York.

it is not easy to believe that he contemplated the supercession of Henry, till the course of events left him no choice. The acts of the Coventry Parliament made the civil war inevitable, the march of Margaret to the second battle of St. Alban's left the English no other alternative than the deposition of the House of Lancaster and the elevation of the House of York.

No enemy of the administration, and the enemies of the administration were overwhelmingly strong in the most opulent districts of England, believed that Edward was the son of Henry. France had revenged herself on England by giving her a king who was always a child, and who became at last almost an idiot. Henry had never grown up. That he was sincerely pious, tender-hearted and kindly, his worst enemies admitted. But his virtues were those of a good child. He was never capable of public business. He was probably the only man in the kingdom who was not a partisan, but this was only because he was incompetent to form an opinion on any subject whatever. He was disgusted at the cruelties inflicted on offenders, he was shocked at the indecent costume of the women at his court, but he counted through all his life for nothing in the councils of his reign. Perhaps what little wits he had were flogged out of him by the savage martinet, Warwick, who was his governor during childhood. It is possible that after the birth of Edward, the Duke of York might have contemplated some such ultimate settlement as was made in the Parliament of 1460, but at so early a date he would have had to reckon not only with Margaret, but with the House of Beaufort.

Speaking generally, the East of England, from Kent to the Wash, and on to Yorkshire, was more hostile to the government than the rest of the country. This was the wealthiest part of England. It comprised London, which had grown greatly in opulence during the last century, and the manufactures of Norfolk. The city of Norwich was the second city in the kingdom, though far behind London. Though slightly less wealthy than Oxfordshire in 1453, the county of Norfolk was assessed at a higher rate than any other great county, Lincoln

coming next, and after a considerable interval the great shire of York. Next to these come Kent, Wilts, the county of the elder Nevile, and subsequently of his son, and Suffolk. The civil war does not penetrate into Eastern England, the principal battle-fields being on the line which divided the partisans of the rival houses. Norfolk was specially unfriendly to the House of Lancaster. There is no more enduring feud in the later middle ages than that between the Mowbrays and Howards and the Lancastrian house, from the banishment of Norfolk in the days of Richard the Second, till the death of the first duke of the House of Howard on the field of Bosworth. It is remarkable that the line which separated the England of the fifteenth century into the Yorkists and Lancastrians, was nearly the same as that which divided it, in the seventeenth, between the Cavaliers and the Roundheads.

A singular feature in the great war of succession is that it is a war of pitched battles, not of sieges. The partisans on either side seem to have made their way to some open heath and there to have fought out this quarrel. Still more singular is the silence of contemporary accounts about the struggle which was going on. I have read thousands of documents penned during the heat of the strife, and have found only one allusion to the character of the times in the earlier, and one about the later war of 1470-1. On the first occasion, the foundation of King's College, Cambridge, evinces, by the numerous messages they send *pro novis audiendis* in the summer of 1460, how keen was their anxiety about the fortunes of their founder. On the second, I have found in the archives of the corporation of Norwich an account of the charges which that city incurred in sending forty archers to Tewkesbury field. But for the rest, there is no sign of any interest in the combat. The mass of the English people was, I believe, indifferent during the war. It was a rancorous feud between the nobles and their retainers.

The English hierarchy had obtained a statute from Henry the Fourth, under which an offender, convicted of heresy in the bishop's court, was handed over to the secular arm. The sheriff

under the statute was compelled, *virtute officii*, to put the culprit to death by burning. Little or nothing is known of the numbers who suffered. Fox is more than usually vague about the persecution during the days of the Lancastrian Henries. I have quoted the terms of an inquisition of Lollardy in the year 1433, in my first vol., p. 101. In 1427, the records of the Corporation of Norwich refer to what appears a general burning in that city. Besides, it mentions the names of three victims, William Qwytt, William Waddon, and Hugh Pye, who suffered at the Bishop's gate, two loads of wood being purchased for the purposes of the execution. But it is certain that heresy was general. Gascoigne tells us, with many bitter comments on the ordinance, that the bishops silenced all such preachers as could not pay them for a licence, on the ground that such a regulation was necessary in order to check the spread of heresy. I have little doubt that Lollardy had taken deep root in the manufacturing districts of Eastern England. It is certain that the Reformation made more rapid progress in Norfolk than elsewhere, when it came, and that this county supplied more sufferers during the Marian persecution than any other part of England.

➤ The fifteenth century is a period of almost absolute intellectual stagnation in England. The literary monk disappears, the chronicles are dull and jejune. The 'Repressor' of Pecok, the work of Fortescue on the Laws of England, and the compilation of Gascoigne, the 'Liber Veritatum,' which is principally a florilegium from the most eminent fathers of the Latin Church from St. Augustine to the Schoolmen, are nearly all the works of English origin which have come down to us. The Latin in which Gascoigne writes—he being the most accomplished scholar of Oxford during that century—is exceedingly barbarous. To be sure it was the age of lawyers, and the year-books of Edward the Fourth, printed in the reign of Edward's grandson, are a repertory from which the jurists of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries drew their precedents and their practice.

Just as England was preparing—or the factions into which

some of its people were divided were arming—for civil war, the invention of printing by movable types was perfected at Mayence, for the Mazarin Bible is not only the first but, even at this day, the finest example of the printer's art. Paper had long been common, and was frequently employed for accounts. From the beginning of the fifteenth century paper is uniformly employed for the accounts of King's Hall, Cambridge, and for those of the corporation at Norwich. The accounts of King's College, Cambridge, are also on paper, and generally this vehicle for account-taking is more frequently used in the eastern counties than it is in the midland. Towards the latter end of the fifteenth century, the invention of spectacles, a discovery only a little less important than that of printing, was made, and the folio or quarto in large type, with which the invention of printing begins, gives way to handy books in octavo or duodecimo size, and in small type. It is well known that Caxton was patronized by the accomplished and unfortunate Lord Rivers.

I have stated above that entails became general during the civil wars. The first entails under the statute *de donis* were, I am persuaded, grants of small estates which did not, after the statute *quia emptores*, violate the legal rule against subinfeudation, though they did its spirit, and were intended to enable intermediate lords to create a body of male military tenants, who should be dependent on them, by the fact that no known device of law could defeat the reversion of the lord. As they were inalienable, they were not liable to forfeiture. Hence, when the game of civil war began, the practice also commenced of entailing the great estates. The nobles risked nothing in the strife but their lives, having by this conveyance secured their estates from involuntary alienation. I draw my inference to the rarity of entails during the earlier period of my enquiry from the fact that the landowners invariably let their lands to tenants for term of years, a form of tenancy which was, under the conditions of an entail, no security to the tenant, if it did not in many cases involve the risk of

forfeiture on the part of the lessor. But the government, advised by the lawyers of the time, easily discovered in the two-handed engine of parliamentary attainder a sharp and effectual surgery. Once used, it was the most potent instrument of despotism, and the unlucky nobles of the war of succession, when this expedient was once generally adopted, were made the most timid and powerless slaves of government. Every one knows how Henry the Eighth wielded this weapon against those who incurred his resentment or his suspicions, even after he had made entails liable to forfeiture for treason. I know nothing which illustrates the irony of history so curiously as the fact that this prodigious weapon, which effectually tamed the most turbulent aristocracy in Europe, which gave Henry the Eighth all the powers of a Tiberius, under the formal sanction of legislative deliberation, was used for the last time in order to effect the execution of a broken bully and insignificant plotter, who had been foolish enough to insult Mary the wife of William the Third, and still more foolish, in denouncing Marlborough's treasons, when it was not convenient for William the Third to have them published—Sir John Fenwick.

It was an act of great sagacity on the part of Edward the Fourth, that when he thought, as he reasonably might have thought, that his difficulties with England were over, he required his lawyers to find a remedy against entails by some legal device. Lawyers are aware, at least such lawyers as know anything about the history of English law, that this was indirectly effected by an *obiter dictum* in Taltarum's¹ case. The fiction of a common recovery is the triumph of legal chicanery, of fictions which balance and neutralise other fictions. It is only to be regretted that after such a discovery, which conveyancers merely made the means for the creation of other and more tortuous fictions, the remedy of Henry the Eighth had not been applied simultaneously, and the hideous machinery of parliamentary attainder had not been declared

¹ Taltarum's case may be found fully reported in Reports Ed. IV. anno xii. Mich. Term.

obsolete at once. In the present year, 1880, we are finding our administrative system strained to the uttermost, and are invited to adopt the barbarism of a state of siege in one of the three kingdoms, because Ireland is still writhing under the consequences of parliamentary attainders, attainders which are the double inheritance of the law of entail, and of the evil days which the great war of succession induced.

The English nation, I mean those who worked and saved, was singularly prosperous during the period on which I am dwelling. Obnoxious and intrusive sectaries were punished with fire and faggot, there was no zeal, hardly any character, no learning at all, no history, beyond the battle of the kites and the crows, but there was solid, substantial, unbroken prosperity. The fifteenth century, and the early years of the sixteenth, were the golden age of the English husbandman, the artisan, and the labourer. I cannot anticipate the particulars of this condition of things at this stage of my enquiry, for they come more naturally into that part of my work in which I deal with particular prices. The war of succession was as distant in its incidents, and it seemed to be in its effects, as summer lightning. Even those who took part in the broil, when out of the battle, were safe. 'Slay the nobles, and let the common sort go free,' was Edward the Fourth's prudent maxim in combat. When the medieval church became contemptible, as it had long been hateful, when the medieval noble was cowed, and the great Earl of Warwick, who had been the prime minister of sedition, was dead, and laid naked on St. Paul's pavement in London, wisely put in sight of his city admirers, when his family was proscribed, and the poor Duke of Bedford was degraded from the peerage, because he was poor, and Nevile, Archbishop of York, was allowed to retain his dignity and his revenues, in order that one slave of the family might walk in chains by the conqueror's chariot, the triumph of Edward the Fourth was complete, and he became the most popular, the most licentious, and the most despotic monarch in Europe.

There are few things in English history more tragic than the ruin of Edward the Fourth's house, except it be the ruin of the nation which trusted in the permanent success of his genius. For there is no English sovereign who had and who marred so great an opportunity. At nineteen years of age he was by instinct, it seems, the greatest tactician which the military history of England has ever shown. On the last day of December 1460, his father, his brother, and Lord Salisbury, the mainstay of the Yorkist party, had been slain at or after the affair of Sandal. A few days afterwards, the next most important supporter of his cause was defeated at St. Alban's. On the fourth of March Edward was King of England. He never lost a battle, and never avoided one, though he had to fight against men, many of whom were experienced in the long wars with France. The march by which he arrested the progress of Margaret's army to the north, brought her forces to bay at Tewkesbury and utterly routed them, was conceived and carried out with consummate skill. Mr. Hallam has commented on the absence of remedial statutes during his reign. It does not appear that they were, according to the temper of the times, required. Personally Edward was frank and forgiving. The Rolls of Parliament during his reign are full of petitions from men who had been in arms against him, who begged to be forgiven, and whose prayer was invariably granted. He was treated with signal ingratitude by the Nevilles whom he had trusted, and by his brother Clarence, who was as rapacious as he was perfidious. If Clarence was put to death, as was alleged,—for we must remember that the history of Edward was written by the enemies of his house,—it is certain that the commons petitioned that judgment should be executed on him as a person who was more than dangerous. The first part of Edward's reign was full of perils, for the Lancastrian party was active, bitter, and still strong. After the final battle of Tewkesbury Edward had nothing to fear from his English enemies, beyond those of his own household.

The occasional activity of Edward was counterpoised by

habitual indolence and great licentiousness. He was entirely surprised by the revolt and insurrection which Warwick fomented. It is not easy to reconcile the temporary supineness of Edward at this crisis with the reputation which later writers give him, of being a suspicious tyrant, who made all his servants act as spies on each other. His indolence and good-nature led him to lavish favours on his wife's relatives, his negligence induced him to wink at the insolence and falsehood of Warwick. So at last the persons whom he trusted with the nonage of his sons, gave the occasion for the palace revolution, which put Richard on the throne.

The circumstances of that revolution are nearly as obscure as the fate of the princes. Morton, the Lancastrian partisan, whom Edward had pardoned and had raised from one post to the other, deserted to Richmond, and Richard, whose trust was in a Stanley, and who seems to have been surprised at Bosworth, perished in battle. Nothing seems to indicate more completely how weary the country was of the rivalry between royal princes and their partisans among the nobility than the poor following which Richard and Richmond had at Bosworth, except it be the general acquiescence in the government of Henry Tudor, whose reign was the meanest, but whose times were on the whole the most prosperous in our annals. There was plenty of occasion for Chancellor Morton's fork, for the opulence of the English was progressive and solid in Henry Tudor's time.

Henry has been credited with the establishment of three important changes in the administration of law and the theory of the constitution. I refer to the statute of liveries, to the statute which freed the subject from the penalties of treason when his offence was allegiance to a *de facto* sovereign, and to the reconstruction of the Star Chamber. It is obvious that each of these novelties was intended to secure the position of a monarch, whose title to the throne on any of those principles which had divided the people for a century was untenable, and that none of them was more than a protest. For the statute of

liveries was in effect only temporary and did not in itself quell the spirit of aristocratic turbulence, the new law of treason was made a mere quibble by Henry's grand-daughter as well as by the judges of the Restoration, and the Star Chamber, moderate in its action for more than a century, was employed afterwards and under a different family as the ready instrument of private malice. The real work of Henry's reign was the development of administrative despotism under the forms of law, and in the interest of the exchequer. Henry was avaricious and cautious. He did not desire to provoke popular discontent, and he did not care to have his government reviewed by parliament. He dispensed with parliaments for longer periods than any other English monarch, and he employed every artifice for the accumulation of treasure. Between the years 1485-1492, he held five parliaments, during the remaining seventeen years of his reign he held only three. Now it was impossible for an English king to do without a parliamentary grant, and with it parliamentary advice and remonstrance, unless he was very penurious, very prudent, and very rapacious.

The reign of Henry the Eighth commenced under the most favourable circumstances. He inherited the hoards of his father, he was recognised by the best members of both factions, in so far as they still existed, as the undoubted heir of both houses, and the two years at the beginning of his reign were characterised by the most abundant harvests which had been gathered during that period of agricultural prosperity, which had with scarcely a break continued in England for a century. Henry was not like his father, prudent and penurious, for his expenditure was profuse, and his policy was reckless. He occupied indeed a remarkable position in Europe. It was in his reign that the doctrine of the balance of power was adopted from the school of Italian politicians into the statecraft of Western Europe, and no monarch was better placed for mediating between the two monarchs and rivals of France and Spain than Henry was. He was ready enough to act. His vanity was flattered by the courtesies of Julius the Second, and

he assisted that warlike prelate in the expulsion of the French from Italy. After the death of his brother-in-law, Louis the Twelfth, and the accession of Francis the First, he was courted by the rival kings of France and Spain, and allied himself alternately with each. The election of Charles to the imperial throne, and the temporary union under the same crown of the Spanish peninsula, the Low Countries, the German Empire, and the New World, gave an overwhelming influence to the emperor. Charles soon overran northern Italy, broke the reputation of the Swiss, who had been the terror of European armies since the days of Charles the Bold, and winning the battle of Pavia, was able to dispense with the goodwill of his nephew. From this time the influence of Henry in continental affairs was unimportant.

The reign of Henry is a great epoch in legislation, especially on land tenures. The statute *de donis* was materially modified, a will of lands was permitted, and uses were extinguished, though only to reappear under the name of trusts. These changes were probably intended to assist the exchequer by simplifying forms of tenure, and bringing all estates, in the voluntary alienation of which considerable powers were granted, within the risk of the involuntary alienation of forfeiture. The king was imperious and profuse, the nobility was cowed into abject submission, and the Commons, whom Henry treated with much consideration, were complaisant.

The constantly increasing expenditure of Henry would, in my opinion, have led to the suppression of the monasteries, even if he had not quarrelled with the pope. The religious orders had long been discredited with the people, they had been pointed out as the natural prey of the government for more than a century, and if half of what is told about them is true, many of them had become mere *prostibula*. Fox foresaw the change, and desisted from making his college at Oxford a nursery for the monks of St. Swithin, as he had first intended. Wolsey foresaw it when he obtained leave of pope and king in 1524 to suppress more than forty monasteries and

nunneries in order to endow his colleges in Oxford and Ipswich. The quarrel with the Pope afforded a pretext for annihilating those institutions which were far more loyal to the see of Rome than to their natural sovereign, and Henry obtained in a few years possessions, which have been reckoned at one third the land in the country, a vast amount of impropriated tithe, about one third of the whole endowment, with gold, silver, and jewels, the savings of centuries, to an incredible amount.

It has been stated that Henry was strangely profuse. He was perpetually building, and that on the most extensive scale. He built or enlarged palaces incessantly. Much of the information which I have obtained as to the prices of certain commodities and the rates of labour in the first half of the sixteenth century is derived from numerous account books kept by one Needham¹, a clerk of some of Henry's works, who probably took away these books as waste paper after the account had been audited and checked, as they regularly are, by four of the principal workmen who sign every page. Needham purchased a small estate in Bedfordshire with the savings of his employment, or perhaps with some fragment of monastic property. He was probably only one of many such supervisors of royal works. The charges of Henry's housekeeping too were enormous. Not only was his own household lavishly provided, but the establishments of his two daughters (for one or two of their accounts are preserved in the Public Record Office) were on a scale of expense which far exceeded the whole annual expenditure of his thrifty father. Several of his nobles were lodged by him in his different palaces. That he sold much of the monastic property is probable. But he gave away more than he sold. At the dissolution he doubtlessly intended to devote a great part of the spoil to new foundations, to the

¹ These books were purchased by Rawlinson and given to the Bodleian Library. In one of the volumes a descendant of Needham gives an account of the charges he was put to during the civil war of King and Parliament. If many were taxed as he was, it is not wonderful that the Restoration spake of the Protectorate as a period of 'oppression, thralldom, and misery.'

creation of a greatly enlarged episcopate, to colleges and schools. But his own necessities and perhaps the necessities of his own situation made him hold his hand. He spent much, and he gave much to his nobles, whom he gorged with gifts, and so made partners in his rapine. That a reform was necessary, I do not doubt. That England in the end gained much by the extinction of a number of corporations which had long ceased to be useful, and had now become noxious, is most probable. Much suffering intervened before the good came, not a little from the transfer of property to ennobled adventurers. For whenever a nation possesses an aristocracy as a permanent element in its institutions, it is very seldom that a reform can be effected in the distribution of any property which forms the subject of change, except by bribing the aristocracy with a portion. Henry was, we may be convinced, constrained to share the plunder with his nobles, timid and subservient as they were. Mary found these nobles perfectly ready to embrace the faith which they had repudiated during her brother's reign, but she could not induce them to relinquish the abbey lands, and the Pope, who was anxious above all things to regain England to the Roman see, saw that it was necessary to confirm the spoilers in their possessions.

Lord Herbert estimated the annual value of the monastic lands at £161,000. It is not unlikely however that the real value was double this amount. It is said that the abbots and priors of the religious houses, foreseeing or fearing what might happen, had granted long leases of their lands at low rents and with large fines. The practice of taking fines on leases had certainly begun by this time, but the fines, originally a present, perhaps a mere handsel, to those who granted the lease, had not become large as yet. There is, however, nothing intrinsically improbable in the statement. Corporations, before the disabling act of Elizabeth, had large powers of alienation, if the head of the corporation—and probably the visitor—with the assent of the members, agreed to make grants of land from

their endowments. Without this consent, it was dangerous to sell or alienate.

The treasures of the monasteries and the rents of their lands were soon wasted, and four years after the dissolution of the greater monasteries, Henry began to debase the currency. The first addition of alloy was comparatively small, one oz. two dwts. But two years later a further debasement was effected, in the next year more than half the coin was base metal, and the debasement was continued into Edward's reign to a still greater extent, for one issue from his mint contained only one fourth silver to three fourths of alloy. When the currency was restored by Elizabeth, the base money brought into the mint in the year between Sept. 29, 1560, and Sept. 29, 1561, was 631,950 lbs. weight. I shall comment below on the particulars of this great fraud on the people, and on the process by which Elizabeth restored the currency. Henry, I am persuaded, adopted these expedients because he feared to try the temper of his parliament by appealing to them for assistance, and he must have known that no grants which his people were likely to make him would meet the enormous expense of his extravagant establishments. In the last year but one of Henry's reign, a Bill was actually passed by both houses for the dissolution of all Colleges, Chantries, Hospitals, Free Chapels, &c., and it was probable that the Universities with all their colleges would have been swept into the all-devouring exchequer, but Henry died on Jan. 28, 1547. He died of that new disease which was so fatal to the monarchs and princes of Europe at the time, and his only son inherited the malady, the precocity which it frequently developes, and the rapid decline which it generally induces.

The despotism of Henry's administration produced its natural consequences. The king surrounded the throne of his son with a body of councillors, whose powers he was at the pains to limit by the elaborate precautions of his will. But Henry's commands were neglected from the very beginning. The councillors were from the first a camarilla, which became more

rapacious, more unscrupulous, more treacherous, and more malignant as the boy grew up. They loaded themselves with wealth and titles. Their first act, as I have already said, was to confiscate the guild lands, and thus to destroy what were the benefit societies of the artisans in the towns. They soon quarrelled over plunder and power. The first victim was Seymour of Sudeley, one of the most arrogant and rapacious of the crew. Later on came the struggle between Somerset and Northumberland, between the king's uncle and the son of Henry the Seventh's extortionate minister, the father of Elizabeth's worthless favourite. Somerset perished and Northumberland became all powerful. The reforming party, whose hopes lay in the king's life, and failing him, in the exclusion of Mary Tudor from the throne, were obliged, or thought themselves obliged, to ally themselves with this bad man, and to further or acquiesce in his schemes. There was some plausibility in the project of setting Jane Grey on the throne. She was the descendant of Henry's favourite sister, had been designated for the succession after her cousin, was amiable, capable, and dignified. She could be trusted to carry out the Reformation which Edward had begun and the reformers were furthering overhastily. But everything that Northumberland touched was tainted. In the last year of Edward's reign, he had procured the surrender of the See of Durham with all those regalian rights which belonged to the county Palatine, some of which remained to the days of Charles II, a few even to the present generation. He intended to procure a grant of the county Palatine, and undoubtedly to dismember northern England, by erecting an independent principality for himself, which should include the northern counties, and probably Yorkshire, in which he could strengthen himself by the aid of the Scots, perhaps procure the young Queen of Scotland for his son Robert—it was seriously suggested afterwards by Elizabeth—and defy all attempts to dispossess him. The only bishop who resisted this project was Archbishop Cranmer.

The king died on July 6th, and Jane was proclaimed on the

10th. She reluctantly accepted the dignity which had been affirmed to her by the acts and will of her uncle, and by the letters patent of her cousin. Her father-in-law set out to secure the eastern counties, that part of England which it had always been most important, after London, to conciliate, which had secured the crown on Edward's head, and which, a century after the events on which I am dwelling, was associated in order to maintain the cause of the Parliament, and to break the power of the cavaliers. But the Protestants of the east remembered who it was that had impoverished the guilds, and Norwich, the head-quarters of the Reformation, protected and supported Mary. She was nothing to them, but Northumberland and all his works were utterly hateful, and must be rejected. The baffled schemer stood a moment at bay, then proclaimed Mary at Cambridge, was captured, tried, and executed. Among all the victims of the Tudor period, there was none who deserve so little pity as Northumberland. He tried to smooth his death, perhaps to postpone it, by pitiful and hollow recantations. He died as he had lived—a hypocrite. There never has been an English noble whose whole career was so utterly mischievous and so dishonourable as that of Dudley, Duke of Northumberland.

The reign of Mary was one of almost unbroken misery. The seasons were unpropitious, and famine was general. The base money of her father and her brother's reign had confused all things. The Queen, who seems to have been anxious to put the currency on a better basis, was helpless. Providence did not smile on her reign, and she strove to conciliate Providence by burning the men who had put her on the throne. Philip of Spain, who knew what England had been in her father's earlier years, married her, and soon found out that the England of 1554 was a very different country from what it had been a generation before. So he left a people by whom he was always hated, whose parliament had shown an unwonted courage in defining his marriage settlement, took the pains to drag

England during its weakness, misery, and degradation, into a war with France, and was at no pains to protect a fortress which the poverty of the English exchequer had allowed to be dismantled. Nothing throughout their whole history has ever enraged the English people so much as the loss of Calais did at the time of its capture. It was the disillusion of a dream which had lasted for more than two hundred years. It made France and England enemies for nearly three hundred years more. To satisfy public opinion in England, Elizabeth affected to be seriously anxious for its recovery. She was too wise to seriously wish for it. Elizabeth was a most resolute liar in her administration of public affairs. But she never lied when she thought she would be detected, and never, except when she pretended to insist on the restoration of Calais, lied to her subjects. She might have held Havre, but she knew that the concentration of power is stronger than the occupation of strong places, the retention of which is matter of perpetual cost and constant anxiety. A century after the loss of Calais, another landing-place in north-west Europe was secured by the capture of Dunkirk. In the whole of Cromwell's military successes, nothing pleased the English more than this acquisition. It was very prudently sold by Charles, who might have used the purchase money better; and the people, angry beyond endurance, nicknamed Clarendon's house, and drove its owner into exile.

No event, I believe, in English history gave more supreme satisfaction to the English people than the death of Mary and the accession of Elizabeth. The day on which she ascended the throne, Nov. 17, was kept as a holiday long after the memory of the great queen had faded away. It was a satisfaction which all could feel. The most bigoted adherent of the old faith, and there were very few such men in England, beyond the exiles whom Pole had brought back with him, was glad that the hateful connexion with Spain was over, for the Englishman who preferred a foreign power, however justly disaffected he might feel towards the administration of affairs at home, was

believed to be one who would put his country under the yoke of an alien. But he was and always has been rare indeed. The barons in John's time had risen against that false but vigorous tyrant, but had committed the error of inviting Louis of France to be their leader and prince. The English baronage never made a similar mistake afterwards. No alliance of discontented men with a foreign power, even if it were that of the Scotch lowlands, with a nation of the same blood and lineage as the English, ever succeeded in any adventure. The Percies, who have committed more treasons against the English nationality than any other historical family, tried to use such an alliance in the fifteenth, and again in the sixteenth century, failed, and after abject repentance were pardoned. Every one knows how the English Catholics in 1588, though they had, at the mandate of the Pope, submitted to social proscription, rose against the invasion which Spain proposed, and vied in loyalty with their Protestant fellow-countrymen. Charles the First would have speedily been subdued, even in the loyal districts, if he had ventured on appealing to the guardians of Louis the Fourteenth for French aid. The mere suspicion of having striven to get an Irish army was so serious, that the king was obliged to disavow his instructions to Glamorgan. His intrigue with the Scotch in the autumn of 1641 suggested the formation of the Parliamentary army, and was the real cause of the demand which Parliament made for the command of the militia. So it was with his son, with his grandson, with his great-grandson. The memory of Mary's marriage, and of the Spanish expedition of 1588, influenced English politics for more than two centuries, and made Spain hateful long after she had ceased to be formidable.

The moderate party, who still adhered to the older ritual and doctrine, were not less satisfied with the change. It is honourable to the Marian prelates that with two exceptions, the bishops of Carlisle and Llandaff, they refused to acquiesce in the changes which they saw impending. The rest were as a

matter of course deprived, and it is to be regretted were imprisoned, and otherwise ill-treated. In Henry's time the refusal to take part in the sovereign's coronation would have cost them their lives. But Elizabeth was almost justified in her conduct towards the old Church by the folly of Paul the Fourth and the insolence of Pius the Fifth. The mass of the English people, whether of the old or the new religion, was on the side of the Queen, and it is not a little remarkable that the severity she showed towards Papist and Puritan never induced the former to forget his nationality or the latter to remit his loyalty.

The difficulties of Elizabeth were very great; but they were all overcome by the genuine attachment of her people, by her own excellent good sense, by the fidelity of her advisers, and by the good fortune which attended her early career. At the beginning of her reign she was able to make use of the rivalry of Philip of Spain and Henry of France, each of whom was anxious to conciliate her. Fortunately for her, Henry the Second, one of the ablest and most ambitious of French monarchs, was killed by an accident. Fortunately again, the arrogance of Mary Stuart in quartering the arms of England with those of France and Scotland increased the dislike of the English to the Scotch branch of the royal family. Fortunately again, the dangerous union of the Scottish and French thrones was broken by the early death of Francis the Second; and most fortunately, the misconduct of Mary after her return to Scotland gave Elizabeth a pretext for interfering in the affairs of that kingdom, of ensuring its dependence on the English policy, and in making the interest of James coincide with that of the Queen. But while events were fortunate for Elizabeth, her own genius enabled her to use these events fully. There have been three great English monarchs, Henry the Second, Edward the First, and Elizabeth. But the great Queen was by far the wisest, shrewdest, and most successful of these princes, whether one interprets her action by the difficulties in which she was placed, by the wisdom with which her

whole conduct was governed, or by the success which followed on her efforts.

At the time of Elizabeth's accession the condition of England was lower than it had been for centuries. Cities once flourishing had decayed during the evil days of her father, her brother, and her sister. The exchequer was so poor that it constantly needed the exercise of a prudence which went to the verge of penurious meanness in order that the government might be carried on. The nation was too poor to assist the crown. Elizabeth too was strictly honest in her dealings. If she borrowed, she paid, and she would have left a treasure at her death but for the Irish rebellion of Tyrone and the misconduct of Essex. She tried every device which the finance of the time suggested to raise money, and if she failed in her projects she met her disappointments by increased parsimony. At the period with which these volumes conclude, she was at the risk of the two greatest dangers which she ran, the perils of fanatics and assassins who were the agents or the dupes of Mary Stuart, and the peril of encountering the ambition of Philip and the military genius of Alva.

I have ventured on this sketch of English politics, as represented by the acts and the policy of English sovereigns during the fifteenth and the greater part of the sixteenth century, because during the greater part of the time the administration was that of the sovereign, and the fortunes of the people followed the caprice or the wisdom of the monarch. For causes which I must refer to in some detail hereafter, the condition of the English people was that of an almost monotonous prosperity up to the end of the first quarter of the sixteenth century. Thenceforward the violence, the profuseness, and the despotism of Henry, and last of all his utter recklessness, wholly wrecked that prosperity, and reduced England to the rank of the third-rate power, which was of little account in the European system. A century passed before the genius of Cromwell raised it from its degradation, and though England was grievously humiliated at the Restoration by the sordid and licentious

Charles, and was goaded to a final resistance against despotism by the stupid and rash bigotry of James, the ancient spirit of which the Long Parliament was the representative and the exponent, which began its battle when the younger Cecil published the Book of Rates, and which succeeded in achieving permanent results in the history of the English constitution, despite its failures and excesses, was invoked successfully to make that settlement which endured from 1688 till 1832, when the government which the Revolution constructed, having become obsolete and obstructive, the aristocracy was constrained to submit to the nation, or at least to acquiesce in a surrender of a part of that power which it had so long enjoyed.

The legislation of the period before me, in so far as it has a distinct economical bearing, will be discussed in connection with those economical facts on which I am about to comment.

CHAPTER II.

AGRICULTURE IN THE FIFTEENTH AND SIXTEENTH CENTURIES.

THE information as to produce and prices which was supplied in the first and second volumes of my History was mainly obtained from the records of actual production, and was illustrated by Walter de Henley's work on the subject. This work, written in the thirteenth century, was undoubtedly a text-book for many generations, and was probably a common manuscript, for the second copy of the book, which the Bodleian Library possesses, is in the handwriting of the fifteenth century, and was evidently intended as a cheap manual for practical use. It is obvious that popular manuals are always worn out, and therefore survive by accident.

The information contained in the present volumes, unlike that in the first and second, is mainly obtained from purchases. In the early years farm accounts have been found in tolerable plenty, and some few among the greater monasteries kept certain home farms in their hands, for the purpose of domestic supply. But during the last quarter of the fifteenth century and onwards, this source of information completely ceases, with the exception of a little information derived from Isleworth, almost all the facts being taken from purchases by corporations, such as the monasteries and the Colleges of Oxford and Cambridge. There is therefore no evidence of a direct character as to the process of agriculture and the progress of the

art. It is true that I have found one undated document in the archives of Canterbury Cathedral which gives the rate of production at Adisham, and which is certainly to be assigned to the middle of the fifteenth century. I have put it in the notes under the year 1460. The prices are an average, or rather below an average, and the rate of production corresponds closely to that which might be expected from land of average quality. The rate of 68 acres on wheat is 12 bushels at 5*s.* the quarter, of 104 acres of barley is 16 bushels at 3*s.* 4*d.* the quarter, of 13½ acres of peas is 8 bushels at 3*s.* 4*d.* the quarter, of 59 acres of vetches is 8 bushels at 3*s.* 4*d.* the quarter, and of 30 acres of oats is 20 bushels at 1*s.* 8*d.* the quarter. Such a rate closely corresponds with the facts which are given in detail for several years during the early part of the fourteenth century in Vol. i. pp. 38-49.

There is however abundant reason to believe that the art of agriculture was absolutely stationary during the whole period comprised in these volumes. Up to the latter end of Henry the Eighth's reign, prices on an average remain unaltered. The money value of the products and of labour remains unchanged, the average prices of grain being even lower than it was in the fourteenth century, though the facts being taken from the purchases of opulent corporations, we may be certain that full market prices were recorded, and there is evidence that in many cases, particularly when the purchases were made in remote places, the cost of carriage is a noteworthy item in the price of grain. Nor should the manifest rise in the price of cattle and sheep make one hesitate. In the former accounts, these products are priced as farm stock, in which it was impossible to distinguish lean from fat stock. In the period before me now, they are almost entirely of the latter kind, and therefore would show an exaltation of price even under otherwise identical conditions.

But though the evidence of prices generally would be conclusive to those who are accustomed to interpret figures, there is for the general reader equally conclusive evidence in

the two agricultural treatises of Fitzherbert; the work on Surveying, of which an impression printed by Henry's printer, Berthollet, in 1539, and the book of Husbandry, printed by the same person in 1534, at his workshop in Fleet-street, near 'to the Condite at the signe of Lucrece,' are before me. Fitzherbert¹, if he can be identified with the justice who is well known for his treatises and compilations on Law, had practised the art of agriculture upon a considerable scale, for forty years before he gave to the public the fruits of his experience. The publisher informs us that he compiled it, and the work bears evidence of the author's familiarity with the older work of Henley. The book of Husbandry is ninety pages of small octavo or duodecimo, and is divided into numerous short chapters. It concludes significantly with the following: 'Be it known to all men, bothe spirytuall and temporall, that I make protestacion before God and man, that I intende not to wryte any thyng that is or may be contrary to the faythe of Chryste and al holy Church. But I am redye to revoke my sayenge, if any thyng have passed my mouthe for wante of lernynge, and to submitte myselfe to correction, and my boke to reformacyon. And as touchynge the poyntes of husbandry, and of other artycles contayned in the present boke, I wyll not saye that it is the beste waye and wyll serve beste in all places, but I saye it is the beste waye that ever I coude prove by experyence, the whiche have ben an householder this xl yeres and more. And have assaied many and dyvers wayes, and done my dyligence to prove by experyence which should be the beste waye.' So orthodox and prudent a person was, one may conclude, safe in the strife of tongues that was imminent and dangerous.

The prologue of Fitzherbert's book, after referring to the absolute necessity of husbandry, and to the service which the husbandman does to the highest persons in the realm, to whom it would be uncomely and not convenient for such estates to

¹ Fitzherbert was made a serjeant at law in 1511, was knighted in 1516, became one of the justices of the Common Pleas, and died in 1538. His works on husbandry and on surveying appear to have been first printed in 1523.

labour, illustrates the functions of the various members of the Commonwealth by the moralities of chess, which divides all into six degrees, the king, the queen, the bishops, the knights, the judges, and the yeomen, and highly commends the picture of civil government and order which the game represents. After a table of contents, and an exordium on the principal objects of the husbandman's labours, he refers to the plough, stating that there are different sorts of ploughs, one kind being employed in Somerset, another in Kent, a third in Bucks, and others in Leicester, Lancashire, Yorkshire, Lincoln, Norfolk, Cambridge, &c. He then describes the plough of his experience, his account of its parts not differing from that given three centuries before by Walter de Henley, and a century later by Gervase Markham, but he advises that the working parts of the instrument be well steeled.

Like the older writer, too, he debates the question whether horses or oxen are the most economical beasts for ploughing. He observes that the answer depends on the character of the soil, and on the husbandman's resources. An ox in work must have abundant pasture after his work is over, while a horse can be fed well under cover. Again, oxen are best to plough tough clay, and on hilly ground, where a horse will refuse. But horses go faster than oxen on even or light ground. Oxen, again, can do without shoeing, and can work in light harness, while a horse must be shod all round, and wears out a costlier harness in quicker time. The fodder of an ox, too, when the pasture is gone, is cheap, that of the horse dear. And he concludes, 'And if any sorance come to the horse, or waxe olde, broysed, or blynde, then he is lyttell worthe. And if any sorance come to an oxe, waxe old, broysed, or blinde, for ij s. he may be fedde, and thanne he is mannes meate and as good or better than ever he was. And the horse, whan he dyethe, is but caryon. And therefore me seemeth, all thynges consydered, the ploughe of oxen is moche more profytable, than the ploughe of horses.' Fitzherbert is of the same mind with Henley.

A husbandman ought to be ploughing at all times of the year,

of course if the weather be open and the soil workable. After the Epiphany, the plough should be set to work, and as occasion serves, be kept at work. Plough land for fallow or for oats, that the grass and the moss may rot, and plough with a deep square furrow. In all manner of ploughing see that thy eye, thy hand, and thy foot agree, and be always ready one to save the other, and turn up much mould, and to lay it flat, that it wear not on edge. If it do, the grass and moss will not rot. If winter corn, as wheat or rye, be sown, such of it as touches the moss will be drowned, because the moss keeps the wet. In some countries ploughing deep will get below the good ground, and the crop will fail. Such ground is not for husbandry, but for pasture. Sometimes, however, as in many places of Cornwall, and some in Devonshire, land of this kind is beaten with mattocks. Close furrows are the best; for the more furrows, the more corn, is a general rule for all kinds of grain. It can be proved, says the writer, by watching when the corn is coming up. Stand at the land's end, and look towards the other end. If the ground is clay, plough that first, and let the frost, the wind, the sun, and the rain, break it and ridge it. Peas should be sown on clay ground, beans on marly ground, the latter requiring a ranker soil than the former. Some husbandmen, he observes, think that big and stiff ground, as clay is, should be sown with beans, but his experience is contrary to this opinion. On such ground, beans are short in dry summers.

Beans and peas were generally sown together, the proportion of the former varying with the goodness of the ground. Some ground is so rank that it is better sown with beans only, for otherwise peas will be stifled by charlock, or as Fitzherbert calls it 'kedloke.' The time for sowing is that which is reasonable, provided it be in the month of March, the test of seasonableness being that the ground makes no noise, and that it bears the hoofs of horses. The peas are hand sown, and the author is at the pains to describe the proper attitude which the sower should take with his seed-lep, or as he calls it, his

hopper. And thereon he moralises on the most useful seed of all, the seed of Discretion, which is the more abundant the more widely it is scattered. The statute acre, i.e. four perches, each of sixteen feet and a half in breadth, and forty perches in length, will be properly sown with two (London) bushels of peas, the London bushel being the strike of other places. If there be a quarter of the seed beans, the quantity is two bushels and a half, of half beans, three bushels, if all beans, four bushels, or half a quarter, the reason being that beans do not spread. An acre of good beans, however, is worth an acre and a half of good peas. A good husbandman sows his corn thick enough, for weeds will grow if seed is stinted. One bushel and a half of green or white peas is as serviceable for seed as two bushels of grey peas, as the former seed is much smaller. Sometimes peas are sown before Christmas, one kind, which he calls 'hasty peas,' generally after Candlemas, and before March begins, or soon afterwards.

The sowing of barley should follow that of peas and beans. The land should be carefully prepared, well manured, and as far as possible, dry, for wet land is injurious to the crop. Barley should be sown before April. There are, we are told, three kinds of barley, sprot barley, long ear, and bere barley or bigg. The first is a flat ear, three-quarters of an inch broad, and three inches long, the corns being large and white. Long ear is flat, half an inch broad, and four inches or more long, but the corn is smaller, and if we can trust our author, it is apt to turn to oats. Bere is four-sided, three inches long in the ear, with small corns, and little flour. This is the worst kind. The seed of the first two kinds is four or five bushels to the acre, of the last, four only. Oats should be sown on light and dry ground, though the crop will do better on wet ground than any other. Three bushels are sown to the acre. There are three kinds of oats, red, black, and rough. The first is the best for all uses, especially for meal. The last is the worst, and hardly pays the cost. The grains are light, and 'have long tails.' Oats are an exhausting crop, and make the ground bear 'quitch.'

Wheat and rye are sown about Michaelmas, generally under the furrow, i.e. it is cast on the fallow and then ploughed under. It is not good to sow it on peas-stubble and then plough it in, but it should be sown on land which is fallowed every fourth year. In Essex, he says, it is the custom to send a child on the furrow before the horses and oxen, with a bag or hopper full of corn, who casts the seed little by little into the furrow, and he adds, naturally, 'Me semeth, that chylde oughte to have moche dyscretion.' The seed of wheat and rye is two bushels to the acre. Wheat and rye may be blended, this being the surest crop, and best for the husbandman's household. But this mixed corn must contain wheat that ripens early. For there are several kinds of wheat. Flaxen wheat is yellow and without awns. Pollard wheat has no awns and is thick set in the ear. White wheat has awns, and the ear is four-sided. Red wheat is flat, broad and awned. English wheat has a dun ear, with few awns, and is nearly the worst. Peck wheat is the worst. It has a red ear, many awns, is thin set, and flinted, which is explained to mean, it contains small wrinkled and dry corns. It will not make white bread, as most of the others do, but will grow on cold ground.

I have extracted these details from Fitzherbert's work, because they will be found, when compared with what was stated in the first volume, to prove what has been already stated, that no material improvement or alteration was made in the art of husbandry during the fifteenth and part of the sixteenth century. We shall see below that though the evidence which I have been able to collect as to implements and materials used in husbandry is not so copious for the period before me as it was for the earlier epoch, that these materials and implements are not sensibly cheapened up to the time at least in which the work which I have consulted, and have made use of for the above extracts, was published. But there is a still more notable fact. The English husbandman as yet knows nothing of winter roots or artificial grasses, for Fitzherbert would hardly have been silent on so important an element in the economy of the

farm, had it been known to him. The common pasture too was undoubtedly bare and poor, for he speaks, as I have quoted him, of the impossibility of keeping working oxen for the plough, unless the farmer possesses meadow in severalty. And it should be further observed, that Fitzherbert has a very extensive acquaintance with England, for he mentions the customs and practice of a very large number of the English counties.

After ploughing and sowing comes harrowing. I had occasion to state in my first volume, p. 16, that I found no trace of harrowing, except by bushes. Some of my foreign critics, especially Nasse, have objected to this negative statement of mine. But as I said before, the fact that harrows are not included in the very numerous catalogues of dead stock which are given at or indeed after the beginning of the fifteenth century, till such time as such inventories do not appear, seems to me to be conclusive. But on the other hand Fitzherbert describes the process of harrowing, its uses, and the implement which was generally employed. The harrow is drawn by oxen or horses, and is very severe labour to the former, for, says our author, 'the ox goeth by twitches, and not always after one draught.' The ox harrow consists of five pieces of timber made of ash or oak, about two yards in length, fastened together by cross pieces, each piece carrying six sharp iron points, which slope a little forward. The horse harrow is smaller. In the neighbourhood of Ripon, the points of the harrow—called tindes by our author—are made of oak, for the ground is full of boulders, and wears out iron too soon. When the clods are too large or too stiff, they must be beaten in the older manner by mauls, i. e. by hoes or mattocks. The first entry of a harrow which I have noted is in the year 1500. The manuring of land is entirely by animal droppings, of which the most valuable was pigeon's dung. This is occasionally sold from the dovecots, and must be used very sparingly.

The pest of the husbandman is weeds. Fitzherbert reckons the following:—thistles, kedlocks, i. e. charlock; docks, cockle-drake, i. e. corn cockle; darnel, goldes, i. e. the corn marigold;

hawdod, apparently chicory; dogfennel or mather, and ter, which I do not identify. The author counsels the grinding of the seeds from several of these plants, for he says they contain much flour. The difficulty with the husbandman was to weed corn which is sown broadcast. The hook therefore with which the weeds are cut up should not be more than an inch wide, and the labourer must be careful not to tread on the corn.

The plough is the most necessary instrument of agriculture, with the requisite harness, whether the husbandman uses oxen or horses. But besides, he must have wains or waggon, a copyoke, which appears to be either the pole of the waggon or the projecting part of the waggon which hangs over the strill horse, a pair of sleeves, a wain-rope, and a pitchfork. The wheels of the wain are either wooden or iron-bound, the latter dearer at first, but cheaper in the end, since a pair of iron-bound wheels will last out seven or eight wooden ones, besides being rounder and lighter to draw. We must however except soft or marshy ground. The husbandman will also need a cart on two wheels with necessary harness. In certain districts the carts and waggons carry ladders before and behind. The remaining implements are axe, hatchet, hedgingbill, a pin-auger, a rest-auger, a flail, a spade, and a shovel. These, says Fitzherbert, are the names they go by in my country, though I know that they have other names elsewhere. To buy all these, or whatever else may be needed, is costly, and a thrifty man will make them himself. The time for this is in the winter, when the farmer sits by the fire. He should get the wood between Michaelmas and Martinmas, and should dry and straighten it. He should tooth the rakes with dry willow, having bored holes with his wimble, and wedge the teeth with dry oak. On no account get the wood when the sap is in it, for then it will never dry.

The hay harvest, and the good quality of the hay, was of great importance to the medieval farmer. Good tedding, says Fitzherbert, is the chief point to make good hay. Hay should be constantly turned after the dew is gone. When sufficiently

withered, it should be set up in windrows, i. e. in heaps ; then into small hay-cocks, in order that it may sweat. 'For if it sweat not in the hay-cocks, it will sweat in the mow, and then it will be dusty, and not wholesome for horses, beasts, and sheep.' 'Quyche hay' is that which is made from the crowfoot, and we are told that it makes the best of hay for horses and cattle. It must however be carefully dried, and it takes a long time in drying.

Rye is reaped at the end of July or the beginning of August, and should be cut with a sickle. To mow rye as some do is easier, but it is wasteful, difficult to bind, difficult to dry, and takes too much space in the barn. Wheat too should always be reaped, and if the corn be reaped high, in order to keep the stubble for thatch or fuel, the reaper is very apt to waste the grain, especially if it bend or be laid. Barley and oats were generally mown, except they be laid. The mower is followed by a woman, holding a handrake half a yard long, with seven or eight teeth, who takes together as much as will make a sheaf. Then the mower twists a straw band, lays it under the loose sheaf, and if it be dry within three or four days it is bound or carted. After the barley or oats are carried, the land must be raked, or much will be lost. Peas and beans are reaped, mown, or hacked. Here, again, care must be taken not to cut beans too high. It is better to bind them, for in this manner it is easier to build a rick, and carry them to the barn. Fitzherbert next proceeds to direct the husbandman how to stack the sheaves for drying. Four are to be set up on end on each side, and two are to be placed on the top, with the ears downwards so as to cover the tops of the other sheaves. When they are dry, if there be not enough room in the barn, they should be laid on a scaffold, and a rick should be built. The scaffold should be high enough to keep the corn out of the reach of cattle and swine, and in this case it will afford the live stock shelter.

Stock raising is as necessary to a farmer as corn cropping. Without both, says Fitzherbert, he will be a buyer, a borrower,

or a beggar. And of all stock, the rearing of sheep is most profitable. The shepherd must always have about him his dog, who must be trained to bark, to run, or to halt at his master's will; his sheep-hook, a pair of shears, and a tar box. The latter implement is designed for that most vexatious of sheep diseases, the scab, a complaint which, as I mentioned before, seems to have appeared in England at or about the conclusion of the thirteenth century; and to have been treated at first with copperas, verdigris, and quicksilver, but subsequently and continuously with tar.

After the landowners abandoned ordinary agricultural operations, they still kept sheep. Sometimes sheep are kept on a very large scale, as at Coleshull near Fairford, an estate which has supplied me with much information as to some of the incidents of sheep-breeding. It is seldom, however, that the shepherd or even the bailiff is intrusted with the duty of selling the wool. He generally sends it direct to the landowner, and in consequence all record of the price of wool is lost. Hence the information which I have been able to give my readers as to the price of wool is very scanty in the later years of the inquiry, though it is well known that in the sixteenth century sheep-rearing was carried on to so great an extent as apparently to supersede corn-growing, and to attract the attention of Parliament. Breeds of sheep too are either very varied, or the quality of the wool, as I shall be able to show further on, differed exceedingly in different localities.

Fitzherbert describes the method by which sheep should be drawn, i. e. those who need the shepherd's care must be separated from those which do not. He recommends three folds; one that will take the whole flock, a second which will hold ninety or more, a third which will hold forty. He should then take his flock by forties, catch them by his hook, examine them, and turn all which may want his care into the third fold, where he shall 'peruse them all,' and treat those medically who need it, and thus not detain the healthy animals from their pasture. If the sheep ray, i. e. be scoured, the shepherd must

remedy the disease by clipping the wool, and by covering the parts with tar to keep the flies away.

Tar, as I have said, was the universal remedy for scab. It was mixed with oil or goose-grease, or capon's grease, in order to dilute it, and make it run. Butter and lard were not so good, but they can be employed, provided they be not salted. Another receipt for the scab is given, which Fitzherbert says will suit a poor man's pocket, and declares is quite as serviceable, the basis of which is broom-tops. But he is also convinced that the most important remedy against scab is good pasture; 'for that is the beste grease that is to a shepe, to grease him in the mouthe with good meate,' a safeguard also from rot, except when mildew is about, for a sheep will always choose the best food, if there be plenty to be got.

Fitzherbert proceeds to deal with the diseases of sheep, particularly with complaints which seem like the staggers, lameness, which he asserts is due to a worm in the foot, and particularly with the rot. The signs of this disease, and the means by which it may be detected, are nearly the same as those which Walter de Henley, three centuries before, detailed. The origin of the disease is wet pasture, and the mischief is indicated, if it be not caused, by the presence of two plants, speargrass and pennywort. Land-floods lying on grass and marsh-ground are similarly productive of the disease. But the chief cause, according to our author, is mildew, the sign of whose presence he says is the honeydew on oak leaves. He counsels that sheep should not be let out in the morning till such time as the sun has dried the 'kelles' upon the grass, a word which I am unable to interpret. White snails are also reputed mischievous. But the worst cause of rot is hunger rot, when there is lack of food, and the sheep is constrained to eat what he would otherwise leave. The other and ordinary kind of rot leaves the sheep valuable, if it be recognised in time. Fitzherbert sees that the disease is always ultimately fatal.

If the husbandman wishes to sell his wool well, the sheep must be carefully washed. Too many sheep must not be put

into the pen at once, at either washing or shearing, for fear of 'murthering or over pressing their fellows.' Shepherds should take care to hold the sheep's head 'high enough for drowning,' i. e. to prevent drowning. In shearing, too, the shepherd must be very careful not to nick the skin with the edge or prick it with the point of his shears. If he does, he must at once have recourse to his tar-box. The sheep must be well marked: ear-marked, pitch-marked, and raddle-marked. The wool must be well folded or wound on a wool-winder, for the condition of the wool is a great element in profitable sale.

There is some curious information as to the breeding of sheep. The time at which the ewes can be put to the rams depends on the quality of the land which the husbandman possesses. If he have sheep pasture for winter, and ground which supplies an early growth, he need not use any rule but his own discretion. If he have only common pasture, the time is 'the Exaltation of the Cross (i. e. Sept. 14). If, however, he have only the common fields, he should wait till Michaelmas. If, lastly, he be a poor husbandman in the Peak, or live in high or hilly ground, without pastures and common fields, and nothing but the heath, he should wait till SS. Simon and Jude's day (Oct. 28). The reason is, a ewe goes twenty weeks with lamb, and yeans in the twenty-first. Now if at the end of her time she have no new grass, and the ewes have no milk, the lamb is lost, and often the ewe as well. Fitzherbert then proceeds to tell his reader how he should make a ewe love her lamb, and in case she lose it, how it is possible to make her take to another, whose dam is weak. Some people, he concludes, leave the lamb with the ewe till she is dry. This is very well when the husbandman has abundance of pasture. If he has not, the lamb should be weaned at the end of the sixteenth or eighteenth week. In the Peak, and in hilly countries, they wean the lamb at the end of the twelfth week, and milk the ewes for five or six weeks. But this practice does harm to both ewe and lamb. Here, again, it is clear that the husbandman had to rely on grass or hay only for winter feed.

Fitzherbert writes for purchasers of cattle as well as for breeders. Plough-oxen, he says, should be young and not gouty, and with hair and extremities sound. Kine and oxen for feeding should be young, should have a smooth coat, have a habit of licking themselves, have a whole mouth, and want no teeth. Oxen unfit for plough will often do well for feeding. Further, cattle should have a broad ridge, a thick hide, and be loose-skinned, for if his skin stick hard to his ribs the ox will not feed. Handle fat oxen and kine and see that they be soft on the fore-crop, behind the shoulder, on the hindmost rib, upon the huck-bone, and at the 'nache' by the tail. There are other signs to prove that fat cattle are well-tallowed. Take heed, however, the author adds, where thou buyest lean cattle or fat, of whom, and where it was fed. For if thou buy out of a better ground than thou hast thyself, that cattle will not live with thee. But also look that there be no manner of sickness among the cattle in that township or pasture that thou buyest thy cattle out of. For if there be any murrain or 'long sought' it is great jeopardy, for a beast may take sickness ten or twelve days or more ere it appear on him.

The husbandmen of the fifteenth century, and indeed for some time afterwards, called all cattle-diseases by the general name of murrain. But it is clear that Fitzherbert understood by this term a special disease. The symptoms are a swelling of the head, enlargement and running at the eyes, and frothiness at the mouth. These symptoms are fatal. The beast will eat no more, and will die shortly. 'Skin him at once, and bury the carcase in a deep pit, that no dog may get at it, or the smell any way reach the rest of the herd. Do not carry the skin home for the same reason, but have it at once to the tanner's.' 'It is a practice, and a very charitable one,' he continues, 'to put the head of the dead beast on a long pole, and set it in the hedge by the highway as a warning that there is disease among the cattle of the township.' He suggests bleeding the sound cattle in both jugulars, as a preventive, and states that in his opinion the expedient is valuable.

Another dangerous disease is 'long sought,' which appears to be pulmonary consumption. It is detected by loss of appetite, and constant coughing, or, as the author calls it, hoisting. Tympanitis arises from over greedy feeding in rank grass. 'Risen upon' is a blister under the tongue, accompanied by very serious symptoms, and is, unless cured by the knife, fatal. Another disease is called the Turn, which appears, from the surgery practised upon it, to be an hydatid between the skull and the membranes of the brain. The remedy is to cast and hobble the animal, to cut away the skin from the bone, to trephine the skull, and, taking care not to injure the brain, to extract 'a bladder full of water, two inches or more long.' He states that he has seen many cured in this way. But he adds that the same disease occurs in sheep, and is incurable. The other diseases of horned cattle are maggots (for which he prescribes the actual cautery, foot disease), and gout. The last is incurable, but the beast may be fatted in good grass.

The best time for calves is between Candlemas (Feb. 2) and May. By such an arrangement a calf may be had every year. If, however, it be dropped after May, the calf will be weak, and the cow often become barren. Michaelmas calves are very costly to rear, as both calf and cow must be kept on hay in the winter. If a man have no pasture, it is better to sell than to rear. Bull calves should be castrated when they are between ten and twenty days old. By so doing you get far larger oxen than if you delay. After a year there is great risk, and the animal never gets the size, shape, or horns of the ox.

In the breeding of horses Fitzherbert has great experience. He tells us that he had sixty mares or more, and bred nearly as many colts yearly. He, therefore, has his opinion as to the effect of the moon's changes on the sex of the foal, and cherishes other speculative notions. The dropping of colts was an object with the breeder, for in Fitzherbert's language, a man may rather get one good horse than many good mares. Do not, he says, breed from a stallion who is white-skinned about the mouth.

It does not appear that in the time of our author it was, to judge from his silence, the practice to castrate horses. It became common fifty years or less later. He tells us, moreover, that it is less loss for a man that his calf should die than that his lamb should. But the loss of the foal is the greatest of all.

The husbandman should never, except in the case of very hilly pasture, which may be left for sheep, have any kind of animal alone on the ground. The reason is that not one of them by itself will eat the pasture evenly. Horses and cattle should therefore be always put together. Sheep are the closest and most even feeders. You may put in good pasture and on flat ground a hundred cattle, twenty horses, and a hundred sheep together. If the pasture be upland, put more sheep. Milch cows should not be put into rich pasture, or they are apt to become barren, and if they get fat, run much more risk when they drop their calves. But beasts, horses, and sheep, must not be foddered together in winter, for cattle are apt in such a case to gore both horses and sheep. Animals fed with winter fodder should, in order to prevent waste, be supplied in standing crutches.

A horse-breeder in Fitzherbert's time had, it seems, studied the points of the animal carefully, for this author tells us that the animal should have fifty-four properties, two of a man, two of a bauson or badger, four of a lion, nine of an ox, nine of a hare, nine of a fox, nine of an ass, and ten of a woman. On the last of these properties, Fitzherbert, though ordinarily grave and pious, indulges in a little coarse pleasantry. There are, perhaps, as many faults, he adds, but if he told them he should break his promise that he made at Grumbald Bridge the first time he went to Ripon to buy colts. He concludes his account of horses with an enumeration of the diseases to which they are liable. The names and the nature of these 'soraunce' are familiar to the modern farrier, though he speaks of glanders as a curable disease.

The horse-dealer of Fitzherbert's day was as dangerous a

person as common-places make him in ours. A horse-master, he tells us, is one who buys wild horses or colts, and herds them, and sells them, or breaks them. A 'corser' is one who buys and sells broken horses. A horse-leech is one who undertakes to cure all the diseases to which horses are liable. 'And when,' he says, 'these three be met, if you had an apothecary to make the fourth, ye might have such four, that it were hard to trust the best of them.'

The next topic is swine. He who has sheep, swine, and bees, as the old saying goes, sleep he, wake he, he may thrive. He advises to keep no hogs, but only swine and boars. A boar, he says, costs as little to keep as a hog, makes more meat, and is always ready in winter to be killed and laid in souse. And a sow will breed more pigs than she is worth at little cost, and make quite as good bacon as a hog, costing little, except when she is rearing her farrow. Pigs which are dropped in Lent are the best to keep, for if they come late they are costly to keep in winter.

Bees are to be kept by the prudent husbandman, directions being given for hiving and protecting them. Hedges should be planted of quickset, even if the husbandman be but a farmer on a twenty years' lease. It will pay him in the end, especially in winter time, when cattle are foddered. And an instructive calculation is here made. If a husbandman is without enclosures, properly fenced and ditched, he must pay the herdman at least twopence a quarter for each beast, and the swineherd at least a penny for each swine. But he must also have a shepherd of his own. 'Now,' says he, 'reckon meat, drink, and wages for his shepherd, the herdsman's hire, and the swineherd's hire, these charges will double his rent or near it, except his farm be above forty shillings a year. He may thus have every field in severalty, and by the assent of the lord and the tenants, every neighbour may exchange his lands with others. And thus the farm will be twice as good, as much land will be kept in tillage, and the rich man will not over-eat the poor man with his cattle. A fourth of the hay and straw will

serve his cattle better in a pasture, than four times as much will do in a house. Quicksets then should be got in the wood, of whitethorn and crab, which are the best, though holly and hazel are good. Blackthorn is bad, it spreads into the pastures, and tears the sheep's wool. They should be set between the fall of the leaf and Lady-day. Ditching and hedging—of which descriptions are given—are thus part of the husbandman's work. The hedges must be plashed, the roads must be mended,—the writer gives a very unfavourable account of the London roads,—trees are to be set, orchards to be formed, trees to be felled or cropped, fruit-trees to be grafted, and all sorts of fruit-trees to be planted.

Fitzherbert concludes his work with divers kinds of advice; to a young gentleman who intends to thrive, to gentlemen's servants, for whose benefit he gives a list of what they always should have about them, and should constantly repeat, in order to aid their memory and satisfy their duties; to wives, to husbands, and in fine, lays down many moral and religious maxims for conduct, inculcating thrift, order, forethought, and moral duty. Of these maxims, his favourite is one which he says he learnt at school: *Sanat, sanctificat, et ditat surgere mane*. And to illustrate the wisdom of thrift and honour, he says, 'If I had a thousand sheep to sell, and divers men came to me, and bought every man fifty, all at one price, to pay me at divers days; I am agreed, and grant them their days. Some of the men are fair, and keep their promise, and pay me at their days, and some of them do not pay me. Wherefore I sue them at the law, and by course of the common law I recover my duty of them, and have their bodies in prison for execution till they have made me payment. Now these men that have broken me promise and paid not their duty, buy their sheep dearer than the good men bought theirs. For they have imprisonment of their bodies, and yet they must pay their duties nevertheless, or else lie and die there in prison.'

I have quoted largely from this work, because it supplies me

affirmatively and negatively with a full account of such husbandry as was practised in England up the middle of Henry the Eighth's reign, and because it does not in any way appear from Fitzherbert that any material change was effected in the economy of English agriculture from the thirteenth till the middle of the sixteenth century. The work was frequently reprinted, and was in fact the handy-book of agriculture for nearly a century, when it was superseded to some extent by the more elaborate treatise of Gervase Markham. Nor do Tusser's¹ *Five Hundred Points* (born 1515; died 1580) indicate any change, except in so far as the kitchen garden and orchard are concerned, though even here there is not much reason to believe that any great progress was made. Nor was it likely that such a change would be effected at this crisis. England had become poor. The extravagance of Henry, the rapacity of Edward's counsellors, and the gloomy temper of Mary, had wasted the resources of the country. One can see in the accounts of the time how pinched and starved England was. Abroad matters were even worse. France, under the last princes of the house of Valois, was in such a state of anarchy as almost justified the wars of religion. The Low Countries, once the most prosperous region of medieval Europe, which had finally become the prey of the Spanish dynasty, through the unlucky marriage of Mary of Burgundy and Maximilian, were in part ruined past recovery during the administrations of Parma and Alva, while the residue were struggling against overwhelming odds, in what seemed a desperate effort for independence,—an independence which, once secured, made Holland, small as it was, a foremost state in Europe, and, which is most significant to my enquiries, the teacher of a new system of agriculture to England.

There was however one branch of agriculture which was adopted after the time of Fitzherbert, and before the close of the period contained in these volumes. The cultivation of

¹ It is to be regretted that the excellent and pious Tusser recommends that measles should be killed, salted, and shipped to the Flemings.

the hop was introduced from the Low Countries, the produce of which had been early imported into eastern England, and had gradually got into favour elsewhere, though not without resistance. It is said that they were brought here at about the middle of Henry's reign: my reader will find entries in the eastern counties, as might be expected, far earlier. But the cultivation of hops was known in 1552, for in this year the cultivation was permitted, under the prohibitory statute 5 & 6 Ed. VI. cap. 5, which attempted to arrest the growing practice of making enclosures for pasture.

The cultivation of the hop, as practised in England during the sixteenth century, is described by Reynold Scot in a work published in 1576, under the title of the Platform of the Hop Garden. The book is illustrated by plates and plans. Hops at this time were planted on mounds, seven to nine hundred of which were cast up on each acre, and were raised at intervals of three yards. The writer reckons the produce of each set at about three lbs., and states that the average price of a cwt. was 26s. 8d. You can buy, he says, spare roots from other hop-growers at about sixpence a hundred, or even get them for nothing. Four poles, which should be driven into the mound for a foot and a half, are needed for each setting, alder-poles being the best and cheapest for the purpose. These poles should be fifteen to sixteen feet in length, not longer, as the hop will not flower till it reaches the top of the pole and runs over it. These poles are of very various prices, but a wain's load of them contains about 150. The hops must be gathered at Lammas (Aug. 1), as rapidly as possible, and in good weather, and carefully dried in an oast, plans of which are given. Some persons, says the writer, use hops green; but they are not nearly so serviceable in this state. It appears that at the date of Scot's work the cultivation of the plant had become familiar, and the preparation fairly complete.

Fitzherbert's work, as my reader may infer from his notice of a farmer at twenty years' lease, and on a tenancy of forty shillings per annum, i.e. at about 60 to 80 acres, was intended

for landowners. These were beyond doubt a very numerous class. The civil war had scattered many of the great estates, and the thrifty and industrious yeomen of the fifteenth century had become the proprietors of considerable estates, though, as I conclude, generally liable to such dues as the lords of manors exacted; for though the statute *Quia Emptores* prohibited subinfeudation *de novo*, the lord was still able to grant tenures on the old terms under which grants were made before the statute passed. I shall be able to shew from another work of Fitzherbert, the treatise on Surveying, that such tenancies were common. They are alluded to in the Book of Husbandry, where the author speaks of the assent of the lord, and the homage to an exchange between the freeholders.

But Fitzherbert says nothing about the rearing of poultry. The fact is, poultry farming was universal. Fowls and geese were plentiful and cheap, as I shall have occasion to shew when I comment on the price of stock. Nor do we read in the book from which I have quoted so largely, anything about the economy of the dairy. There was no need; for I believe, and with reason, from the low price of the articles, that most well-to-do farm hands possessed cow and pig as well as poultry. The distribution of land and the numerous common pastures led to this result. Tusser's husbandman, who probably belonged to nearly the same rank in life as Fitzherbert's pupils, is always plentifully provided with fowl and pork. Poultry rents, too, are common in the case of cottagers, though in many cases these dues, once almost universal, had been commuted for small money payments.

Quite apart from the great rise in prices which occurred during the last forty years of the present epoch, it might be expected that the prices of certain articles would be higher, considering the different nature of the accounts which have supplied most of the evidence in the earlier as compared with that in the later volumes. Many of the farm sales were of lean stock, and it is to be expected that customary payments in kind would not contain produce of the best quality. But

the records of expenditure, especially in the case of opulent or at least well-to-do corporations, would generally be expenditure on the best kinds of food. It must be remembered, that even the gentlefolks of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries had few wants, and very few opportunities for gratifying these wants. The furniture of their houses was scanty and mean, and respectable expense was mainly incurred on churches, though even here the efficiency of labour was so remarkable, that great structures were built at prices which are exceedingly difficult of interpretation. The chief and the most permanent pleasures of the fifteenth-century esquire or yeoman were those of the table, and consisted, even then, more in abundance and variety than in any refinement of cookery. Not rarely the records of monasteries and colleges supply us with information as to the bill of fare at the abbot's, or prior's, or master's high table, where the principal officers of the monasteries or the fellows of the college dined. The increasing wealth was generally expended in '*gulosa fercula*,' and the insatiable greediness of the older monastic orders anticipated such enjoyments as Gascoigne¹ indignantly asserts. Hence the corporations were willing to give a good price for the best. When capon's grease is held to be the best thing for mixing with tar, in order to make sheep-dressing, there is good reason to believe that a great many capons were consumed, and that these sales of the kitchen, which go under the names of *flotas*, *cepum*, and *pinguedo*, represented the waste of an unctuous diet. Henry the Sixth's and Waynflete's beneficiaries were well-to-do, and were in plenty when the royal saint was hard pressed for money; and the bishop of Winchester, who succeeded the magnificent Beaufort, was not so liberal to his royal patron as the kind uncle had been, who aided Henry's expenses prodigally, and having had the ill-luck to be obliged to

¹ See Gascoigne, p. III. I do not know how far it is a mere tradition, or whether the fact was known, but the oldest printed book on English history, the *Chronicle of England* (1482, Wynkyn de Worde), states that, while the knight's fees in England were 75,000, the men of religion, i. e. the monasteries, had 27,015 of them.

quarrel with his foolish nephew, who was called very undeservedly the good duke Humphrey, as many other people have been rashly called good, has gained, and probably will keep, an equally undeserved reprobation.

The prudent husbandman of the fifteenth century devoted himself to every branch of his art, in so far as the art was known. He was thrifty, for apart from the incentives which he had, and the prospect before him when peace was finally settled, and indeed during the progress of the civil war, the risk of securing an adequate livelihood or going to ruin made him prudent. In the history of civilisation every one must notice how necessary it has been to enforce civil contracts with rigour in the early days of a nation's progress. There is no reason to conclude that this was the outcome of an aristocratic age, for the landowners were great borrowers, though they contrived, at a very early date, to induce the doctrine of equity over mortgages, and to secure their own ends by a priority of distress. But the remedy by distress was not so severe in its operation as the result of an action for debt, if the action were successful, and the debtor were unable to pay. He was imprisoned till he could satisfy his creditor, or as Fitzherbert tells us, till he paid or died. When society becomes safe enough to allow itself to be humane, the rigour of the law of contract is relaxed, and the lot of the debtor becomes easier. It becomes too easy, when the machinery by which a trade fraud was exceptionally and severely punished becomes an arrangement by which a fraudulent debtor may escape with impunity. If any one is at the pains to compare the old law of mercantile debt and bankruptcy from its beginnings under Edward the First, and its extension under Henry the Eighth, with its present developments, he will see how the misdeeds of the trader were liable to far sharper surgery than those of the farmer, however severe and unfair the law of distress may seem.

The prudence and thrift of the husbandman who possessed no land, and who could not therefore protect himself by a mortgage, and the concurrent equity of redemption, were further

stimulated by the denunciation of usury. By one of those paralogisms which have misled men far more widely from the mark than ordinary sophisms, a medieval law made contracts for loans on usury void. By pedantic, perhaps interested reasoning, the same law allowed the equitable interpretation of contracts, by which alone the mischief, which is undoubtedly attached to usury, can be checked, to be limited to contracts for the pledging of land at interest only. The needy landowner was therefore protected by equity, the ordinary debtor was debarred from usury, and left to the extreme severity of the old law of contracts, which condemned the man who could not pay to the extreme penalties that to our own day were put on insolvency. And on the other hand, the trading debtor, after having been treated with signal severity, has been gradually allowed to escape his just liabilities, under a system which has inflicted more injury on commercial honour than the utmost harshness of the old law could have imposed on commercial enterprise.

The opulence of the fifteenth century encouraged litigation, and the growth of the spirit of litigation was a concern to the legislature and to the moralist. At the beginning of Henry the Fourth's reign, complaint is made in Parliament of the number of attorneys, and the king, in assenting to the petition of the Commons, directs that the judges shall make and keep a register of such persons as shall be qualified and allowed to serve as attorneys. In some places the number of licensed attorneys is limited to a small fraction of those who had practised. So dissatisfied was the parliament in the beginning of the fifteenth century with the increase of the legal profession, that in the sixth year of Henry the Fourth, the whole profession — *qui in jure Regni vel docti fuissent vel apprenticii*—were declared ineligible for the representation of the counties. There was little chance of their being chosen by the boroughs.

Gascoigne traces the growth of the litigious spirit and the multiplication of lawyers to the impropriation of tithes to monasteries, to the decay of the parochial system, and to the

low moral tone which ensued. His language is so characteristic and significant that I will quote it. 'When there were many and competent rectors of churches, and in residence, strifes and dissensions which arose in the parish or among the parishioners were brought to an end, and silenced by the sound handling and counsel of such rectors, and there were consequently few pleadings and actions set up by lawyers and jurists, because there were few complaints, for the labour and diligence of parsons and rectors quelled and settled them as soon as they began. But now, lawsuits, complaints, quarrels, and pleadings are multiplied and prolonged; and consequently the benefits which might have been effected by good deeds are turned over to lawyers, advocates, and pleaders, and by the multiplication of these strifes and actions, due to the lack of good rectors, residing on their cures, lawyers, jurists, and advocates, and pleaders for knaves are far more numerous than of yore, who defend bad men for ill affection, or for ill fears. And yet many causes, after a public pleading and great expense, are finally settled by great men's handling¹. Whatever may have been the cause, it is clear from the evidence of the Paston letters that lawsuits were common, a fact which is illustrated and confirmed by the year books of Edward the Fourth, and the use which the Tudors made of legal subtleties for the purpose of a despotic administration.

The English landowner did all the repairs which were needed for the occupancy of the tenant, as well as all the permanent buildings and necessary outlay on cultivated land. For instance, New College, in Oxford, had from early times considerable house property in the town. The tenements in its possession were always repaired at the expense of the college, as I have shewn in a rental printed in the third volume. The rule, which is characteristic in English farm tenancies, was as exact in the lease of lands. In one year (1500-1), Magdalene College, Oxford, allowed the price of 607 sheep to the tenants of its

¹ Gascoigne, *Loci e Lib. Verit.*, p. 109.

several estates, on account of losses above a fixed number by the prevalence of murrain¹. I infer from such facts, as I do from the persistently low rents of the sixteenth century, that it was easier for a tenant to find a landlord, than for a landlord to find a tenant. At the same time, it is also clear that the margin from which rent could have been paid was very narrow. In 1530 a farmer's stock at Deddington is valued as follows:—

22 qrs. 5 bshls. wheat @	5/4	2 jumenta	@	4/-
25 "barley @	2/-	2 hens and 1 cock		/6
23 "oats @	1/8	2 geese and 9 ducks ...		/6
11 " 4 bshls. peas @	2/-			
4 horses..... @	10/6	Total		£18/6/8½
4 cows	@ 8/-			

His holding is fifty-two acres arable, and his rent is £8 6s. 8d. and one quarter of oats. This, exclusive of the corn payment, is 2s. 6d. an acre, if we can conclude that the arable land is all of which his holding consisted. It gives the produce of his land, if this is also a complete reckoning of his harvest, at rather more than twelve and a-half bushels an acre. But the rent, which is exceedingly high, suggests that the land must have been exceptionally good, and must have been accompanied by some considerable amount of several meadow.

The substitution of sheep-farming for agriculture is a frequent subject of complaint in the later years of the sixteenth century, and of not a little legislation. The practice appears to have arisen from two causes—the deficiency of capital, owing to the general impoverishment of the country, and to the high prices of wool. Unfortunately, I have very little evidence of the prices of wool during the last fifty years of my enquiry. But my readers will find five entries from the same place (Oxford) between the years 1547–1575. In these years the prices by the tod of 28 lbs. are as follows: 9s. 4d., 9s., 15s. 8d., 16s., and 20s. In the same years the price of the quarter of wheat was 4s. 11d., 9s. 3½d., 11s. 10½d., 9s. 10d., and 15s. 11d., the last of these years only reaching nearly to that threefold increase of prices which,

¹ See, in the 'notes' under 1447–8, the allowances of New College to their tenant at Alton Barnes. These notes might have been multiplied.

in the vast majority of cases, we shall find to follow on the debasement of the currency by Henry and Edward, and its permanent depreciation by Elizabeth. But it will be obvious, that with the temptation of such a great exaltation of prices and with such manifest evidence of demand, sheep-farming must have become and remained the most lucrative branch of agriculture¹. Similarly, though there is great paucity of information, the value of hides will be seen to have risen proportionately, and to imply a very urgent demand.

But although I have so little evidence of the value of the raw material, my reader will find copious and fairly continuous information about the value of the manufactured article in the price of woollen stuffs. On the whole then, while the average price of the tod of wool in the 140 years of the first two volumes was 4s. 3½d., it was enhanced to more than double the price in 1547, and to nearly five times the price in 1575. We need not therefore be surprised at finding that the temptation to sheep-farming was almost irresistible, and that statute after statute failed to arrest the tendency.

The improvement of land, and the restoration of exhausted land, were by draining, the process of which was rude; consisting chiefly in drawing a deep furrow and carrying away the earth from the furrow, ditching round damp meadows, marling and limeing arable, spreading stable dung over it, and setting sheep on it. The agriculturist too had begun to see the advantage of deep ploughing, by which, says Fitzherbert, 'he will find new mould that was not seen in a hundred years before, which must needs give more corn than the other did before.' Molehills should be scattered when they are freshly thrown up, and then they do no harm.

Water-meadows, i. e. fields over which running water can be diverted, were very valuable. The practice was to lay them under flood after the grass was mown till the beginning of May, care being taken that the waters did not become stagnant

¹ Complaints of the extension of pastures and decay of husbandry are made as early as 6 Hen. VIII. cap. 5; repeated verbatim 8 Hen. VIII. cap. 1.

at any place. The condition of the cottages and their surroundings is illustrated by the following: 'Specially that water that cometh out of a town from every man's midding or dung-hill is best, and will make the meadows most rankest.'

Sometimes land was sown with oats two or three years in succession, especially if the ground were mossy, then allowed to lie fallow till it was fit to bear other corn crops. Mole hillocks were thought to be useful in mossy ground, if scattered over the surface, as they serve to rot the moss. But the most useful process for mending ground was marling. In general, where such a material does exist, marl pits have long been opened, though latterly the practice of marling was becoming uncommon. Fitzherbert assigns two causes for this change of custom, which are so significant of the social state of England in the first quarter of the sixteenth century that I will quote his words: 'One is, the tenants be so doubtful of their landlords, that if they should marl and make their holdings much better, they fear lest they should be put out, or make a great fine; or else pay more rent. And if a lord do so, meseemeth he is unreasonable, seeing that it was done all at the costs of his tenant, and not at his. The second cause is, that men be disposed to idleness, and will not labour, as they have done in times passed, but pass forth the time as his father did before him; but yet meseemeth a freeholder should not be of that condition, for he is in a surety, his chief lord cannot put him out doing his duty. And he knoweth well he shall take the whole profit while he liveth, and his heirs after him; a courage to improve his own, the which is as good as and he had purchased as much as the improvement cometh to. And one man this doing would give other men a courage, and a good example to follow the same. And all other countries may take ensample at Chestershire and Lancastershire, for many of them that have so done, have made the improvement as good as the land was before,' i. e., I suppose, have doubled its value. 'Marl,' says my author, 'mends all manner of ground, but it is costly¹.'

¹ It will be seen from vol. ii. p. 454, that the cost of marling when done by another
VOL. IV.

It is instructive to see the beginning of that rapacity which has deterred the tenant from making improvements, lest he should have to pay on his own outlay, a rapacity which has done more to hinder the growth of agriculture as opposed to stock breeding than any other cause, which has made good husbandry in England the accident of the farmer's occupation, and has checked innumerable improvements; and also the beginning of that distrust and negligence which has at last, after the occurrence of a few unpropitious seasons, involved tenant and landlord in a common ruin. That English agriculture was stimulated, though in an unhealthy direction, by the existence of laws prohibiting the importation of foreign corn, except under conditions which it was all but impossible to foresee, is I think indisputable; but it is also clear that the mischief was to some extent obviated by the remarkable progress which the English husbandman made in the selection and growth of stock, that portion of his property which the landowner could not lay his clutches on. It is a question of the profoundest interest, under the conditions of free competition, of those expedients which practically lessen distance by continually lowering the cost of products, and of the freedom from such restraints as are imposed on occupation and husbandry in the supposed interests of a territorial aristocracy, whether English agriculture must not permanently decline, or the public good must not be consulted by sweeping away a number of untenable and mischievous customs, and abolishing a host of disastrous and demoralising privileges. Fitzherbert gives us an early instance of the mischief which followed from the absence of protection for the tenant's permanent improvements, though no doubt the practice of the landowner was justified, three centuries and a half ago, by the plea that to protect the property of the tenant was to impair the landlord's freedom of contract. There are some kinds of sophistry which it seems

was from 7s. to 3s. an acre. It seems that the rate was about a hundred cart loads to the acre. The highest amount must have been nearly equal in value to the fee simple of the land.

cannot be refuted till those who ventilate their folly find they have ruined themselves, and begin to cry for assistance against the fruit of their own misdeeds.

The cultivation of wood, as I shall show more fully when I have to deal with faggots and other kinds of fuel, as well as with timber, was profitable and fully appreciated in the period before me. Woods were planted on wet ground and on stiff white clays. An acre of wood, our ancestors thought, if properly managed, was as good as an acre of corn land or grass, and often better. The acorns, ash keys, and nuts with which the owner purposed planting his ground were put into earthen pots to keep them moist during the winter, and then set out in February and March. Some expense is incurred by fencing young woodland, in order to keep cattle out of it. Fitzherbert says nothing about the possible ravages of ground game, though the mischief done by rabbits was already claiming the attention of Parliament. Old trees must be lopped and cropped; coppice may be shredded, lopped, cropped, or felled. The felling of timber and coppice would or should be taken in hand between Candlemas and May. 'Gorsty' land in some districts is more valuable than woodland, especially where it is used for fuel. Long-continued frost kills it, and then if the land on which it has grown be ploughed up, it will soon be full of young gorse. The best way to get rid of the young plants is to set sheep on it, which will eat it bare. Broom grows on dry and sandy ground, which will rear good rye and oats, but needs frequent dressing. Broom makes excellent thatch, especially as an upper layer to straw. Heathy ground is dressed with lime, where limestone is abundant, and sea coal is at hand. In other places it generally has marl below it, especially if the upper soil is a white clay or a black earth. Marsh land may be turned into good pasture by ditching, and in extreme cases by soughs or underground drains, such as are made in coal, iron, lead, or tin mines.

Chiltern and flinty ground—i. e. land full of stones—and chalk ground need constant manuring. But if they be culti-

AGRICULTURE IN THE

... convenient for sheep, keeping the animals in
... getting into good condition. The best
... for corn and grass and for sheep breeding, is
... nothing but bad husbandry can injure it, or make
... it will bear every kind of crop; it can be manured
... which is produced from below the surface, and
... which lie on it are safe from rot.

It will be seen, from these extracts, what was the extent to
which the husbandry of our forefathers went. Nor is it difficult
to recall in imagination the appearance of a fifteenth-century
village. The lord's house is the principal building, being
perhaps the only habitation in the township which is built of
stone or brick. It consists of a central portion, which is the
dwelling-house of the lord, or is let to some tenant, in case the
lord is absent. Two parallel ranges as high as the central por-
tion project as wings. A part of this may be used for domestic
purposes, but the principal portion is granaries and stables or
cow-houses. The central space is the dungyard. On the other
side of the central portion is the garden, with its few poor
herbs, and the orchard. The lord's closes, containing prob-
ably the best meadow, are hard by. Then comes the parson's
house, the best-off man in the village, next to the lord, pro-
vided always that some repentant sinner has not contrived
to make amends for an ill life by appropriating the tithes
of the parish to some monastery. Or it is very likely, as in
Fitzherbert's manor of Dale, that the parson is a pluralist, and
has allowed the parsonage to go to decay. Then come the
lands of the monastery, which are visited in earing time and
harvest by the business-like Benedictine, who superintends
the culture and the sale of produce. The freeholders and the
copyholders have each their rude farm-houses, mainly built in
timber frames, and lathed and plastered in and out, (except on
the ceiling where hangs the bacon rack,) and garnished with
sickles and bill-hooks, low benches with chests under them
running round the walls, while in winter the busy farmer sits
under the great chimney, where the wood for his tools has

been drying, and shapes his forks and rakes against his summer labours. The cottages of the labourers, each with its garden and curtilage, are built on the bare earth, with upright posts, wattled with willow or hazel rods, and smeared outside and in with clay or mortar. Half way up is a rude floor made of unhewn poles, and reached by a ladder. The whole is thatched with straw reeds or broom. Sometimes the hut is wholly made of mud or clay, kneaded with a little straw and a few sticks to give it cohesion, and carefully thatched to keep the wet from the walls. Close to each cottage or farm-house is the mud heap, streams from which in rainy weather pour down to and fertilise the lower meadows. In many of these huts, however, strong cloth and home-spun linen are woven, and when collected by the chapmen are sold at the great fairs.

The only building of any pretension in the ordinary village is the parish church. As I have stated before, this was the common hall of the parish, in which most of the local business, when religious services were over, was transacted, and even produce was stored. Nor in the matter of domestic comfort was the house of the medieval burgher much more spacious and comfortable than that of the rustic. His guildhall was his club, and the funds of the guild, till they were ravished from him by Somerset, were his benefit society. Only his municipal buildings¹, in which he transacted the business of his borough, were handsome, though far inferior to the Flemish halls; but his churches vied in size and beauty with the best in Europe.

¹ There is a very good specimen of a fifteenth-century town-hall and offices in that of Norwich.

CHAPTER III.

ON THE DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH IN ENGLAND, DURING THE FIFTEENTH AND SIXTEENTH CENTURIES.

WHEN the opulence of any country is increasing, and all classes share in the improvement which is being effected, differences which have hitherto marked town and country, different parts of the same country district, and different towns are modified in a greater or less degree. Thus, for example, in the account which I was able to give in my first volume, p. 110, from the Rolls of Parliament, of the distribution of a wool tax, levied exceptionally for the furtherance of Edward's claim to the throne of France, I was able to point out that in the thirty-seven¹ counties which were made liable to the tax Norfolk was the richest, and Lancashire the poorest. Speaking generally, I infer that the assessment was intended to be equitable, and that it probably was. But as the wealth of the more backward counties progressed, the improvement which they made in any general assessment of the same character operates on such an assessment in two ways. It increases the proportion which they contribute, and diminishes that which districts more markedly opulent before were called upon to furnish. Thus, if the proportion which in another and later assessment Norfolk pays is lessened, it does not follow that this county has fallen behind, it merely proves that some other district or town has progressed more rapidly. Now that the county of Norfolk was, relatively speaking, very wealthy in the

¹ In both tables twenty-nine is an obvious erratum for thirty-seven.

fifteenth century is proved, if we had no other means of proof, by the large number of handsome fifteenth-century churches which invite the attention of every one who travels through that county.

I have already adverted to the fact, that some of the incidents of villenage lingered till the conclusion of the fifteenth century, and are treated of as existing facts in Fitzherbert's other work on the duties of a surveyor, to which I shall have presently to call my reader's attention, and are even traceable to the age of Elizabeth¹. But these liabilities had shrunk to a mere unit; and from the curious award on behalf of the base tenants of the manor of Cheltenham on the one side, and the abbess of Sion on the other, it is clear that the lords of manors found it difficult, or even impossible to insist on those rights, which law books, with their customary pedantry, spoke of as still valid². The best proof of the material progress made by the working classes is to be found in the wages of labour, as interpreted by the price of the necessities of life; but no small evidence is gathered from the discontent of employers, and the efforts which they made through the legislature to keep down the rate of wages. For cheap as manual labour seems in the later middle ages, it was the costliest element in production; whereas in our time, the costliest element is the labour of superintendence, the wages of the intermediary, the so-called profits of capital, whether it be the capital of the manufacturer or that of the dealer.

At the beginning of Henry the Fourth's reign, Parliament petitions the king to the effect that no child shall be apprenticed to a trade or mystery, unless his parents have forty shillings clear in lands, or forty pounds' worth of goods. It may, I think, be reasonably inferred that at this time these values were relative, and that forty pounds in money would purchase land worth forty shillings a year. In less than half a century, land in Norfolk, as will be seen from the valuation of Lord Cromwell's estate, was worth twenty years' purchase.

¹ Rymer's Foedera, v. xv. p. 371.

² Vol. iii. p. 739.

The object of this petition, which Henry granted in a statute to be commented on hereafter, was to keep down the wages of farm hands, who in the general distribution of manufactures were able to follow a handicraft without being necessarily enrolled among the guild fellows of a corporate town. This must have been particularly the case in the eastern counties and especially in Norfolk, where villages which never obtained municipal privileges, though some acquired representation in Parliament, were distinguished for an abundant population and thriving manufactures. Now such a market for labour would be sure to occasion a comparative scarcity of farm hands; and it was therefore the interest of the landowners to check the extension of apprenticeship from the point of view of low labour prices, and it was the interest of the chartered towns to abet them from the point of view of high prices for manufactured goods, the profit of which would be lowered if a wider range of artisans were engaged in their production, especially of artisans who, by living in upland, were free from the burdens imposed on town folk in their double capacity of burghers and members of a guild¹.

The general spread of Lollardy, about which all the theologians of the age complain, was at once the cause and the effect of progressive opulence. It cannot be by accident that all the wealthiest parts of Europe, one district only excepted, and that for very sufficient reasons, were suspected, during the middle ages, of theological nonconformity. Before the campaigns of Simon de Montfort, in the first half of the thirteenth century, Provence was the garden and workshop of Europe. The sturdiest advocates of the Reformation were the burghers of the Low Countries, and half this region was rendered desolate in the sixteenth century by the Spanish inheritors of the house of Burgundy, while the other half brought

¹ My reader will see, on looking at the payments made to the burgesses representing Norwich in Parliament for wages, that parliamentary representation was a matter of considerable cost to the borough, and that to detain a Parliament long over business was a very effectual spur towards making a Parliamentary grant. See Gascoigne, *Liber Veritatum*, p. 189; Hollinshed, 531; *Parl. Hist.* ii. 106.

the struggle to a successful issue. In England, the strength of the Lollard party was from the days of Wiclif to the days of Cranmer in Norfolk; and I have no doubt that, as the presence of students from this district must have told on the theological bias of Cambridge University, which came out markedly at the epoch of the Reformation, so the foundation of Henry the Sixth's College, with its strict provisions against the admission of heretics, especially those in whom leanings towards Pecok's doctrine could be detected, is relevant to the theological disaffection of the Norwich weavers. I have given in the 'notes' an account of the burning of three heretics at Norwich, under the year 1427, and these are only a few victims of the holocaust¹.

English Lollardy was, like its direct descendant Puritanism, sour and opinionative, but it was also moral and thrifty. They who denounced the lazy and luxurious life of the monks, the worldliness and greed of the prelates, and the gross and shallow artifices of the popular religion, were pretty sure to inculcate parsimony and saving. By voluntarily and sturdily cutting themselves off from the circumstance of the old faith, they were certain, like the Quakers of more than two centuries later, to become comparatively wealthy. They had nothing to spare for monk or priest, the former of whom, as I have said, was now beginning to prey on what was left of the resources of the latter. The uprisings of 1450—I am not speaking of Cade's insurrection—in which the two bishops were murdered, when we are told that a bishop dared not show his face in London at the risk of his life, and was not much more safe in his diocese, were certainly not mere expressions of political animosity. While England was nominally orthodox, the murder of a bishop was no light act, and the murder of Aiscough was a deliberate act of revenge, on a man who had merely used his see to enrich himself. We are told too that the decline of the parochial system, owing to the increasing

¹ By 2 Hen. IV, cap. 15, persons were inhibited from preaching unless they had previously obtained their diocesan's licence.

aggrandisement of the monks by the impropriation of tithes, led to acts of savage brutality, the counterpart in coarse natures of that gross licentiousness¹ which characterised the conduct of the wealthier classes.

On the other hand, the ordinary peacefulness of the country, and its growth in opulence, are shown by the general use of the new material, brick, in the construction of dwelling-houses, and the abandonment of the stone castle for embattled brick buildings. Country residences were not quite safe from sudden surprise, but private war till the outbreak of the great quarrel was neither a passion nor a risk. The feud of Lords Devonshire and Bonville, which is the prelude to the struggle, is noted in the Rolls of Parliament as a scandal which must be put down. Few of these houses remain, but there is a great deal of fifteenth-century brick-building in Cambridge, and I have little doubt that the manor house and farm buildings which Gervase Markham figures at the beginning of the seventeenth century represent a far older fashion in the more opulent parts of England. The hut of the peasant was doubtless still rude, though not because the materials for a more solid and comfortable structure were out of his reach.

In the year 1453, the Commons, during the shortlived gleam of hope which preceded the disasters of Shrewsbury and his son, determined to make another effort for the recovery of some of the French provinces, and granted what in the hands of some English generals a generation or two before would have been a very invincible army. At first they promised the king twenty thousand archers to be levied rateably on the whole of the king's dominions except Wales and Cheshire. The archers were to be equipped and to be paid by the counties at the rate of sixpence a day for six months, provisions and other munitions of war being supplied from other sources. The king, or his advisers, remitted 7000 of the number, and the rest were apportioned among the cities

¹ See Gascoigne for the licentiousness of dress and speech, and for general irreverence among the upper classes.

and counties of England, with the above exceptions according to the table printed below.

There was, beyond doubt, keen bargaining in the Commons about the assessment. The counties, cities, and boroughs, which sent members to the Lower House, expected faithful local service, as well as keen attention to such general politics as might reflect on prosperity, local or national. Very erroneously perhaps, but very generally, the English people at the latter end of the first half of the fifteenth century were persuaded that the loss of the French provinces was a very serious matter, and that England was not only impoverished by the ill success of the war, but would be seriously crippled if possessions held for four centuries by English monarchs were permanently torn away. In the greatness of the sovereign's estate lay the exemption of the subject's purse from importunate demands. But while all were agreed in making the effort for the recovery of the king's rights in France, the distribution of the charge was a matter of very keen interest. It was a very large grant. When Edward the Third in 1341 appealed to the Commons, the value of the grant was about £81,500. But the Commons were ready, had the king accepted the whole of their offer, to present him with £91,000, besides such charges as would have been incurred in equipping the archers, perhaps in enlisting them. As it was, the cost in money was actually, taking 182 days, £59,600.

There may be some doubt as to whether the wool tax of 1341 can be employed to exactly define the distribution of wealth in England a few years before the Great Plague, for the price of wool varied very greatly in the different English counties. I concluded however that the tax was a fair estimate, because there is no reason to believe that it was intended to be paid in kind, and there is evidence that in some places it was not so paid, even though the parties paying could have easily supplied themselves with wool from their estates. But there can be no doubt that the assessment of 1453 was made on an estimate of the supposed capacity of the counties

and cities to contribute according to the levy made on them.

The tax is levied on thirty-eight counties and ten cities. The table contains five columns. The first is the number of archers with which each county or city was charged. The second is the amount of the charge so levied at 91 shillings for each archer. The third is the assessment of the wool tax in 1341, extracted from vol. i. p. 110. The fourth represents the proportion of each archer to the acreage of each county, and the fifth is similarly the proportion of each sack of wool to the acreage of each county in 1341. The table therefore gives an account of the distribution of wealth in England at two periods 122 years apart, and makes a comparison between each feasible.

The first thing which strikes one is the extraordinary growth of opulence in the city of London. In 1341, its contribution is less than half that made by the county of Norwich. In 1453, it finds a hundred and twenty five more soldiers than that county does, and is charged with little less than a tenth of the whole cost incurred. But I have not been able to discover any information bearing on the growth or even on the commerce of the city, except that, in 1443, the water which supplied the city from Tyburn brook, and which was first conveyed to London in 1236, was found to be insufficient, and a new supply was obtained by the city authorities from Paddington¹, an indication of the great growth of the city. But it should be remembered that the fifteenth century was the period at which the rule of apprenticeship, originally designed to disarm the jealousy of such landowners as feared the migration of the country folk to towns, and the consequent dearness of farm labour, became the entrance into a number of lucrative monopolies, which were protected by the wariness of the town representatives in the Commons, and guaranteed by the eagerness with which the territorial magnates, before and during the great feud of the war of succession, caressed the burghers. For

¹ See Rymer's *Foedera* under each date.

in such a war as that of the houses of York and Lancaster, it should be remembered that the genealogical pretext was no more than a pretext, that if the house of Lancaster had been vigorous, capable, and fortunate, we should no more have heard of the house of York, than we have heard of other far more legitimate pretenders, since the death of the Duke of Gloucester gave the throne of England to a remote German scion of the Stuart family, when lineal descendants of the Plantagenets were still alive, when descendants of the Tudor stock were still possessed of a parliamentary title, and twenty or thirty legitimate descendants of Charles and James might have preferred and proved their claims in a court of law. London was at any rate very wealthy, and held between the contending factions the balance of the succession.

I was at first sight very much struck at another fact. The city of the county of York is a tolerably large tract, containing nearly 3000 acres. This city contributes largely to the assessment, and at a far higher rate than it did in 1341, for among the cities which are separately assessed at that time, Bristol takes rank in quantity before York. Now the proportions are reversed. Norwich, which is not separately assessed in 1341, comes next after York in 1453, and is distant from York by exactly the same amount that Bristol is from it. There can be no doubt that these two towns, after London, were the richest in the kingdom. York was doubtless attached strongly to its duke, and the Duke of York had every motive to encourage what was still popular in England, the war for the recovery of the French dominions. Norwich was attached to the House of Mowbray, the hereditary and irreconcilable enemy of the House of Lancaster, and the Norfolk family of Cromwell was at once opulent and attached to the Yorkist party, or rather inveterately hostile to the faction which had successively for its head Suffolk and Somerset. Still, apart from sympathy (and this counted for a good deal in the apportionment of local taxation), there is nothing beyond what we might expect in the great opulence of London, and in

the comparative wealth of York, Norwich, and Bristol. It should be remembered perhaps that this was the time in which the rich Canyngs¹ of Bristol built the finest church of the fifteenth century, that of St. Mary Redcliffe near Bristol.

Coventry appears as the fourth city in the kingdom, and considerably above any of the remaining six. Now all these towns, but one, may have been sea-ports to the small vessels which traded at the time. Lincoln probably had access to the sea by the Witham; Nottingham, possibly, the poorer of the two, by the Trent. But Coventry was essentially an inland town. Now it is certain that at this time there existed a very considerable and varied home trade in Coventry, the principal manufacture being cloth and caps. It is said to have had a population of more than 10,000 (my authority is a memorial addressed by John Hales to the Protector Somerset) before the Reformation, which sank (according to the same authority) to 3000 after that event. It possessed very numerous trade guilds, with very large possessions, which of course it lost when the Protector Somerset had his way, and which were again endowed by an opulent merchant at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, who is said to have bought what he supposed was a cask of steel in Spain (Bilboa iron was often passed off on the English buyer for steel, and was therefore denounced by an act of Edw. VI), and finding, for the story varies, that his venture was ingots of silver or bags of cochineal, determined to enrich his native town by his fortuitous wealth. Perhaps some light may be thrown on the Coventry contingent by the fact that, in 30 Henry VI, the king by charter made Coventry a county by itself, adding seventeen hamlets and two parts of hamlets to the area of the city liberties. Coventry was strongly attached to the Lancastrian party, was the place of Henry's occasional residence, was the scene of that Parliament which proscribed the whole party of York and really led

¹ One of this family, the brother of the Bristol merchant, was Lord Mayor of London a few years later than the time on which I am commenting, and was the person to whom Pecok wrote.

to the downfall of Henry, and continuing loyal to the same family was deprived of its privileges after the battle of Tewkesbury¹, regaining them only by paying a fine of 500 marks to Edward the Fourth.

The most notable feature in the assessment of 1453 is the low contingent of the Northern counties, and of those on the Welsh border. Chester is exempt altogether. But Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmoreland pay very little to the acre, the second of these considerably less than any other county, the first far less proportionately than it did in 1341. It may seem that the quota of Northumberland is reduced by the fact that in this contribution the Bishopric of Durham is assessed, while it was not assessed in 1341, and the Bishopric of Durham, in the sense of the County Palatine, contained that portion of Northumberland which extends to Holy Island or Lindisfarne. But again, the general exemption of Durham from these contributions must have been connected with the peculiar tenure of the County Palatine, and therefore must have been as true in 1453 as it was in 1341.

Probably the explanation is to be found in the Scotch wars. Edward the First wished to unite the lowlands of Scotland to England, for no statesman for five centuries after Edward cared much for the subjugation of North-west Scotland. He knew that to effect this union, to obtain which he tried feudal law and war, it was desirable to keep clear of continental difficulties. He had the ordinary fortune of military statesmen, for one of his own nobles rebelled against him and created an independent Scotland, and his successors, taking advantage of the mad project of the English Plantagenet kings, that of the conquest of France, were always allies of France, especially in the difficulties of England. This alliance was of great benefit to Scotland. It gave a poor and scanty population, led or rather ruled by the worst aristocracy which has ever been known, a national feeling strong enough to enable them

¹ It seems that Edward seized the Mayor's sword of office before he resumed the franchise of Coventry.

to make terms with a far wealthier and more powerful people, though for a long time that detestable element in their political existence made the Scotch more than reasonably exacting, and the English more than prudently contemptuous, for if by Scotland one must understand the Scotch nobles, the scorn of England for the northern kingdom was up to the Reform Bill of 1832 very just, and in some particulars even politic. Now during the fifteenth century, the opulence and the folly of the English people made them peculiarly the victims of Scotch poverty and French policy. England was always vulnerable on the border, and the Scotch thieves gained property and the reputation of patriotism by border raids. One of the wisest acts which the government of Henry the Sixth effected was the Scotch truce of 1451¹, settled for three years, but with a condition that notice should be given of denunciation. It is not strange that the Border Counties were greatly impoverished during the period immediately preceding the grant of 1453.

On turning from the towns to the counties, we shall be struck with the high rateable value of Oxfordshire. This county was no doubt very early enclosed, the proof lying in the singular paucity of common or customary roads. It was already very wealthy when the assessment of 1341 was made, for it was rated at the same amount per acre with Middlesex (excluding the city of London), and was second to Norwich only. In 1453, it is wealthier per acre than Norfolk (including Norwich) and a great deal wealthier than Middlesex (excluding the city of London). The fact is the more remarkable, because it was the regular custom to exclude the University and Colleges of Oxford and Cambridge from the assessments made to the crown by parliamentary commissions. Kent has sunk from the fifth to the tenth place, Suffolk from the tenth to

¹ This truce was negotiated by Richard Andrew, Dean of York, and first warden of All Souls' College, Oxford. He was the King's secretary, and became exceedingly opulent. He got his deanery by Papal provision and a heavy bribe. But he appears to have been a man of great ability. See Rymer, *passim*.

the fifteenth, Surrey from the fourteenth to the twenty-third, Sussex from the sixteenth to the twenty-fourth, Northumberland from the twenty-ninth to the thirty-sixth. But on the other hand, Warwick has risen from the eighteenth to the ninth, Lincoln from the twentieth to the thirteenth, Somerset from the twenty-second to the fifteenth (including Bristol). There is no other very important change.

I make no doubt that the alteration in the relative opulence in these counties, certain political events being taken into consideration, general and particular—perhaps the Kentish disturbances, for example, under Cade, as an explanation of the comparative decline of Kentish wealth—was due to the gradual extension of manufactures, especially those of woollen fabrics. I shall not anticipate the details, which I purpose giving when I am dealing with the price of clothing, discoverable in a variety of documents. It is sufficient to say that the Rolls of Parliament and the earlier pages of the statute book are full of regulations as to the quality and measure of woollen goods; that the king and his council readily respond to the numerous invitations that English industry should be protected by penal statutes and penal duties against the blighting effects of foreign enterprise, and the beggarly labour of foreign countries; that every effort is made to sell and get the largest possible amount of the precious metals, and that wherever manufacturing industry could be developed, subject to the ever urgent regulations on behalf of cheap agricultural labour, the state did much that was superfluous, though to do the authorities justice, they always strove to keep up the character of English manufactures, as well as to secure the manufacturer's profits, and, as far as they had intelligence on such matters, to promote English wealth.

I now turn to another, and perhaps a more characteristic estimate of the distribution of English wealth. The civil war of succession was over, every pretender had been put out of the way, or had been rendered powerless. The Scotch king had married Henry's eldest daughter, his son Arthur was

dead, but his widow was still in Henry the Seventh's power, and was affianced, some circumstances excepted, to the king's surviving son. At this time (1503) Henry bethought himself of the two feudal aids which a sovereign might claim, those namely on the knighting of his eldest son and the marriage of his eldest daughter. There had been no opportunity of making these claims for a century and a half, for no English king had a son who might be fairly supposed to have reached the age of knighthood since Edward the Third; and Henry the Fourth, whose son had been knighted by Richard the Second, was not likely to make a claim on his baronage for his eldest daughter's marriage with the Duke of Bavaria.

Henry the Seventh, who missed no chance of getting money, claimed in 1503 the two aids which were assured to the crown by the Great Charter, but which had become almost, if not entirely, obsolete. He informed his parliament that he estimated the aids at £40,000. He states that he is willing to remit £10,000, on the ground that the exaction would press heavily on the poor. But the tax was to be paid by all persons who had above twenty shillings a year in 'free charter lands,' or above twenty-six shillings and eightpence in lands 'held by will.' The latter is afterwards explained to mean copyhold¹ tenures. Cattle used for the plough, stock and implements for household use are excluded, but farm produce, corn harvested, and stock-in-trade are declared rateable. A number of commissioners are employed to assess the charge, and as will be seen, are paid for their trouble, as are also the collectors, the charges of assessment and collection being a little under two per cent. on the whole. Henry it seems took care to make his commissioners (who are some of the most considerable gentry in the counties) leave a margin, for the actual sum realised, after all costs are deducted, is a little over £31,000. The information however is exceedingly instructive, for the

¹ Nothing better illustrates the fact that these aids were the revival of what had become obsolete and nearly forgotten, than Henry's claim to include copyholds, goods, and stock in trade among the rateable elements of an aid.

assessment of 1503 is the most unsuspicious estimate of the comparative wealth of England, town and county alike; for Lincoln and York are divided, the former into the three divisions of Lindsay, Kesteven, and Holland, the latter into the North, East and West Ridings. The isle of Wight is separately assessed, as are also seventeen principal towns, the highest of these towns, of course, being London, the lowest Bath. The order is as follows—London, Bristol, York, Lincoln, Gloucester, Norwich, Shrewsbury, Oxford, Salisbury, Coventry, Hull, Canterbury, Southampton, Nottingham, Worcester, Southwark, Bath. It should be observed that the Colleges of Oxford and Cambridge, the several Charterhouses, Sion monastery, Eton and Winchester, are exempt. It is not however quite clear that this exemption extends to such estates as they possessed which were not within the precinct of College or religious house as the case may be.

We shall now, by looking at the table in which the rate of the two aids is interpreted by the acreage of the counties, be able to see what were the changes of these fifty years, during about thirty of which civil war was smouldering or raging. It will be found that the statement made before, that the war, except in so far as its waste interfered with the activity of industry and the demand for commodities, did not materially affect the condition of the country.

The number of cities and towns assessed to the aid of 1503 is seventeen, and contains all those in the short list of 1341 and all those in the longer list of 1453, one excepted. I am disposed to believe that in 1503, the scheduled towns were the whole number that it was thought worth while to visit with a special assessment, that in short these were the principal towns in the kingdom. But the quota of London is greatly reduced. In 1453, its contribution was larger than that of any county. In 1503, it comes twentieth in the list of contributors. Bristol, which was the third city in 1341, and the fourth in 1453, is the second in 1503, and by a sensible difference over York. Norwich, which was third in 1453,

being largely in excess of Bristol, is now debited with less than half of Bristol's liabilities, and stands sixth in place of third, being surpassed by Lincoln and Gloucester. Newcastle on Tyne, which was the second city in 1341, and the sixth in 1453, has dropped out in the list of 1503.

It is not I think difficult to discover the reason why Bristol and Gloucester had made this start. They were the nearest ports to the New World, and to Spain, which was the mistress of the largest discoveries in that region. Columbus had landed at Cuba and Hispaniola eleven years before, and the transmission of the precious metals to Europe, chiefly through Spanish agencies, immediately commenced. At the beginning of 1496, Henry had given great privileges to Sebastian Cabot, a Bristol merchant, though Venetian by birth, and had stipulated for twenty per cent. profit. In 1497, the mainland of America was discovered and the passage of the Cape made. It was to be expected that the Western ports of England would make the earliest ventures to Spain and Portugal.

On the other hand, Henry had effected the great treaty of commerce with the Netherlands, known long after as the *Intercursus Magnus*, in 1496, the motive for this treaty being quite as much the discouragement of dynastic pretenders as the growth of commerce. Two years later a commercial treaty was negotiated with Riga, under which this town was made a free port for English traders, and the merchants of Riga were admitted to all the privileges of the Hanse Towns. It is therefore easy to see why the Western ports and the North Eastern should have been able to make considerable progress during the fifty years between 1453 and 1503. It should be remembered also that the growing opulence of each town lightened, in the distribution of a fixed tax, the amount which other towns had heretofore paid, and that, because some had made progress, it does not follow that others were decayed.

I cannot but see, however, that there was a distinct decline in the opulence of a city like Norwich. It suffered seriously from the plague. It was similarly visited more severely than

most places by the sweating sickness, which first became epidemic in 1485, and appears, like the plague, to have been peculiarly fatal in densely peopled towns and villages. The fact that great part of London was burned in 1503, will explain the comparative scantiness of the London contingent. But the principal reason of the change, in so far as it marks a decline in the opulence of Eastern England, is to be found in the rapid extension of manufactures throughout the other counties. As soon as ever the quality of cloth became a consideration—and this occurred long before machinery was called in to aid human labour—it was detected that fine yarns are better spun in those parts of the country where the climate is most moist and equable. Hence the cloth manufacture began to migrate westwards.

The first six counties take the same places which they held in 1453. But Oxford and Norfolk were very close together in 1453, and a great deal apart in 1503, for Oxford has become more wealthy. Bedfordshire and Berkshire have also made progress, while the change of place between Cambridge and Huntingdon is trivial now, as their difference was trivial half a century before. The most singular fall is that of Kent, which was the fifth English county in the year 1341, the tenth in 1453, and the twelfth, being exactly equal to Northampton, in 1503. It is probable that this decline is owing to the impoverishment of the Cinque Ports. The fortunes of only one other county are as singular. In 1341, Warwick was the eighteenth English shire. In 1453, it jumps up to the ninth place. In 1503 it falls again to the seventeenth. Westmoreland, which was successively thirtieth, thirty-fourth, and twenty-seventh, and Hereford which was thirty-fifth, twenty-seventh and twenty-eighth, may have their places explained by local reasons, just as the generally low contingent of the Scotch and Welsh marches in 1453 may be assigned to causes already commented on.

GRANT OF 13,000 ARCHERS, 31-32 HEN. VI. ROT. PARL. V.

(The mark † implies that the town is included in col. 3.)

	Archers.	Amount in money at 182 days.	Assessment of 1341.	Archer to acreage.	Sacks to acreage.
BEDS	201	£914 11	£1468	1471	800
BERKS	309	1395 19	2156	1460	835
BUCKS	205	932 15	1480	2278	1260
CAMBRIDGE	302	1374 2	2172	1739	960
CORNWALL	142	646 2	1052	6152	3550
CUMBERLAND	74	337 14	32	13531	4290
DERBY	141	641 11	992	4678	2215
DEVON	284	1292 4	2060	5765	3215
DORSET	254	1155 14	1924	2504	1310
ESSEX	368	1674 8	2676	2881	1580
GLOUCESTER	424	1929 4	2364	1901	1365
HEREFORD	130	591 10	564	4114	3700
HERTS	183	832 13	1308	2137	1200
HUNTS	133	605 3	940	1726	975
KENT	575	2616 5	5096	1808	815
LANCASTER	113	514 3	1024	10790	4760
LEICESTER	226	1028 6	1340	2275	1535
LINCOLN	910	4140 10 ¹	5064	1857 †	1400
MIDDLESEX	105	477 15 ²	944	145 †	295
NORTHANTS	346	1574 6	2118	1822	1150
NORTHUMBERLAND ...	60	273 0 ³	1392	11055 †	2965
NOTTS	200	910 0 ⁴	1308	2289 †	1605
NORFOLK	1012	4604 12 ⁵	8828	1190 †	610
OXFORD	419	1906 9	2460	1126	760
RUTLAND	64	291 4	448	1492	855
SALOP	192	873 12	948	4292	3485
SOMERSET	405	1842 15 ⁶	2404	2111	1570
SOUTHANTS	385	1742 5 ⁷	2716	2512 †	1570

¹ With city of Lincoln £4349 16s.² With city of London £5651 2s.³ With Newcastle £514 3s.⁴ With Nottingham £1046 10s.⁵ With Norwich £5155 3s.⁶ With Bristol £2256 16s.⁷ With Southampton £1927.

GRANT OF 13,000 ARCHERS, 31-32 HEN. VI. ROT. PARL. V.

The mark † implies that the town is included in col. 3.

	Archers.	Amount in money at 182 days.	Assessment of 1341.	Archer to acreage.	Sacks to acreage.
STAFFORD	173	£787 3	£1004	4211	2900
SUFFOLK	429	1951 19	3836	2210	985
SURREY	175	796 5	1632	2724	1250
SUSSEX	329	1496 19	2960	2848	1265
WARWICK	236	1073 16 ¹	1680	1807 †	1340
WESTMORELAND	56	254 16	628	8668	3090
WILTS.	476	2165 16	3384	1817	1020
WORCESTER	149	677 19	836	3840	2255
YORK	713	3244 3 ²	4436	4438	3285
BISHOPRIC OF DURHAM (Thirty-eight Counties.)	300	1365 0	—		
Cities:—					
LONDON	1137	5173 7	2112		
CITY OF COUNTY OF					
YORK	152	691 12	200		
BRISTOL	91	414 1	256		
COVENTRY	76	345 16	—		
KINGSTON ON HULL...	50	227 10	—		
LINCOLN	46	209 6	—		
NEWCASTLE	53	241 3	292		
NOTTINGHAM	30	136 10	—		
NORWICH	121	550 11	—		
SOUTHAMPTON.....	41	184 15	—		
TEN CITIES.....					
Total	12991	59000 1			

¹ With Coventry £1419 12s.

² With York and Hull £4163 5s.

ASSESSMENT OF 1503.

The plus (+) sign means that the towns and cities are included in the assessment of the acreage.

Counties.	Assessment.	£1 to acre.	Cities & Towns.	Assessment.
	£ s. d.			£ s. d.
BEDS	566 18 1½	521	LONDON ...	618 3 5
BERKS	868 8 1½	520	BRISTOL ...	185 8 1½
BUCKS	568 13 8½	821	YORK	160 10 0½
CAMBRIDGE	851 16 4	616	LINCOLN ...	114 14 6½
CORNWALL	403 13 0	2162	GLOUCESTER	98 10 1
CUMBERLAND	133 6 8	7511	NORWICH ...	80 6 11
DERBY	390 9 8	1687	SHREWSBURY	79 0 8
DEVON	803 15 9½	2061	OXFORD ...	69 12 3
DORSET	717 11 10½	880	SALISBURY...	65 6 10
ESSEX	1038 2 3	1022	COVENTRY...	62 17 5
GLOUCESTER	1100 2 0+	672	HULL	60 0 1
HANTS	371 3 10½	619	CANTERBURY	53 12 3½
HEREFORD	363 14 0½	1470	SOUTHAMPTON	47 11 0
HERTS	513 17 0½	761	NOTTINGHAM	37 1 0
KENT	1387 5 10½ +	721	WORCESTER	17 16 0
LANCASTER	318 2 3½	3813	SOUTHWARK	17 3 0
LEICESTER	637 13 10	806	BATH	13 6 8
LINCOLN ¹ } Lindsay 1201 7 8½	} +	667		
} Kesteven 786 7 11½				
} Holland 560 13 8				
MIDDLESEX	271 6 9	293 ²		
NORFOLK	2856 6 10	461		
NORTHAMPTON ...	876 19 0½	721		
NORTHUMBERLAND	200 0 0	6246		
NOTTS	556 13 2½	887		
OXON	1098 4 6½	405		
RUTLAND	172 1 8½	556		
SALOP	463 4 6½ +	1504		
SOMERSET	1129 13 0½ +	788		
SOUTHANTS	934 3 3½ +	1090		
STAFFORD	484 19 0	1502		
SUFFOLK	1214 5 4½	770		
SURREY	473 0 9+	977		
SUSSEX	861 14 8½	1087		
WARWICK	646 3 2+	795		
WESTMORELAND ...	200 0 0	1429		
WILTS	1265 11 4½ +	650		
WORCESTER	403 16 4½ +	1120		
YORK, ³ N. R.	519 11 7½	} +		
" E. R.	817 11 11½			
" W. R.	597 15 4			
ISLE OF WIGHT ...	138 4 2	1772		
Total	31,648 0 9			
WAGES, COMMISSIONERS AND COLLECTORS	641 16 2			
Remains	31,006 4 7			

¹ Together £2548 9 4½ ² Together £1934 18 11½ ³ Excluding London £662.

ORDER OF THE COUNTIES.

1341.	1453.	1503.	
1 MIDDLESEX	MIDDLESEX	MIDDLESEX	1
2 NORFOLK	OXFORD	OXFORD	2
3 OXFORD	NORFOLK	NORFOLK	3
4 BEDS	BERKS	BERKS	4
5 KENT	BEDS	BEDS	5
6 BERKS	RUTLAND	RUTLAND	6
7 RUTLAND	HUNTS	CAMBRIDGE	7
8 CAMBRIDGE	CAMBRIDGE	HUNTS	8
9 HUNTS	WARWICK	WILTS	9
10 SUFFOLK	KENT	LINCOLN	10
11 WILTS	WILTS	GLOUCESTER	11
12 NORTHANTS	NORTHANTS	KENT } <i>æq.</i> ...	12
13 HERTS	LINCOLN	NORTHANTS } <i>æq.</i> ...	13
14 SURREY	GLOUCESTER	HERTS	14
15 BUCKS	SOMERSET	SUFFOLK	15
16 SUSSEX	HERTS	SOMERSET	16
17 DORSET	SUFFOLK	WARWICK	17
18 WARWICK	LEICESTER	LEICESTER	18
19 GLOUCESTER	BUCKS	BUCKS	19
20 LINCOLN ...	NOTTS	DORSET	20
21 LEICESTER	DORSET	NOTTS	21
22 SOMERSET	SOUTHANTS	SURREY	22
23 SOUTHANTS	SURREY	ESSEX	23
24 ESSEX	SUSSEX	SUSSEX	24
25 NOTTS	ESSEX	SOUTHANTS	25
26 DERBY	WORCESTER	WORCESTER	26
27 WORCESTER	HEREFORD	WESTMORELAND	27
28 STAFFORD	STAFFORD	HEREFORD	28
29 NORTHUMBERLAND ...	SALOP	STAFFORD	29
30 WESTMORELAND	YORK	SALOP	30
31 DEVON	DERBY	DERBY	31
32 YORK	DEVON	YORK	32
33 SALOP	CORNWALL	CORNWALL	33
34 CORNWALL	WESTMORELAND	DEVON	34
35 HEREFORD	LANCASHIRE	LANCASHIRE	35
36 CUMBERLAND	NORTHUMBERLAND	NORTHUMBERLAND ...	36
37 LANCASHIRE	CUMBERLAND	CUMBERLAND	37

TOWNS AS GIVEN.

	1341	1453	1503	
1	LONDON	LONDON	LONDON	1
2	NEWCASTLE	YORK	BRISTOL	2
3	BRISTOL	NORWICH	YORK	3
4	YORK	BRISTOL	LINCOLN	4
5	—	COVENTRY	GLOUCESTER	5
6	—	NEWCASTLE	NORWICH	6
7	—	HULL	SHREWSBURY	7
8	—	LINCOLN	OXFORD	8
9	—	SOUTHAMPTON	SALISBURY	9
10	—	NOTTINGHAM	COVENTRY	10
11	—	—	HULL	11
12	—	—	CANTERBURY	12
13	—	—	SOUTHAMPTON	13
14	—	—	NOTTINGHAM	14
15	—	—	WORCESTER	15
16	—	—	SOUTHWARK	16
17	—	—	BATH	17

I cannot discover in the Rolls of Parliament, in the Public Record Office, or in the Archives of the Lords, any document similar to those given above which can be trusted as statistical evidence of the distribution of industrial wealth in England at later periods. The absence of such information is to be regretted, because certain great changes were introduced into England in the sixteenth century, changes which materially affected its condition. These were the suppression of the monasteries, the creation of a new nobility out of the adventurers who thronged the court of Henry the Eighth and his son; and the exaltation of prices effected in England as well as in the rest of Europe by the discovery of the New World, and particularly of the mines of Potosi. Minor changes, such as the extraordinary rise in the price of wool, and the stimulus given to sheep farming, the migration of the Flemings to England, when the persecutions of Philip the Second were raging, and England had a sovereign who would not quarrel with Philip, but was

quite willing to welcome the expatriated artisans of the Low Countries, and the impulse given by Drake to maritime enterprise, had much influence on the distribution of wealth in the sixteenth century. But unfortunately it is not possible to follow the history of the English people by the light of public documents, and I am constrained to rely on such inferences as I shall be able to make in my subsequent pages, and on the narrative of prices, particularly those of food and labour.

In my earlier volumes I commented on the system under which land was held by tenants in knight service, in socage or common freehold, and in villenage. Most of the documents which I referred to were antecedent in date to the great plague. They refer to a social condition which was utterly and permanently modified by the occurrence of that calamity. By easy, but by inseparable stages, the upland folk slid from tenants at will and on labour rents, perhaps arbitrary, into tenants of base holdings at fixed labour rents, then into tenants in villenage at fixed money rents, but at precarious fines on surrender and regrant, then into tenants by copy of court roll, where labour rents, long preserved in form, were really quit rents, and where heriots and fines on alienation or succession were strictly limited by custom and the interpretation of law. It is unimportant to follow these changes, especially as it soon became the case, that the same person was often at once the owner of a freehold and the tenant in villenage, sometimes even the lord of a manor in one parcel of land, and a tenant in villenage in another.

The document, however, which is printed in Vol. iii. p. 739, is so suggestive that I must call a moment's attention to it. The Manor of Cheltenham had been attached to one of those alien priories which were suppressed by Henry the Fifth, at the beginning of his reign, and had remained in the hands of the crown during the minority of his son. Henry the Sixth as soon, or nearly as soon as he came of age, determined on devoting the estates which he had thus acquired for the crown to educational and religious purposes, and therefore founded King's College, Cambridge, Eton in Bucks, and Sion Abbey in

Middlesex out of the lands of these alien priories. Cheltenham came to Sion. The tenants of the manor had, like others under a base tenure, been assessed at a money equivalent of the old labour rents, the assessment on the whole manor amounting to the sum of £10 os. 6½*d.* The tenants and the abess were at variance, and after some 'debates and demands,' arbitration was resorted to. Sir Ralph Cottiller and others were appointed to settle the business, and they decided that henceforth the tenants should pay ten marks, i.e. a little less than two-thirds the old commutation, and should at their own expense distribute this sum rateably and by a proper instrument over those who were liable. The award is dated on Sept. 27, 1452. It is written on the back of a roll in which, on the obverse, the distribution of the sum originally paid (£10 os. 6½*d.*) is scheduled. Here it will be seen that an arbitrator diminishes by a very large percentage a customary payment which had hitherto been paid. The document has been preserved by accident, but I have little doubt that it is the type of a numerous class of similar awards.

I shall, when I come to speak of the wages of labour, dwell on the enactments by which, in accordance with the theory of legislation in that age, efforts were made from time to time to obtain a plentiful supply of labour in husbandry. But before I deal with such information as has come before me in relation to the condition of the town folk, I must state what is known about the distribution of land in purely agricultural districts. Fortunately a work is still extant, a second production of Fitzherbert, from which it is possible to obtain a fairly full account of what was the condition of country places where agriculture was the principal calling of the inhabitants, though the village craftsmen, Smith, Carpenter, and Thatcher, followed their ordinary and indeed necessary callings among the upland folk.

The work is a treatise on 'Surveying',¹ and the duties of a Surveyor. The bailiff in husbandry, as he was in the four-

¹ The copy from which I quote was a reprint dated the year after Fitzherbert's death, i.e. 1539, and published by Henry the Eighth's printer, Thomas Berthollet.

teenth century, had long been extinct, and the Collector Reddituum was employed only by very wealthy persons or by opulent corporations. But the Supervisor or Surveyor, who looked after his employer's interest, sold and bought for him as his agent, measured and valued his property, and appraised if he did not collect his rents, was in general demand among well-to-do people. Such persons uphold their honour and degree 'by reason of their rents, issues, revenues, and profits, that come of their manors, lordships, lands and tenements, and by the fact that such interests are butted and bounded, so that no parcel thereof should be lost or "imbeselede."'

There are three kinds of common of pasture. In many towns where closes and pastures exist in severalty, there is often a common close taken in out of the common or fields by tenants of the same town, for oxen or kine or other cattle, in which close every man is stinted, from the lord downwards. A second kind is in 'the plain champaign country,' where the cattle go daily before the herdmen, and which lies near the common fields. Here again each person who has the right of use should be stinted, and it is suggested that the principle should be determined by the size of the tenant's holding. The third common is in the lord's out woods, on moors and on heaths, which have never been under the plough. Here the lord should not be stinted, for the soil is his, but his tenants should be, for they have no certain parcel thereof laid to their holdings, but only bit of mouth with their cattle. The stint of cattle, it is added, is necessary, in order to prevent the rich man from buying sheep and cattle in the beginning of summer, getting them into condition, and selling them, all the while sparing his own pastures, and so defrauding the poor man. If roads are improved under the statute of Merton and of Westminster the second, but it be obligatory to leave a sufficient common to the tenants of the manor, the estimate of the tenant's right should be proportionate to the amount of cattle which can be maintained in the winter from the hay and straw housed during the season from his several holdings.

Pannage, however, i.e. the right of feeding hogs on mast in the woods, does not exist of original right, but must be granted by deed. Generally the payment exacted for pannage is a penny or halfpenny for each of the swine. Latterly indeed a great change has taken place. In old times, the meadows and pastures were open, the tenants were far better off, paying only for arable. Now enclosures have been made, the rents of tenants have been raised, as they occupy more land, and the common pasture is diminished. And Fitzherbert goes on to say that the lord's avarice and the tenant's uncertainty are sure to be a loss to the former in the end, for men will not improve unless they have reasonable prospects of being secured in the value of their improvements. It is clear that the addition of common rights of pasture to an arable estate was a very valuable element in the holding, and no one need wonder at the complaints made about enclosures, or even at so energetic a remonstrance against the practice as was illustrated by Ket's rebellion in 1549, the principal provocative of which was the extensive enclosures in North-east Norfolk.

Fitzherbert describes his typical parish, the manor of Dale, as containing a manor house, 'with two cross chambers of stone or brick, or timber, with houses of office, two barns, an ox-house, a hay-house and stable, garden and orchard. With its demesne, lands, meadows, lease and pastures it is let at £6 13s. 4d., payable at four or two terms as the case may be. Next is the parsonage, with the parson's croft, whose glebe, meadow, tithes, and other revenues amount to £20 annually. Then a freeholder by charter, who has lands annexed to his house, for which he pays annually ten shillings and half a pound of pepper, a tenant of a similar house and lands by copy of court roll, who pays 16s. a year and two hens, and is liable to heriot, a cottage with a curtilage, the rent of which is 1s. 8d. and a hen, a house and croft of a religious house held in free alms, but which pays half a pound of pepper, a miller with house and horse mill for which six shillings is paid, two hens at Christmas, and two capons at Easter, an

enclosure of land with a house worth 10s. and two hens at Christmas, another cottage, a tenement and enclosure called the Swan, for which a sparrowhawk is paid yearly, and two other tenements.' These appendages to houses are of course held in severalty.

Next comes the survey of the fields, in which the several inhabitants have 'lands.' Thus he says in this field, the parson has two lands, the lord three, another one, another two, the lord four, the prior two, the parson one, another tenant two, the next one, the next one, the next two, the prior three, the lord two and the headland, the other belonging to the parson. This is the division of Dale furlong, and similarly Bare furlong, Wheathill furlong, Rye Hill, Pease Hill, are divided into lands. Near one of these stands a windmill, at which the lord's tenants are bound to grind all their corn and malt. The lord is to find all materials, the miller all the labour, pay 20s. a year, grind the lord's mill toll free, 'and grind it first next to the corn that is in the hopper, if any be.'

Next comes the long meadow belonging to the township of Dale. It contains 122 acres. Here in one portion the lord has four acres, a freeholder two and a-half, the parson three, another tenant two and a-half, a third three, the prior four, and the lord eight, and so with the other plots. These meadows should be staked and bounded. Then the closes are described, one of thirty acres belonging to the lord, and worth 20s. a year, another to the parson of ten acres, another of two acres held rent free by a freeholder, and a third held of the lord, of which the dimensions are not given. Similar plots of enclosures are held by other tenants, these cases being merely given as illustrations. The residue of the treatise is mainly concerned with the method by which waste and barren or marshy land may be enclosed, and with a description of the different kinds of watermills.

Every husbandman has six several closes, three for corn, one for 'leyse,' one for common pasture, and a sixth for hay. One

of these only is occupied with corn in winter, the other five can be used till the time of Lent corn comes, and then he has his fallow field, his hay field, and his pasture all summer. If an acre of land be worth sixpence before it is enclosed, it is worth eightpence after the enclosure is made, because then it can be enriched by oxen lying on it. It will not be difficult to see from this sketch what was the character of the tenancies in Fitzherbert's time, and, although he merely illustrates the facts in his treatise on surveying, how land was distributed and occupied.

We can now deal with the other element in the social system, manufacture and trade, for in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries these agencies are not particularly distinguishable. Here too, the parliamentary representation of the manufacturing and trading towns, and the charge which parliamentary institutions laid on the locality which sent the member, in the great relative cost of his wages, must have made the burgesses especially keen in making every use, by petition in parliament, and by lobby compromises out of the chamber itself, of the opportunity which their position might give them for inducing the force of law on the purposes for which they were sent¹. For the English parliament was not, like that of Paris, a mere assembly of lawyers. On the contrary, the knights and burgesses had a lively dislike of the presence of lawyers in parliament, and once went the length of excluding them by statute. Equally earnest and equally vain was the attempt made to limit the number of attorneys in Norfolk and Suffolk to six for each county, and in Norwich to two. Nor is it likely that boroughs would continue to send members at so great a charge except there were corporate resources from which the wages could be paid, unless, as seems to be the case at the very beginning of the war of succession,

¹ For instance, the pay of a burgess was 3s. 4d. a day. In 1423, the two burgesses of Norwich, Gerard and Monesle, were in Parliament 117 days. The cost is £39 (the account given in the notes appears to be a part payment), i.e. nearly a third of the Norwich contribution in 1453.

the nobles and country gentlemen who were anxious, as we know from the Paston Letters, to get their nominees elected, also stipulated to make the town easy on the score of the wages.

The rolls of parliament and the statute book are full of enactments intended to regulate trade and manufactures, weights and measures, markets and prices, currency and exchange. To deal with them particularly here would be to travel out of the limits which I have proposed to myself, but I have thought it well to give a *précis* of such documents as bear upon my subject, more or less directly, in the documents printed at the end of the third volume.

The right to carry on a trade or mystery was early confined to those who had undergone a servitude or apprenticeship in the calling. Apprenticeship, a practice which excited Adam Smith's indignation, was the result of two causes. It was deemed expedient to disarm the suspicions of those who employed agricultural labour, by putting a hindrance, in the form of a long service without wages, on those who aspired to become skilled workmen and dealers, and possibly on artisans. I have already referred to the attempts made in the second parliament of Henry the Fourth, with the object of enacting a property qualification in the case of apprentices, and to the enactment of the apprenticeship statute of 6 Eliz. The other motive was the desire to make the number of members in the guild few, with the double purpose of diminishing competition, or securing greater gain, and of protecting the charities of the guild against too large a body of applicants. There is, I believe, no proof, indeed I am pretty sure there could be no proof, that the members of a guild had, when in distress, a legal claim on the surplus revenues of the association; but there is evidence in plenty that the ostensible object of the trading company was the regulation of the business, the guarantee of quality, and the support of destitute members.

Apprenticeship could probably be traced to as early a period as the charters of the borough towns, or at least to the age of

the first guilds. We do not know what was the period at which some of the latter began. It is said that the site of the Goldsmiths' Hall, behind the General Post Office, has been held in uninterrupted succession for a longer period than any other property known; I presume this must mean in lay hands, for not a few of the possessions of the chapter of Canterbury go back to the concession or donation of Ethelbert. But indentures of apprenticeship had necessarily a very transient interest, and I consider myself fortunate in having been able to discover an original deed of this kind among the archives of Canterbury, though it is not easy to see how the document came into such hands, unless the apprentice had been, like Tusser, a chorister, and had subsequently been apprenticed under the authority of the prior and monks of Christchurch.

John Harrietsham contracts with Robert Lacy, of Canterbury, coverlid-maker, to serve the said Robert as well in his craft and in all his other works and doings such as he does and should use, from Christmas day next ensuing; for the term of seven years: he is to receive nine shillings and four pence at the end of the term, and he shall work one year after the seven at the wages of twenty shillings. Lacy is to find his apprentice in all necessaries, food, clothing, shoes, and bed, and to teach him his craft in all its particulars without concealment. During the term, the apprentice is to keep his master's secrets, do him no injury, and commit no excessive waste on his goods. He is not to frequent taverns, not to commit fornication in or out of his master's house, nor make nor contract matrimony, nor affiancance himself without his master's leave. He is not to play at dice, tables, or chequers, or any other unlawful games, but is to conduct himself soberly, justly, piously, well, and honourably, and be a faithful and good servant according to the use and custom of London. For all his obligations Lacy binds himself, his heirs and executors, his goods and chattels, present and future, wherever found. The parties affix their seals, and the instrument is dated Dec. 20, 30 Henry VI, i. e. 1451.

It will be seen that there are no material differences between

an indenture of apprenticeship drawn up and executed more than four centuries ago, and a similar instrument of our own day. The introduction of the clause, that the apprentice shall work as a journeyman for a year after the expiration of the term is singular, and the allusion to the custom of London appears to be intended to cover two peculiarities in indentures executed in the City, that infants can legally bind themselves, and that the master may cancel the indenture in case the apprentice is guilty of certain grave moral offences.

The social condition of England, apart from the causes and the consequences of the great war of succession, was not characterised by any very important events, the causes of which may be traced to popular discontent, such discontent being based on any relations of land and labour. There are, however, two events which occurred at an interval of a century, on which some brief comment should be made. I allude to Cade's rebellion in 1450, and the uprising of the Norfolk people under Ket the tanner in 1549.

It is not easy to separate the political discontent which is to be seen in 'the complaint of the commons of Kent,' and their captain's manifesto, from the social element of grievance. In the fifteen articles, which, according to Holinshed, constituted the first-named manifesto, the fourth, fifth, sixth, tenth, and eleventh appear to be the only agricultural injuries which the men of Kent could make any remonstrance against, and several of these affect all persons equally. The complaints of Cade, the captain, do contain a distinct charge, in the reference to the statute of labourers. But it is not quite clear whether this grievance is alleged in the interest of labourers or of farmers.

The cause of Cade was highly popular. He is described by Holinshed, who is copying some older author, as a 'young man of goodly stature, and right pregnant of wit.' After the affair of Sevenoaks, when the King sent the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Duke of Buckingham, two near kinsmen of the Staffords who had lost their lives at the above-named fight, they found him, according to the same authority, 'sober in talk, wise in

reasoning, arrogant in heart, and stiff in opinion.' That for a time his movement, violent as it was, was highly popular is clear. The nobles of Henry's court summoned their retainers to fight against his followers, and they declined to combat with those 'who laboured for the common weal.' After his success against the Staffords 'men spared not to speak, that the captain's cause was profitable to the Commonwealth.' Gascoigne, writing after Cade's death, hints very plainly that he was a genuine reformer, and very unfairly dealt by. I am disposed to recognise in Cade's rebellion nothing more than an outbreak at the maladministration of public affairs. The fortunes of England on the Continent were at the worst, and the King's marriage was in the public judgment closely connected with this untoward state of things. The revenues of the crown were absolutely gone, and the appeals to the public purse were incessant and importunate. We have already seen how detested the ecclesiastics were, for two bishops were murdered in this year, and so was the King's chief minister, Suffolk. Cade purposed, as Tyler is said to have purposed, some seventy years before, to have got hold of the King's person, and to have used the authority which his name might give for bringing about salutary reforms. The dispersal, too, of Cade's army is curiously like that of Tyler's. The king offers a general pardon to the rebels, and they trust his word. Cade, more prudent, objected that a pardon was of no avail without the sanction of parliament, and after getting away with his spoils to Rochester by water, and having in vain tried to seize Queenborough Castle, makes a raid through Kent into Sussex, and is killed near Lewes. I shall refer to the financial expedients of the time in a later chapter.

It has been already stated that the fifteenth century was a period in which wealth was very generally distributed, for wages were relatively high, agricultural produce was cheap, and land was valued as a rule at twenty years' purchase. Hence, though the penitence or ostentation which founded colleges and monasteries was as common as it had been in earlier ages,

the endowment of such institutions or the extension of old foundations by new gifts was rarely provided for out of lands. The Oxford and Cambridge Colleges of the fifteenth century were chiefly maintained out of impropriated rectories, or suppressed religious houses, as was also the one new and great monastic foundation, that of Sion. The foundation of All Souls' in Oxford was mainly provided from certain alien priories which Chichele purchased from the Crown. That of Lincoln came from the rectorial tithes of certain benefices in the gift of two successive bishops of Lincoln, for it appears that at this time, ecclesiastical corporations had and exercised a large discretion in alienating the property or the patronage of their offices. Jesus College at Cambridge was founded on the site and with the property of a suppressed nunnery. King's College was endowed, as was Eton, with those alien priories which were distributed between these two foundations and the abbey of Sion, and, as I have stated before, Magdalene College included the properties of at least two monastic bodies.

It appears from the reiterated statements of Gascoigne¹ that it was very generally held in the fifteenth century, that the Pope was able at his discretion to vary the objects for which monastic endowments had been conferred. Thus we are told that Martin V endowed the University of Pavia with the lands and goods of many such endowed monasteries and five chapels². It appears that the only limit which was put on the power of the Pope in diverting these endowments from monastic to other uses, was that the subsequent use must be in some degree analogous to that for which the gift of lands and goods was originally dedicated. Hence it may be assumed that the first thought of Henry the Eighth in the suppression of the monasteries was the employment of their estates in the extension of what may be called the machinery of the Anglican establishment, and in the foundation of colleges and schools. Henry's new episcopate was only a fragment of a very large plan, and

¹ e. g. *Loci*, p. 148.

² *Loci* p. 4.

till his extravagant expenditure and amazing wastefulness devoured the resources which came into his hands, he seems to have contemplated a general distribution of the lands possessed by the dissolved monasteries among new institutions. He claimed in short, under his new title, all that authority over the temporalities of the Church, which the Pope, with the general assent of Christendom, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries had exercised.

The plague, which had produced such remarkable effects in England, and indeed over the whole of Europe in the middle of the fourteenth century, reappeared, but it would seem only sporadically from time to time in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and again in its last serious visitation in the seventeenth. But I have not found any entry of its ravages in the accounts before me, till 1477-9, during which three years the register of the Norwich corporation and the books of King's College, Cambridge note its occurrence. It is noted again at Cambridge in the summer of 1509, which was probably, for there was a very plentiful harvest this year, dry and hot; in 1521 also at Cambridge; in 1538, in 1545, and 1546, the first year at Oxford, the last at Cambridge; in 1555, 1556, at Cambridge; in 1570, 1572, and 1577 at Oxford; and in 1579 at Norwich, when the town register informs us that 4918 persons died, i.e. probably at least a fourth of the population. But it does not appear that the disease was peculiarly or generally destructive, though it may have operated as a check to the growth of population, especially in the large towns. There is no reason to believe that the conditions of health in such towns as London were better during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries than they were in the eighteenth, and we know that during the latter period the deaths in the metropolis regularly and greatly exceeded the births, that in short, the supply of population in the large towns was entirely maintained by fresh immigration.

During the period comprised in these volumes, a new and very fatal disease occurred in England. Singular to say, it was

for a long period entirely confined to this country, though at last it broke out in Northern Germany and the Low Countries. Its appearance was at well-defined and fixed periods, which were generally somewhat brief. But during the time in which it lasted it was peculiarly destructive. So local was it that it did not reach Scotland or Ireland.

The Sweating Sickness broke out in the ranks of Henry the Seventh's army on its march from Bosworth to London. It appears to have had its origin, according to the chroniclers who lived so near the time that they might easily remember the traditions, in the Welsh mountains. The disease was a violent inflammatory fever, accompanied by great prostration, general disorder of the viscera, and a profuse fetid perspiration, which flowed from the patient in streams. So deadly was it, says Holinshed, copying the older annalists, that not one in a hundred recovered. The course of the disease was singularly brief, the crisis being always past in a day and a night. Men who had been in perfect health at night, were dead before the morning. It attacked robust and vigorous men more frequently than the weakly, and it spread all over the kingdom rapidly from east to west. Two lord mayors and six aldermen were victims of the sweating sickness in one week. It is said at the first visitation to have lasted from August 28 till New Year's Day. The German annalists, quoted by Hecker, describe the summer as wet. But the infallible proof of a wet summer in England, a high price of corn, is wanting, for in 1485-6 the price of wheat is a good deal below the average.

Hecker considers the disease to have been inflammatory rheumatic fever, accompanied by great disorder of the nervous system, and especially of the eighth pair. One naturally accepts the inferences of this learned writer without hesitation; but it does not seem from the description which Dr. Keyes (the Dr. Caius of Cambridge) gives of it, that it was accompanied by acute pain, or that it was followed in cases of immediate recovery by that tendency to heart disease, which is so constantly the sequela of acute rheumatism, while it was accom-

panied almost from the first symptoms by great oppression of the brain, and a lethargic sleep.

It visited England again in 1506, though with far less severity than before, and when the physicians had learned from the experience of 1485 what was the best method of treating the disease. As before, it was confined to England. The third visitation was in April 1517, when it was as destructive as it had been more than thirty years before, lasting till the spring of the next year, though it was at its height for only six months. It was particularly deadly in the two Universities. It also reached Calais, but it was noted that it affected only the English inhabitants of that town. The fourth visitation was in 1528 and 1529. On this occasion it began in May of the former year, and devastated the whole of England, the period being described as the Great Mortality. The year 1527-8 was one of famine, and the two following were years of scarcity. It is worth noting that this was the period in which smut was first noticed in wheat. On this occasion the disease, hitherto confined to England, ravaged Northern Germany, beginning at Hamburgh in 1529, in which town 1100 persons died of the disease in twenty-two days. Thence it spread eastwards to Dantzic, and westwards to Cologne and the Low Countries. It appeared at Amsterdam, Copenhagen, and Stockholm simultaneously, in September of the same year. But it had wholly passed away before Christmas. The last visitation of the disease, that which was described by Dr. Caius, was in 1551, from April 15 to the end of September. Since that time it has not reappeared in England, though epidemics closely resembling the described symptoms of it have occurred up to modern times, especially in North Germany and North Eastern France.

It is clear that the Sweating Sickness, though alarming from its virulence and the rapidity of its course, was not so destructive of human life as the plague had been and even was. But I have thought it desirable to give a short account of this disease, because apart from the enduring effect which great pestilences have on the social condition and moral character

of a nation, the merely economical consequences of plagues are far more marked and lasting than those of famines. Famine, in the strict sense of the word, has rarely occurred in England, owing to the practice which the inhabitants of this island have persistently maintained of living mainly on the dearest kind of corn. Every writer during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, who comments on the habits of English life, adverts to the profuseness of their diet, and the uncleanness of their habits. The floor of an ordinary Englishman's house, as described in the letters of Erasmus, was immeasurably and inconceivably filthy, in London for many a year after these events, filthier than elsewhere, and the streets and open ditches of the city were even more polluted and noisome¹. But it should be remembered that, notwithstanding these drawbacks, the people lived abundantly, and except when extraordinary scarcity occurred, regularly on the best provisions which could be procured. The contracts which Elizabeth makes for the maintenance of her dockyard workmen are, as may be seen from examining the prices paid for labour on royal works, liberal and even bountiful.

As the agriculturist thrived in the fifteenth century, so the mechanic and the artisan was also prosperous. This was the age in which the property of the guilds was generally acquired. The well-to-do burgher constantly devised land and tenements to his guild, on condition that mass should be said for him yearly on his obit, and the mass priest be paid, the residue, if any, being devoted to the general purposes of the guild, to the feast, or to the almshouse in which the widow or worn out and impoverished trader was housed, or the school in which the orphans of the guild were reared and taught.

It is not easy to trace the localities in which the various textile industries were carried out. But Bristol linen is quoted

¹ The reader may note that in the Oxford Colleges, New and All Souls', one lotrix does all the washing, and her remuneration at the latter society does not seem to denote very hard work.

over and over again, and later in the accounts Lancashire is named as the source of the coarser kinds. Linen and canvas are much more frequently designated as of foreign origin. Woollen manufactures, especially of the commoner kind, were carried on in all parts of the country. The fellows of New College buy their liveries frequently at Winchester, and probably at St. Giles' fair, which up to comparatively recent times was a famous and much frequented mart for West of England cloth. In a MS. book of accounts, preserved in the British Museum (Add. MSS. 28,208), and relating to Castle Combe, Wilts, a writer of the fifteenth century notes that for the space of twenty-two years and more, Sir John Fastolfe used to buy by his receivers red cloth every year of the tenants in the village of Castle Combe to the amount of £100 sterling and more. Castle Combe is now a small village containing some five hundred inhabitants. At Norton Mandeville in Essex, now a very small village; Bishop Fitzjames, the warden of Merton College, purchased in 1499 a considerable quantity of cloth for his own use, and for that of his fellows, the article being obviously manufactured on the spot. The purchases made on behalf of the monks of Durham are of woollen stuffs made at Wakefield and Bradford, and were in all likelihood the produce of a district which has now become the principal, almost the only, centre of this industry. Frequent allusion is made in the accounts to Northern cloth, and we do not hear of Norfolk stuffs so much, probably because Stourbridge fair, the great mart to which all resorted, was the principal locality in which Norfolk produce was sold. It appears likely that during the fifteenth century hand-loom weaving was very generally practised, especially by women, and that as wages were good, the industry was profitable.

In 1515 (6 Hen. VIII, cap. 6) complaint is made of the general decay of towns, and of the growth of pastures. The act states that in certain places, there used to be two hundred persons, men, women, and children, who were occupied and lived by the growing of corn and grain, the herding of cattle,

and the increase of man's sustenance, and that now the persons are minished, that husbandry, which is the greatest commodity of the realm for the sustenance of men, is greatly decayed, that churches are destroyed, and divine offices are neglected or suspended, and that the public health and safety are endangered by accumulations of filth, the yawning cellars of deserted and ruinous houses, and other consequences of urban depopulation. The owners of the soil on which the houses are decayed are bidden to rebuild them, on pain of forfeiture to the king or lord. The pasture lands too are to be restored to tillage. The statute is reenacted *totidem verbis* in the next year, appearing as 7 Hen. VIII, cap. 1.

It appears that this enactment failed to produce, at least permanently, the effects intended, for by the preamble of 27 Hen. VIII, cap. 22, the mischief is again dealt with. The same or similar penalties are enacted, and the new statute further orders that the owners of lands taken by tenants to farm shall provide proper farm-buildings for every 50, 40, or 30 acres so let. The act is made to apply to the following counties, Lincolnshire, Notts, Leicestershire, Warwick, Rutland, Northants, Beds, Bucks, Oxon, Berks, the Isle of Wight, Worcestershire, Herts, and Cambridgeshire. These districts, it will be seen, are among those which were most generally prosperous in the three assessments commented on above. In the same year (27 Hen. VIII, cap. 1), the following towns are described as greatly decayed, Nottingham, Shrewsbury, Ludlow, Bridgnorth, Queenborough, Northampton, and Gloucester; and the remedy which the statute provides is that stated above. It may be added that in the previous year, 26 Hen. VIII, caps. 8, 9, it is stated that Norwich had not recovered from the great fire which happened six-and-twenty years before, a reference probably to the event which is copied in the Notes from the Norwich register as occurring in 1507; and that the town of King's Lynn had been seriously injured by irruptions of the sea, which is to be remedied by the construction of proper walls and piers.

In 1541 (32 Hen. VIII, caps. 18 and 19), a still larger list of greatly decayed towns is given. They are York, Lincoln, Canterbury, Coventry, Bath, Chichester, Salisbury, Winchester, Bristol, Scarborough, Hereford, Colchester, Rochester, Portsmouth, Poole, Lynn, Faversham, Worcester, Stafford, Buckingham, Pomfret, Grantham, Exeter, Ipswich, Southampton, Great Yarmouth, Oxford, Great Wycombe, Guildford, Stratford, Kingston-on-Hull, Newcastle-on-Tyne, Beverley, Bedford, Leicester, Berwick. These are named in the first act. In the second are Shaftesbury, Sherborne, Bridport, Dorchester, Weymouth, Plymouth, Plympton, Barnstaple, Tavistock, Dartmouth, Launceston, Liskeard, Lostwithiel, Bodmin, Truro, Helston, Bridgwater, Taunton, Somerton, Alcester, Maldon, and Warwick. There is scarcely a town in England which is not represented to be in the same declining condition. In these acts, the rebuilding of the houses is prescribed. All that had been in existence twenty-five years before are to be rebuilt, and within three years, under the penalty of the forfeiture of sites to the mesne lord or king as the case may be.

In the next year, certain towns are again specified, which seem to have suffered more than others, or to be more urgently in need of reparation. By 33 Hen. VIII, cap. 36, all houses which were in existence forty-five years before in Canterbury, Rochester, Stamford, Grimsby, Cambridge, Derby, Guildford, Dunwich, the Cinque Ports, Lewes, and Buckingham, are to be rebuilt within two years, and in default the corporation is to become the owner of the vacant sites.

Lastly, by 36 Hen. VIII, cap. 4, the same remedy is to be applied to the same complaint in the case of Shrewsbury, Chester, Ludlow, Haverfordwest, Pembroke, Carmarthen, Montgomery, Cardiff, Swansea, Cowbridge, New Radnor, Presteign, Brecknock, Monmouth, Maldon, Abergavenny, Usk, Caerleon, Newport, Lancaster, Preston, Liverpool, and Wigan. It is observable that in these lists we do not, as a rule, find any of those wasted and decayed boroughs which had become

depopulated long before Henry's time, and were the scandal of the eighteenth century. Mr. Froude has superfluously, not to say absurdly, argued, that in the quieter times of Henry the Eighth, country life was adopted, because England was at peace under the strong hand of her patriot king, and the defences of a town proving superfluous, the constrained and uneasy life of the urban population was abandoned by all who could betake themselves to rural pursuits. But to say nothing of the preamble to the statutes 6 Hen. VIII, cap. 6, and 7 Hen. VIII, cap. 1, it is plain that the condition of the country folk had greatly altered for the worse since the time when agriculture was so thriving and the people so generally opulent, and this though the rate of wages remains high, and the price of food remains low, at least rises slowly, for it must be allowed, that every decade, up to the middle of the sixteenth century, marks an increase in the price of wheat, the money values being 5s. 5½d., 6s. 7¾d., 7s. 7d., 7s. 8½d., 11s. 7½d., 15s. 7½d., for the six decades between 1501 and 1560 inclusive.

The grievances of which the Acts of Parliament in the sixteenth century complain are enclosures of arable or common fields, for the purpose of laying them down in pasture, and the great increase in sheep breeding. The complaint about enclosures is as old as the fifteenth century, and probably refers to encroachment on common pasture, and also to the forcible extinction of rights over lammas land. But in the sixteenth century, the evil was aggravated. If we can trust the preamble of the act 25 Hen. VIII, cap. 13, the rise in the price of sheep had been prodigious, viz. from 2s. 4d. and 3s. to 5s. 4d. and 6s., that similarly the stone of wool which used to stand at 1s. 6d., or 1s. 8d., had now become worth 3s. 4d. to 4s., and in some districts where the quality was highest, from 2s. 4d. and 2s. 8d. to 4s. 8d. and 5s.¹, that consequently husbandry

¹ Such a rise would be in accordance with that law of prices, which, I believe, I was the first economist to formulate; that where a dearth or exaltation of prices occurs in any article of which there are various qualities, the greatest rise is found in the lowest quality. The law holds in labour as well as in produce, but is more obscure in the former.

was abandoned, and that general dearth was the consequence. The same preamble states that some persons keep 24,000, others 20,000, some 10,000, some 6000, some 5000 sheep, and the statute enacts that for the future no sheep-master shall have more than 2000; that in order to avoid local ambiguity as to the meaning of a hundred, as it sometimes implies six score, the long hundred, as well as five score, the latter shall be the meaning for the future, and that any transgression of the law shall be punished by a fine of 3*s.* 4*d.* for every head of sheep above the legal number, to be recovered by any one who may sue for the same, half of the penalty going to the king. I do not find indeed from the record of prices as supplied from the sources which have given me information in 1534 and onwards, that any such market values were reached for sheep, but it is possible that the complaint of the statute refers to London, where prices were always high. But a great rise had occurred in the price of wool, as I find even from the scanty information which I have been able to glean. Of course, the adoption of sheep-farming in lieu of ordinary tillage was due to the greater profit obtained by sheep-raising, especially as the importation of wheat and rye from the Baltic was considerable enough to attract the attention of the legislature, and therefore the English husbandman was exposed to competition, whilst he had the practical monopoly of the wool market, except for the Spanish supply.

Attention was doubtlessly directed in the later period of Henry's reign to the rise in the price of provisions. In the Lansdowne MSS. in the British Museum, there is a paper in duplicate in which, under the following heading, a record of prices formerly customary is noted, evidently with a view of contrasting them with later experiences. The writing is of the reign of Henry VIII.

DURING THE FIFTEENTH AND SIXTEENTH CENTURIES. 111

The prices of diverse sort of provisions and fresh Achates spent in the Priory of Southwick from A° 2 R. Hen. V, to end of 2 Hen. VI, taken forth of an old parchment book written at the time :—

Wheat at 4/. and 5/4 the qr. betwixt both.	Hens at /2.
Malt from 3/4 to 5/.	Chickens, /½ to /1.
Barley from 3/2 to 4/10.	Eggs, 25 a penny.
Oats from 1/10 to 2/4.	Butter, lb /½.
Salt, qr. 4/.	Cheese, lb. /½.
Oxen and bulls, 12/. to 16/.	Honey, quart, /3.
Cows, steers, and stunts, 9/. to 12/.	Cider, tun, 10/. to 14/.
Calves, 1/4 to 2/8.	Mallard, /1½ to /2.
Muttons, 1/2 to 1/4.	Pigs (i. e. sucking), /2½ to /5.
Goats, 2/6 to 4/.	Geese, /2½ to /5.
Hogs for pork or bacon from 2/3.	Pigeons, 3 a penny.
Lambs from /4 to /8.	Conies, /2.
Capons at /3.	Fresh congers, /4 to 1/8.

I do not comment on general prices in the present chapter, because this topic is better handled when I come to deal with facts in detail, but I may anticipate an objection which may be made to both facts and inferences that my records are generally derived from the expenditure of wealthy individuals and corporations, or at least from such persons as had fixed and secure incomes. I might indeed have inferred that, as in our day, the rich pay more for the same or nearly the same goods as the poor do, notwithstanding the fact that their purchases are in larger parcels. But I am quite clear that the bargaining was as keen in the case of a nobleman's steward or a college manciple, as it was in that of an artisan or a farm hind. Nor is there any doubt that the vendor knew his market and was well aware of the wisdom of making continuous bargains. The British Museum MSS. supply me with an excellent illustration of the manner in which sales of corn were effected. The mills of Sheffield, Rotherham, and Brightside were in 1578 and onwards the property of George, Earl of Shrewsbury. The sales of corn (Wheat, Malt, and Rye) at these mills are recorded in a thick folio described as Additional MSS. 27,532, and the entries, given weekly or thereabouts, are very numerous, ranging from half a peck to a quarter, or more. Every entry is noted

as paid in the margin by the Earl, at least in the earlier leaves of the book, and every page is checked and certified by his signature. The smallest quantities are sold at the same rate as the largest, except when the quality varies, or the market rises and falls. When Elizabeth's government fixed part of the rents of corporate estates by the market prices of the towns in which the corporation was situated, it was merely giving legal effect to custom, and the only particular in the law that was not strictly carried out, was the practice of making the prices conform to the market nearest to the estate.

But the effect of the practice of enclosures and the substitution of sheep farming for agriculture proper produced slight effects on society, compared with those of Henry's boundless and reckless extravagance¹. No English king, considering the times in which he lived, spent nearly so much on his pleasures and his caprices as Henry did. Charles the Second and George the Fourth were rapacious, sordid and lavish. Henry was not sordid, but his rapacity and waste were immeasurable and all-devouring. Let any one consult his statutes, and look, for example, at the slightest of his outlay, that which was expended on the manors of Ampthill and Grafton, places which were the whim of a day with this prodigal monarch. As he grew older, he grew more wasteful; as he grew more headstrong, more suspicious and more cruel. That he was popular is probable. He employed labour largely. He gave away profusely. He destroyed influences and institutions which had been odious to many, and had been disliked by nearly all Englishmen. He flattered national vanity, for one of his whims was to describe

¹ 'It is the highest impertinence and presumption,' says Adam Smith, 'in kings and ministers to pretend to watch over the economy of private people, and to restrain their expense either by sumptuary laws, or by prohibiting the importation of foreign luxuries. They are themselves always, and without any exception, the greatest spendthrifts in the society. Let them look well after their own expense, and they may safely trust people with theirs. If their extravagance does not ruin the state, that of their subjects never will.'—Smith, i. 350. Smith wrote this when George the Third lived thriftily, and ran into debt in order to corrupt the House of Commons, and the proceeds of corruption and speculation were spent as Mr. Trevelyan describes in his *Early Years of Fox*.

himself as the most victorious king, though he was outwitted by every European sovereign, made the tool of each in succession, and got nothing by his wars and his waste, except effecting a national ruin which was not retrieved but by the parsimony and the sacrifices of a century and a half.

The dissolution of the monasteries must have been a prodigious wrench to society, as it was a redistribution of one third, unless the facts were exaggerated, of the wealth in the country¹. What share of it went to Henry, what was spent on new foundations and new projects, and what was resigned to the king's accomplices, the vile crew of courtiers out of whom he made his new aristocracy, has not been determined with any precision. Some of the spoil fell into the hands of men who founded new colleges and schools, generally, as one may see from the journals of the Commons, by acts of Parliament², which are probably long since lost. But the king's share, which must have comprised all the plate and jewels of these foundations, was squandered as rapidly and as unaccountably as the bag of gold which in Bunyan's allegory is poured into the cup of Passion. In 1536 the lesser monasteries were suppressed, in 1539 all the rest went. In 1540, the king got a subsidy. In 1542, he began to incur large debts, and in 1543 his parliament relieved him from all debts which he had incurred by way of loan from his subjects from the first of January in the previous year. But in the same year the king began to debase the currency, and in 1545 and 1546 issued what was, compared with the existing currency, an enormous quantity of base coin, to the infinite misery of his unfortunate subjects.

The monks were unpopular, but not universally. Shortly after the dissolution Henry had to face dissatisfaction everywhere, and an insurrection which, under more able leaders,

¹ The Chronicle of Albion, a book printed in the fifteenth century, says that the knights' fees in England were 75,000, of which the men of religion have 27,005.

² The motive for these foundations by act of Parliament was probably security for the new endowment. The acts were private and not printed with the statutes of the year.

might have been highly dangerous in the North. But the king could rely on his accomplices, and up to the wars of the Long Parliament no armed resistance against legal authority has been successful, unless it were headed by the nobles, and has not always been successful then. The monasteries were the inns of the middle ages. They also fulfilled functions to a great extent identical with that of parochial relief. They were unpopular, and were therefore easy landlords. Some of them, as was asserted, were very important factors in the social economy of the time. They supplied students to the Universities. The nuns were often leeches and midwives. The ditch round Godstow nunnery is still full of the aristolochia, which the nuns had introduced, because in the pharmacy of the middle ages it was supposed to assist women in childbirth. But the worst result of the dissolution was the rapidity with which the roads went out of repair. It was the interest of the monastic orders, whose property was often scattered, to keep the means of communication open, and as they were resident landlords, who were consumers of their own and market produce, it was their interest to keep the roads in good repair. My reader will find the proof of what I refer to, when I comment, as I did in my first volumes, on the cost of carriage over known distances, for fixed quantities.

Quite apart, however, from the uses to which the monks put their lands and their capital, the general employment which their residence among the people afforded, the incidents of their outlay, the obligations they were under, which they satisfied to a greater or less degree, of aiding distress and obviating the worst results of destitution, the manner in which they must have been a check to population, and the diligence with which they improved their own buildings and the communications between their abbeys and their properties, no vast transfer of property from one class to another, especially when the transfer is from a more or less popular body to a new and needy aristocracy, can be effected without an enormous amount of suffering. It took a long time before the ruin of the French

noblesse was followed by the prosperity of the peasantry, among whom the lands of their old masters were divided. It is said that the abolition of serfdom in Russia has only slightly improved the material condition of the peasant, and has seriously impoverished the noble. But in England the transfer was from persons who were constantly recruited from the people to a rapacious aristocracy and a wasteful king. As we see from the statute book, the towns between 1515 and 1544 had been declining, and a declining urban population is the infallible sign of declining agriculture, or at least of distress among the working classes. And then, to sum up the misery, came the deluge of base money, and the common ruin of all except the infamous crew who surrounded the throne of the young Edward, quarrelled, and finally made the Reformation odious even in the eyes of its firmest advocates. Some have alleged, inferring hastily from events, that the dissolution created pauperism, and the need for a poor-law. The generalisation is too narrow, for many other causes contributed to the result, most of all the English land system, and not a little the gradual appropriation and enclosure of the common and 'lammas lands, as the government of Elizabeth saw, though it had not the strength to resist the encroachments. But had nothing else accompanied the dissolution besides the sudden and forcible change in the distribution of wealth, much distress must have followed, and a considerable time have intervened, before society could have righted itself from the effects of an economical revolution.

It is perhaps proper at this period to advert to such information as is at hand, serving to illustrate the condition of the labourer, so far as his money wages are concerned, up to the period in which, according to the statute book of Henry's reign, the depopulation of the counties began.

The reader will remember that after the great plague of 1348-9, the rate of wages instantly increased, and that the effect was a great social revolution. (See Vol. I. pp. 266 sqq., 570, 667 sqq.) The authorities strove to modify the result by

enacting, but with little success, that the old rate of wages should be retained, and denounced penalties on the giver as well as on the receiver of excess wages. The lords tried to reverse the old bargains which they had made with their serfs for the commutation of labour rents, and as a consequence had to encounter the prodigious social convulsion of Tyler's and Littlestreet's insurrection. Notwithstanding the indignant assertion that the charters of manumission were revoked, and that the concessions made to the rebels were annulled, the serfs virtually obtained that for which they had contended, and the money commutations became a settled and irrevocable agreement¹. Thenceforward the grievances of employers are embodied in petitions to Parliament, in complaints that the Statute of Labourers is not kept, and in the efforts which the framers of the parliamentary statute made in its various chapters to give effect to the prayer of the petitioners. They constantly complain that the wages of labour are excessive and, to them, ruinous.

By the 12 Ric. II, masters and servants in husbandry who paid or received more than the statutable rate of wages were rendered liable to be fined in the excess, and after a second conviction to be amerced in double the excess, and if convicted a third time, in three times, payment of the fine being enforced by a penalty of forty days' imprisonment in default. In the next year, 13 Ric. II, in order to bring wages still more under control, the justices of the county were empowered to fix the rate of wages which labourers in husbandry and artisans were to receive with or without board and clothing. This was the machinery adopted and in force at the commencement of the fifteenth century.

By 4 Henry IV, cap. 14, labourers were to receive no hire for holidays nor on the eves of feasts, when it seems they were

¹ The suggestion which I made first in my first volume, that the real cause of the insurrection of 1381 was a determination to maintain the commutation of the labour rents, was accepted by the late Mr. Tom Taylor, who told me that he had long meditated writing a drama on the subject of Wat Tyler, but did not, till he read what I had stated, see the cause of the outbreak. See Vol. i. p. 81.

constrained to leave off work after noon, for more than half the day, under a penalty of twenty shillings. It is clear, however, from the account of the building of Merton College tower, that the statute was inoperative, for the labourers are paid full wages during some of the weeks in which the most sacred holidays of the church occur.

The 7 Hen. IV asserts that there is great scarcity of labourers in husbandry, and that the gentlemen are greatly impoverished by the charge of wages. It discovers the cause of this scarcity in the general practice of apprenticeship, by which is probably meant that at this time great numbers of persons were becoming weavers, since from various acts of Parliament it is manifest that the weaver's craft had extended into all parts of the kingdom. The statute then enacts that no servant in husbandry who has pursued that calling up to twelve years of age shall be capable of being bound apprentice, and that no person who was not possessed of at least twenty shillings a year in land should be at liberty to bind his son, though he might send him to school. The proof of such an income from land shall be in the certificate of the justices of the peace, and the transgression of the statute shall be visited by a fine of a hundred shillings. It is probable that this statute was inoperative, but it is remarkable as anticipating one which was effectually operative more than a century and a half later. But the earlier statutes were very indifferently kept, unless they referred to rights over land, to forms of conveyance, and to other similar proceedings of which the judges at once took cognisance, and on which they rapidly formed precedents. Besides, it was a theory long with lawyers that statute law was merely expository of common law, to say nothing of the fact that parliamentary ordinances were very frequently limited to the time before Parliament might meet again. It is well known that many statutes enacted in Parliament were obsolete from the very day that they were published in county court by the sheriff.

By the 4 Hen. V, cap. 4, the Statute of Labourers is re-

enacted. But a much more serious blow was struck by 3 Hen. VI, cap. 1, which, reciting that the yearly congregations and confederacies of masons in general chapters and assemblies lead to breaches of the Statute of Labourers, makes the creation of such chapters a felony. Whether these institutions are the origin of masonic gatherings, I do not know, but it is clear that they were looked on with the gravest suspicion, when so formidable a penalty was denounced against them.

In 6 Hen. VI, cap. 3, after reciting the statutes of Richard II, which have been mentioned above, the penalties inflicted on masters who give higher wages than the statute allows are remitted, experimentally it seems (for the duration of the statute is defined to be till the next Parliament, when it is renewed, 8 Hen. VI, cap. 8), on the ground that masters can get no servants unless they make themselves liable to the penalty, and also because there is no penalty contained in the act of 13 Ric. II. We must, it appears, interpret this plea to mean either, that the labourers, by an understanding among each other, declined to serve unless on higher wages, and then silenced employers by pointing out the risk they ran of a common punishment, or that the employers designed to trap the men by a new statute which would leave them, when they demanded extra wages, alone to the severity of the law. But the act must have been inoperative, since Chichele's own accounts of the building of All Souls', which was commenced in 1437, bear testimony to the payment of wages which were far in excess of customary rates.

The 23 Hen. VI, cap. 13, is the first statute which defines the rate of wages in all callings. Farm servants were commonly boarded and clothed. Their wages are as follows: a bailiff in husbandry 23s. 4d., and clothing to the value of 5s.; a hind, carter, or shepherd 20s. and 4s.; a common servant 15s. and 3s. 4d.; a woman servant 10s. and 4s.; a child under fourteen years of age 6s. and 3s. 'Such as deserve less shall take less, and when less is given less shall be given henceforth.' But at Hornchurch the bailiff receives double these

wages, and other servants also in certain years what is greatly in excess of these rates.

The wages of mechanics are at two rates, those from Easter to Michaelmas, and those from Michaelmas to Easter. They vary also as the mechanic is boarded or not. The freemason and master carpenter are to receive during the longer days $5\frac{1}{2}d.$ or $4d.$, during the shorter $4\frac{1}{2}d.$ or $3d.$; the master tiler and slater, the rough mason, mean carpenter and other persons engaged in building, $4\frac{1}{2}d.$ or $3d.$ in the longer days, $4d.$ or $2\frac{1}{2}d.$ in the shorter; common labour $3\frac{1}{2}d.$ or $2d.$, and $3d.$ or $1\frac{1}{2}d.$; the lower sums in each period being the payments made when the labourer is boarded, the maintenance of an adult being reckoned throughout at $1\frac{1}{2}d.$ a day. During harvest time wages are raised. The mower receives $6d.$ or $4d.$, the reaper and carter $5d.$ or $3d.$, women and others $4\frac{1}{2}d.$ or $2\frac{1}{2}d.$ The estimate of board at harvest time is twopence a day. In the time of Elizabeth, the crown constantly contracts for the board of labourers employed by it, at the rate of $8d.$ or $9d.$ a day. It is very doubtful whether the statute was kept; it is certain that piecework becomes frequent during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and this in agricultural as well as in other labour.

The Statute of Wages was re-enacted in most of its particulars by 11 Hen. VII, cap. 22, and by 6 Hen. VIII, cap. 3, the provisions of the later statute being as follows: the bailiff is to have $26s. 8d.$ and $5s.$; the carter and shepherd $20s.$ and $5s.$; the common servant $16s. 8d.$ and $4s.$; women $10s.$ and $4s.$; children under fourteen $6s. 8d.$ and $4s.$ There is a slight rise of the money wages and clothing in the case of some.

The wages of mechanics are to be as follows: the master mason is to receive $7d.$ or $5d.$; the freemason, master carpenter, rough mason, bricklayer, master tiler, plumber, glazier, carver, and joiner, are to have $6d.$ or $4d.$ from Easter to Michaelmas, and $5d.$ or $3d.$ from Michaelmas to Easter. Ordinary labourers are to have $4d.$ or $2d.$ and $3d.$ or $1\frac{1}{2}d.$

But a new class of labour is regulated, that of shipwrights, and another division of time, from Candlemas to Michaelmas,

and from Michaelmas to Candlemas, is recognised. The master shipwright is to have 7*d.* or 5*d.* and 6*d.* or 4*d.*; the ship carpenter or hewer 6*d.* or 4*d.* and 5*d.* or 3*d.*; the able clincher 5*d.* or 3*d.* and 4½*d.* or 2½*d.*; the holder 4*d.* or 2*d.* and 3*d.* or 1½*d.*; the master caulker 6*d.* or 4*d.* and 5*d.* or 3*d.*; the mean caulker 5*d.* or 3*d.* and 4½*d.* or 2½*d.*; the tide caulker 4*d.* a tide with food.

The agricultural labourers in harvest are to have: mowers 6*d.* or 4*d.*, reapers and carters 5*d.* or 3*d.*, women and others 4*d.* or 2½*d.* No wages are to be paid for holidays or half-days.

By 7 Hen. VIII, cap. 6, artisans and labourers in London are allowed to take higher wages in consideration of their high house-rent, the greater cost of food, and their liability to the offices of constable and scavenger, and the charge of scot and lot.

It will be noticed that these rates differ from those of 23 Hen. VI almost entirely by the larger margin allowed for board. I shall reserve the comment on the efficiency of these statutes till I deal with the wages actually paid for labour by king and subject.

The provisions of 7 Hen. IV were re-enacted by 5 Eliz., and were now made effectual, at least as far as regards the regularity with which the magistrates in quarter sessions fixed the rate of wages to be paid to agricultural labourers. I had hoped to be able to find some record of the various rates as fixed by these officials in the several counties, as in such a case one would have been able to infer to the comparative condition of these several localities. But the archives of quarter sessions for so early a date have seldom or never been preserved, and I have had no satisfactory answer to my inquiries on this point. I can however supply from Elizabeth's proclamations the following for the county of Rutland. It was certainly imitated by at least the neighbouring counties.

A certificate of the rates of wages of artificers, labourers, and servants rated and served by the justices of peace, within the county of Rutland, the seventh day of the month of June [i.e. 1563], in the

fifth year of the reign of our Sovereign Lady, Elizabeth, by the grace of God, of England, France, and Ireland, Queen, defender of the faith, &c., according to the statute in that case provided, upon consideration of the great prices of linen, woollen, leather, corn, and other victuals, &c.

A bailiff in husbandry, having charge of two ploughlands at the least, may have in wages by the year 40s., and for his livery 8s.

A chief servant in husbandry of the best sort, which can eire, sow, mow, thrash, make a rick, thatch, and hedge the same, and can kill and dress a hog, sheep, and calf, may have in wages by the year 40s., and for his livery 6s.

A common servant in husbandry, which can mow, sow, thrash, and load a cart, and cannot expertly make a rick, hedge, and thatch the same, and cannot kill and dress hog, sheep, and calf, may have in wages by the year 33s. 4d., and for his livery 5s.

A mean servant in husbandry which can drive the plough, pitch the cart, and thrash, and cannot expertly sow, mow, nor make a rick, nor thatch the same, may have for his wages by the year 24s., and for his livery 5s.

A mean child under the age of 16 years may have for his wages by the year 16s., and for his livery 4s.

A chief woman servant being a cook, and can bake, brew, make white bread and malt, and able to oversee other servants, may have for her wages by the year 20s., and for her livery 6s. 8d.

A second woman servant which cannot dress meat, bake, brew, nor make malt of the best sort, may have for her wages by the year 18s., and for her livery 5s.

A mean or simple woman servant, which can do but outworks and drudgery, may have for her wages by the year 12s., and for her livery 4s.

A woman child under the age of sixteen years may have for her wages by the year 10s., and for her livery 4s.

A chief miller, which can expertly beat, lay, grind, and govern his mill, may have for his wages by the year 40s., and for his livery 6s.

A common miller, which cannot beat, nor lay, but grind only, may have for his wages by the year 26s. 8d., and for his livery 5s.

A chief shepherd, which is skilful in the ordering of his cattle, both winter and summer, may have for his wages by the year 20s., and for his livery 5s.

A common shepherd may have for his wages by the year 16s., and for his livery 4s.

The wages of artificers, labourers, and servants, from Easter to Michaelmas as followeth :—

A mower by the day, with meat *5d.*, without meat *10d.*

A man reaper by the day, with meat *4d.*, without meat *8d.*

A woman reaper by the day, with meat *3d.*, without meat, *6d.*

A man haymaker by the day, with meat *3d.*, without meat *6d.*

A woman haymaker by the day, with meat *2d.*, without meat *5d.*

A chief joiner by the day, with meat *6d.*, without meat *10d.*

A joiner's prentice which hath not served four years, by the day, with meat *3d.*, without meat *7d.*

A sawyer by the day, with meat *4d.*, without meat *9d.*

A ploughwright by the day, with meat *5d.*, without meat *9d.*

A thatcher by the day, with meat *5d.*, without meat *9d.*

A hurdle maker by the day, with meat *5d.*, without meat *9d.*

A horse collar maker by the day, with meat *5d.*, without meat *9d.*

Item, among other labourers not before named, by the day, harvest excepted, with meat *3d.*, without meat *7d.*

A freemason which can draw his plat work, and set cunningly, having charge over others, by the day, with meat *8d.*, without meat *13d.*

A rough mason which taketh charge over others, by the day, with meat *5d.*, without meat *9d.*

A master carpenter being able to draw his plat, and to be master of works over others, by the day, with meat *8d.*, without meat *12d.*

An expert carpenter by the day, with meat *5d.*, without meat *9d.*

A carpenter's prentice which hath not been prentice four years, by the day, with meat *3d.*, without meat *7d.*

A bricklayer by the day, with meat *5d.*, without meat *9d.*

A bricklayer prentice by the day, with meat *3d.*, without meat *7d.*

A tiler or slater by the day, with meat *5d.*, without meat *9d.*

A tiler's or slater's prentice by the day, with meat *3d.*, without meat *7d.*

A plumber by the day, with meat *6d.*, without meat *10d.*

A plumber's prentice not serving as prentice four years, by the day, with meat *3d.*, without meat *7d.*

A glazier by the day, with meat *6d.*, without meat *10d.*

A glazier's prentice which hath not served four years, by the day, with meat *3d.*, without meat *7d.*

The wages of artificers, labourers, and servants, from Michaelmas to Easter as followeth :—

A chief joiner by the day, with meat *4d.*, without meat *8d.*

A joiner's prentice which hath not served four years, by the day, with meat *2d.*, without meat *6d.*

A sawyer by the day, with meat *4d.*, without meat *8d.*

A ploughwright by the day, with meat *4d.*, without meat *8d.*

A thatcher by the day, with meat *4d.*, without meat *8d.*

A hurdle maker by the day, with meat *4d.*, without meat *8d.*

A horse collar maker by the day, with meat *4d.*, without meat *8d.*

Item, every other labourer not before named, by the day, harvest excepted, with meat *2d.*, without meat *6d.*

A free mason which can draw his plat work, and set cunningly, having charge over others, by the day, with meat *6d.*, without meat *10d.*

A rough mason which taketh charge over others, by the day, with meat *4d.*, without meat *8d.*

A master carpenter being able to draw his plat, and to be master of works over others, by the day, with meat *6d.*, without meat *10d.*

An expert carpenter by the day, with meat *4d.*, without meat *8d.*

A carpenter's prentice that hath not been prentice four years by the day, with meat *2d.*, without meat *6d.*

A bricklayer by the day, with meat *4d.*, without meat *8d.*

A bricklayer's prentice by the day, with meat *2d.*, without meat *6d.*

A tiler or slater by the day, with meat *4d.*, without meat *8d.*

A tiler's or slater's prentice by the day, with meat *2d.*, without meat *6d.*

A plumber by the day, with meat *5d.*, without meat *9d.*

A plumber's prentice not serving four years, by the day, with meat *2d.*, without meat *6d.*

A glazier by the day, with meat *4d.*, without meat *8d.*

A glazier's prentice which hath not served four years, by the day, with meat *2d.*, without meat *6d.*

God save the Queen.

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Cum privilegio Regiae Majestatis.

Changes in the social system, or interruptions in the ordinary course of social life, whether they were due to the action of government, or to altered conditions of trade, or to usurpations on the part of the more powerful classes, were energetically resented, and generally ascribed to maladministration or

negligence on the part of government. The insurrection of Flammoek and Joseph in Cornwall may have been little more than a survival of those troublesome times which a previous generation had experienced. Henry found his Parliament in 1523 exceedingly reluctant to burden the country with a subsidy, and had to encounter the very serious outbreak of 1536, which is known as the Pilgrimage of Grace, when Henry succeeded in dispersing the insurgents by making promises which he never intended to fulfil. But the most alarming outbreak was Ket's rising in Norfolk, a rising which was only a part of what was very general, though the ruin which Ket and his followers brought on the flourishing town of Norwich made his doings more memorable than that of the other insurgents.

Ket's chief complaint was the practice of enclosures, and the injury which had been done to the poor by the encroachments of the rich. But the discontent which his outbreak indicated, the desperate manner in which the struggle was carried on, the mischief and loss which followed it, and the leniency with which the insurgents were treated, show that the movement was due to deep-seated and serious causes. It is remarkable as being the last attempt which the English labourers have made to secure what they believed to be justice by force of arms; and it is very probable that the singular phenomenon of the English poor law, though it was enacted more than half a century after the last outbreak of the English labourer, was due as much to the conviction that there must be some compensation given to destitution, in order to obviate the danger of discontent, as to any feeling of humanity in the minds of Elizabeth and of her counsellors.

I have referred to the practice common among the members of the various guilds in the chartered towns, of devising part of their substance to the guild for charity or the common feast, after the charge for saying mass had been satisfied. The byelaws of these guilds had excited some suspicion, for by 15 Hen. VI it was enacted that their ordinances were to be certified and apparently registered by the justices of the peace

or the chief magistrates of cities and towns, under a penalty of £10¹. The property possessed by these institutions was considerable enough to stimulate the rapacity of Henry the Eighth, who in the last year of his reign procured a statute, the width of which included every foundation in the kingdom, from the Universities and Colleges of Oxford and Cambridge to the poorest charity which gave occupation to a priest and bread to a broken-down artisan. He died before this last act of rapine could be perpetrated, and the guild lands were devoured by Edward's guardians. The Universities and Colleges and a few of the schools escaped, but the benefit funds of the guilds were appropriated, except in the city of London, which the Court it seems dared not touch, for history proved that it was dangerous to drive the city to extremities.

New College, Oxford, possessed a considerable amount of house property in this city. I have printed one among the many accounts of the Oxford estate, as an illustration of the value which such property was to the possessor, and of the charges on it. It will be seen that the rents of assize amount to £58 1s. 1d., and that the sum paid by the tenant was liable to increase, in case money were expended on the building and any person were willing to pay an enhanced rent.

These gross receipts are subject to heavy deductions. The College is liable to payments amounting to £12 11s. 7d., these being probably fixed or fee farm rents issuing out of the freeholds which the College had purchased. It will be seen that most of these are payable to the heads of monastic establishments; as the prior of Merton, the abbot of Osney, the abbot of Eynsham, the prioress of Studley, and the prior of St. Frideswide in Oxford. One payment made to Sir John

¹ In Heath's account of the Grocers' Company, mention is made of a fine of £10 levied on two of the 'fellowship' for a breach of the following ordinance:—'It is ordained by the common assent of this fraternity that no man of the fraternity take his neighbour's house that is of the same fraternity, or enhance the rent against the will of the said neighbour. Who that is found in the default shall pay at the time £10, that is to weten £5 to the fraternity, and £5 to him that is thus put out of his house.'

Charcler is plainly made to a mass priest who had a chantry in All Saints' Church, Oxford. Some payments are made to the authorities of the town, the bailiffs and chamberlain, and some to private individuals. It was an exceedingly common, one might say an almost universal practice in the middle ages, to charge an estate with a pension, which future purchasers had to pay on acquiring the property, and such a custom, when the charge meant a solid interest to the possessor, must have singularly interlocked various individuals in common purposes. Wykeham purchased the manor of Heyford Warren, when he founded his College, and with it the liability charged by its former owners on the estate, of paying five quarters of wheat on All Saints' day to the abbey of Bicester. As the payment continued long after the College had ceased to cultivate the estate, and as the accounts of this estate have been singularly well preserved, these payments of corn, purchased by the bailiff of Heyford, or, as is likely, reckoned in money at the market value of corn in that day, have supplied me with a nearly unbroken series of wheat prices till the College commuted the varying charge for an average payment of 26s. 8d. It was not infrequently the case that charitable foundations were almost entirely supported by rent charges. Such was the original foundation of the King's Hall in the University of Cambridge.

The collector it will be seen was charged with the gross sum payable for all the tenements, and even with the arrears of his predecessors in office. These are explained on the back of the roll. Two sums of 18s. and 60s. appear to have been paid after the account, and after the sums allowed in the audit of the collector's moneys for charges due, but unpaid when the account was engrossed. The others are old liabilities incurred by previous collectors, and regularly entered as arrears from the first year of Henry the Sixth. One of the most constant peculiarities of medieval accounts is the annual re-entry of what we should consider hopelessly bad debts. Perhaps the practice is due to the fact that, at this time, no

prescription was pleadable against a liability. I have seen debts annually entered for a century on successive accounts. When the outstanding accounts were added to the sums which were apparently in dispute, one not recovered since the time of the collector's predecessor, and the other a rent in dispute, they exactly amount to the arrears £54 17s. 3d. with which the collector is debited at the foot of the roll. Of this sum £13 17s. 3½d. is the arrear in the collector's hand, a large sum when one reflects that he paid only £3 5s. to the College.

Tenements the annual value of which is £15 13s. 3d. are returned as void, for this is the meaning of *defectus redditus*¹.

But the most noteworthy fact in the account, that indeed for which I have printed it, is that, as will be seen, the ground landlord does all the repairs. The charges incurred under this head are not very considerable in the year which I have selected, though they are more than double the net rent paid by the collector. The bucket for the well, and even the rope for the bucket, are a landlord's charge. In one of these Oxford accounts, the College even buys and sets up a signboard for its tenant. The pavement in front of the house is paid for by the landlord, and the hinges and latches, locks and keys to doors are similar and recurrent liabilities.

I have also given three farmers' and collectors' accounts for Alton Barnes, an estate which the College continued to cultivate for more than the first thirty years of the fourteenth century. After they abandoned this practice, they let the land and the manorial rights, with the stock on the estate, the amount of the stock, corn, cattle, and dead stock being entered from time to time on the back of the roll, and generally valued. In the case which I have given, it is frequently stated that at the expiration of the lease,—it varied in length from five to ten years,—the tenant should restore it, or purchase it,

¹ According to Gascoigne, who was living and writing at the date of this roll, the number of students in the University had seriously declined about this time.

as the College pleased. The rent paid to New College is £14 in 1455, £14 10s. in 1484, and £15 10s. and a quarter of oats in 1530. The estate is said to consist of 108 acres of arable, 44 of which have been composted by sheep.

Now taking the average value of corn at the time, and the value assigned by the schedule at the back of the roll to the live stock, putting a price on the poultry which are not assessed in the roll, and finally adding a sum to that part of the dead stock which is not valued, it appears that an estate is let at £14 per annum, with a stock which cannot be of much less value than I have given it, viz: £76 7s. 3d., the whole of which, too, plainly belongs to the landlord. The rental paid on this land and stock farm is a little under 2s. 5d. per acre, and it may be observed that the same kind of holding is continued on this estate up to 1530, for the roll of that year expressly mentions that the tenant has met all his liabilities, except the stock. At that time the rental is a little under three shillings an acre.

It is certain that at this time the rental of average arable land did not exceed, as it did not in the fourteenth century, sixpence an acre. It is probable that it might be even less, for the cost of labour was certainly greater in the fifteenth than it was in the fourteenth century, as the Commons complain and the accounts demonstrate. The natural rent of unstocked land in the farm on which I have been commenting would have been £2 14s., and the College is therefore getting £11 6s. on a capital of £76 7s. 3d., or nearly 15 per cent., for the terms of the bargain are that both live and dead stock are to be considered indestructible.

My readers will note the curious fact to which I have already referred, that the landlord in this stock and land lease stipulates to insure his tenant against losses of the sheep by murrain in case these losses exceed ten per cent. of the stock. Nor was this a slight risk. In 1447 the College pays on twenty-two wethers, twenty-four ewes, and seventeen hogs, and in the next on 92, 14. and 10. In 1452 it paid on 15, 25, and 6.

In 1500 Magdalen College allowed for no less than 607 sheep on its stock and land leases¹.

Value partly given and partly estimated on the farm of Alton Barnes, leased to Thomas Tutte with the following stock, live and dead, for five years from 1455.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Wheat	8	7	2	Hoggs	7	0	0
Barley	6	3	10	Sow	0	2	0
Pulse	0	4	0	Hoggets	0	5	0
Oats	0	8	3	Piglings	0	1	8
Horses	3	6	8	Geese	0	1	8
Oxen	6	16	8	Capons	0	6	0
Bull	0	8	0	Poultry	0	0	10
Cows	1	4	0				
Steers	0	13	0	Corn and live stock	68	2	3
Yearlings	0	4	0	Dead stock, say	6	5	0
Muttons	21	17	10				
Rams	0	11	8	Total	74	7	3
Ewes	10	0	0				

It can be very easily understood, if land and stock leases were a custom in the lettings of monastic lands, how the dissolution of the monasteries and the confiscation of their stock, spread ruin far and wide among those who had been tenants under this custom. That it did so prevail is highly probable, for this lease is in existence up to 1530, within ten years of the dissolution, and it was natural that the monasteries should make use of the same expedients in the management of their property as were employed by New and Magdalen Colleges. Besides, as we see from the inventories, the dissolved houses had large quantities of live stock. That the memory of this kind of lease should have passed away after that great social revolution is not remarkable, but its sudden cessation must have added to the calamitous poverty which came upon England during the latter half of the sixteenth century.

Another account of the Collector of Rents from the estate possessed by New College in Takeley, Essex, and held by this

¹ Adam Smith discerned that the land and stock lease must have existed in England, though he has no evidence of the fact. Book iii, cap. 2. Vol. i. p. 392 of the author's edition.

society from its foundation, has been inserted in the third volume. Here there are two great heads of receipt; the rents, properly so called, i.e. customary and fixed or fee farm-rents, and those derived from short leases or annual holdings. The account is for two years. The payments made by those who had been tenants in villenage and are now tenants by custom are annually £8 19s. 2d. The rents of assize are £3 12s. 2d. There are other payments of the same kind, and besides the familiar rents of capons, hens, and ploughshares. As before, all the rental is treated as a liability of the collector.

Besides, there are lands let to farm. Three manors, let annually, are on a lease of ten years at the several rents of £8 13s. 4d., £12 13s. 4d., and £16. It appears that in these no stock is leased with the land. And there are besides certain fixed perquisites of the manor court, and certain casualties of a profitable character. The annual profit of the estate is altogether £65 12s. 6d., though this is not only the gross income, apart from expenses, but inclusive of irrecoverable claims, which are annually reckoned as income. The debit side of the collector's account is not only swollen by these items but by £220 1s. 3d. of arrears.

On the debit side are stated certain sums which have not been, or cannot be collected, owing to the uncertainty which existed as to what were the lands liable to distraint, a trifling sum for repairs to the manor house, some charges for entertaining the warden and fellows on progress, to view their property (from which it seems that the warden rode to all the college estates once a year, accompanied by one of the fellows, and two other fellows made a second, probably a spring visitation), some small casual payments, connected with the ordinary business of the estate, the expenses of the seneschal or steward, and the fee of this official of the college, Sir Thomas Montgomery. The net receipts of the college for each year amount to £51 2s. 3d. But the collector remains formally liable to £240 4s. 4½d. One of these liabilities is for an annual rent, which has been unpaid for ninety-five years, i.e. almost from

the foundation of the college. Another sum has been unpaid for twenty-two years.

But the most curious item in the arrears is the deficiencies in the accounts of the farmers and collectors. It will be seen that these go through a long series of officials, who had successively made default in several considerable sums. Two Benbury's, father and son, had given up office under considerable liabilities, the son to no less than £36 3s. 5½d. There is a dispute about £1 6s. 8d., which Richard Pynder declares on oath that he paid the elder Benbury, and the collector probably denied with equal ceremony that he had ever received. On the whole, it is plain that corporations needed all the shrewdness which they could muster, in order to be a match for their agents and their farmers.

The Takeley account raises an interesting question, which I am not antiquarian lawyer enough to solve. Did a landowner in these times possess any other means of recovering rent from an ordinary tenant either in fee or for a term of years beyond that of distress? I should gather from the accounts that he had not, and that if his tenant held, as he occasionally or even frequently did, estates for different terms, and of different magnitudes, he could not recover the rent due to him as issuing from a particular plot, unless he could exactly identify the estate in question, and distrain on it alone. This disability, if it be as I conceive it was, will account for the precision with which tenancies are described, and for the importance which Fitzherbert assigns to the work of the surveyor.

In my former volumes, I stated it as my opinion that the population of England in the Middle Ages could not have exceeded two millions, and that it was probably less. I am not, and cannot be, in a position to demonstrate this inference, but nothing which I have seen has induced me to modify the view which I then adopted. The following table however may serve to illustrate the facts at nearly the middle of the sixteenth century. The Public Record Office contains a document among the State Papers of Henry the Eighth, which gives the popula-

tion and the grain produce of nine hundreds in the county of Kent. The document is plainly of the latter part of Henry's

Hundreds.	Wheat.	Barley.	Oats.	Peas, Beans, and Tares.	Population 16th cent.	Population 1871.	Acreage.
MIDDLETON	qrs. bhs. pls. 2398 4 0	qrs. bhs. pls. 3528 4 0	qrs. bhs. 754 2	qrs. bhs. B. 75 5 P. T. 73 2	4604	19217	31915
TETNHAM	481 0 0	702 0 0	85 0	P. T. 13 0	795	3425	6246
FEVERSHAM	1343 7 0	1869 0 0	681 0	P. B. 11 0	1748	14941	26687
BOUGHTON	532 3 0	560 7 0	265 2	P. B. T. 18 0	640	3364	9572
WYE	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0	P. B. T. 64 0	1074	2586	12181
FELDBOROUGH	692 0 0	1088 0 0	381 0	P. B. T. 7 4	1643	3809	16225
DOWNHAMPFORD	854 5 0	1505 4 0	96 2	P. T. 52 2	1171	3198	10830
RYNGSLOE	1346 3 0	2848 4 0	300 4	P. B. T. 97 0	960	30134	29349
BLEANGATE	439 7 2	765 4 2	784 4	P. B. T. 27 0	1772	7406	21234
	8089 1 2	13867 7 2	3346 6	438 5	14813 ¹	88080 ²	164239

¹ 1 man to 11·08 acres nearly.

² 1 man to 1·86 acres nearly.

reign, but it contains no intimation of the purpose for which the enumeration was effected. The particulars of the produce in

the hundred of Wye are lost with the exception of peas, beans, and tares, and a tenth hundred, which must have been very small, is omitted, as the entry of the name is lost. It is only credited with 552 souls, and has 143.6 wheat, 140 barley, 540 oats, and 12½ quarters of peas, beans, and vetches. The reader will perceive that no rye is grown in any of these hundreds. I have observed more than once that wheat was the ordinary food of the English people, as beer was their ordinary drink.

Now at this time, beyond doubt, Kent was one of the most thriving and populous parts of England, and these hundreds, which are in the south-east of Kent, are in the richest agricultural district of that county and in immediate proximity to those parts of the continent with which the principal English business was carried on. The nine hundreds contain no large town, and contained none then. They are fair specimens of what in the Middle Ages was the wealthiest part of agricultural England, though other callings were at that time carried on there, and they are entirely agricultural now. The reader will observe that the population of the hundreds in the first half of the sixteenth century was almost exactly one-sixth of that at which it stands at present. Such a proportion of population would, I believe, represent pretty faithfully the hypothesis which I alleged before. It must however be remembered that the population in the sixteenth century was almost entirely rural, and that there were only a few towns of any size, London perhaps containing 80,000 persons in the year of the Spanish Armada, to judge from an estimate of the able-bodied men within it, made for the use of Burleigh and printed among his papers, and the remaining towns, as Bristol, Norwich, and Newcastle-on-Tyne, being comparatively small places. In the early period there are nearly 11.08 acres to each inhabitant, in the year 1871 about 1.86 acres to each inhabitant.

It does not appear distinctly that the quantities of corn are the actual produce of the several hundreds during the past harvest. I am disposed to believe that they are estimates made at some period intermediate to the harvest which had been

collected, and that which was in progress. Such an interpretation would square with my theory that the population of England in the Middle Ages, and indeed up to the beginning of the seventeenth century, was almost exactly equal to the number of quarters of wheat produced from such agriculture as was possible at the time. This will give rather more than six months' food to the population of the district, the residue being a surplus for seed, or traffic with the towns which could not supply themselves.

It is clear that prices remaining the same, and produce requiring the same cost to acquire it, no increase in rents was possible. Nothing but the entirely artificial character of English farmers' rents and the English corn laws could have blinded Ricardo to the discovery of the fundamental law of rent, and have induced him to believe that which is indeed an adequate explanation of the difference between the rent of one plot of land as compared with another plot, but is no explanation of the origin of rent at all. Rents have risen because the cost of production has diminished, and thereupon the competition for occupancy has been greater. If the cost of production remains stationary rents will remain stationary, and population will not increase, unless it can be fed from foreign sources, or is content to lower its standard of subsistence, as it actually did at the conclusion of the eighteenth and for the first half of the nineteenth centuries. If the market value of agricultural produce falls, all other prices remaining the same, rents will fall. If the only important fertility of land diminishes, the adequate and discreet employment of capital in agriculture, rents will similarly fall. The capitalist will not continuously cultivate at a loss, though he may stupidly go on battling against high rents, deficient produce, and a declining market, till he has lost his capital. Even then the fall of rents may be local, owing to the absurd manner in which the industry of the occupants is crippled, or to the fact that his investments are rendered uncertain, or that his stupidity is impenetrable. Foreign competition is only one and that the slightest factor in agricultural depression.

No rise in real rent was possible in England from the time at which my enquiries commence to the period at which these two volumes close, for the very sufficient reason that no progress whatever was made in the art of agriculture as practised in England during the 324 years comprised in the four volumes. In point of fact, England during the whole of this time imported largely some of the materials which were absolutely requisite for her agricultural industry; and as it is a law in prices that the money value of foreign goods, and of articles bartered against those foreign goods, is constantly controlled by the foreign exchanges, the exaltation of home products to the consumer was to a great extent counterbalanced, as far as the profit of the agriculturist was concerned, by the relative increase in the price of labour, and the absolute increase in the price of materials.

Still it is not easy to account for the facts contained in the following table of the rentals of Corpus Christi College, Oxford. I might have supplied similar information about other estates, but the facts would have had the same meaning, and it happens that the series is unbroken between 1558 and 1584 inclusive. It is during this period that the full effect of the rise in prices is felt, money values being enhanced, to speak roundly, three times. But it will be seen that there is no rise in the rents, and as I have noticed, there is no trace of those gratuities on the grant of new leases, which under the name of fines became so important an item in corporate revenues and in some settled estates. During the last two years the effect of Elizabeth's statute in directing a reservation of part of the rent in corn or in its price is discernible, though as a fact, the totals received are below the average in those two years. But the reservation of corn rents was by no means unknown. It was the constant practice with the wealthier Cambridge colleges to lessen their establishment charges, long before the statute of Elizabeth, by demanding corn at fixed prices in lieu of money rents, a precautionary measure which they doubtlessly adopted from the Eastern counties' practice.

AGGREGATE RENTALS OF CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE,
OXFORD.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
1558	488	3	9½	1568	524	19	6	1578	518	9	4
1559	511	10	6½	1569	528	3	10	1579	515	3	1½
1560	533	7	3	1570	528	0	0	1580	521	5	0½
1561	498	7	0½ ¹	1571	527	16	8	1581	524	0	10½
1562	526	11	9½	1572	526	0	7½	1582	518	5	3
1563	517	12	8½	1573	521	18	7½	1583	475	19	6½
1564	491	1	5½	1574	521	6	8½	1584	519	5	4½
1565	523	5	11½	1575	519	5	1				including
1566	520	10	2	1576	524	11	7½				15 8 1
1567	516	3	9	1577	515	4	1½	Average			
								27 years	516	18	1½

¹ These rentals are taken from the College accounts. The receipts are from lands and houses. There is no trace of fines. In the last two years an item is found called redditus frumentarii incrementa.

PARTICULARS OF ESTATES, 1561.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
HEYFORD	29	9	6	DEVENTON	354	6	3½
HAMBOROUGH	10	0	0	TWYTES	5	6	8
WEST HENDRED	40	16	8	MILTON	6	8	0
HARLEFIELD	1	1	2	HANGFORD	18	0	0
GUITING	40	16	8	NETHERRALL IN THANET	23	0	0
	5	0	0	SELLINGTON	13	3	4
DUNTESBOURNE, CHALFORD					36	10	1
AND LONGREDE	16	0	0	BECKINGHAM, &c.	3	7	8
PERTENHALL	55	2	11	CLAYMOND'S AND MOR-			
MARWELL	25	7	0	WENT'S GIFTS—			
HURSLEY	7	6	8	MARSTON	1	7	4
BERE	4	18	9	GARDEN, DO.	0	5	8
KILMESTON	1	10	0	HEADINGTON	0	12	0
BRACHEFIELD	1	13	4	HOUSE, DO.	0	8	0
TOTTON AND RADERIDGE...	8	10	3	COWLEY	2	5	0
HUSBAND TARRANT	6	0	2	WHITESHILL	6	13	8
OVERTON	22	18	5½	LITTLEMORE	1	3	4
KINGSLERE	12	0	0	STREATLEY	2	6	8
MAPLEDURWELL	14	0	0	THE STABLE	0	5	0
ODHAM	5	9	6	WITNEY HOUSE	0	19	2
S. AND E. BRENT	23	12	10	WITNEY	0	7	6
TAUNTON (HOUSE)	1	0	0	REWLEY MEADS	5	6	8
MELLISBOROUGH	7	12	5	OKLEY	1	5	0
POKSHIPTON	7	6	8	HORSEPATH	5	0	0
WARMESTER	6	13	4				
	354	6	3½		488	7	0½

I suspect that even when rents were theoretically competitive they were virtually customary. There was no means by which a landowner of those days, who was dissatisfied with the rents paid by the farmers in the parish containing his estates, could invite the competition of outsiders, and the occupiers could and would take advantage of this absence of competition by practically fixing the rents themselves. Corn and meat were certainly dearer, but many of the commons were lost, and therefore those articles were produced at greater expense. Besides it was patent, and even Parliament and the Crown had to acknowledge, that the labourer could not subsist on his old wages. It was furthermore clear that materials needed in agriculture were far dearer, and therefore that the charges of cultivation had increased proportionately to the price of the food products which the farmer brought to market.

I have adverted before to the difficulties of government in Elizabeth's reign. Everything which the Crown had to purchase for the service of the State was dearer. But the proceeds of taxation were less. The opulence of the clergy was past. Not only was the Church impoverished by the alienation of all that which had formerly been possessed by the regular clergy, but the income of the secular divines was greatly reduced. The lucrative functions which the priest of the older system fulfilled were repudiated by the reformers as superstition and foppery. The contributions of the clergy therefore were far less than in the pre-reformation age. The subsidies had long since been fixed at an amount which could not be increased, but might be diminished, were granted grudgingly, and paid slowly. Nor could the Crown afford to incur the unpopularity of pressing for grants to be levied on landowners with inelastic incomes. Foreign trade there was hardly any, for the general poverty of the country checked the demand for imports, and other countries were now more opulent and energetic than England.

There is visible also a great decline in the style of living. Before the Reformation, wine was abundant, cheap, and freely used. Afterwards it becomes an occasional luxury. The en-

OF THE ACCUMULATION OF WEALTH IN ENGLAND, ETC.

... whole classes were stinted, and even those of
... were few. It would be a long task to illus-
... but my reader will find, from the change in
... commented on hereafter in particular, that there
... contrast between the plenty of the fifteenth and
... of the sixteenth centuries.

CHAPTER IV.

TRADE AND MARKETS.

IN the early part of the fifteenth century, the trade of England with Western Europe was extensive and varied. The chief exports were agricultural and mineral produce. Wool was almost entirely supplied from England, for the Spanish produce, which was already becoming known, was not good enough by itself for the manufacture of fine or stout cloths, and was therefore mixed with that of English growth. So important was the trade with the Low Countries, that the English were supposed to be capable of controlling the manufactures of Flanders, if they would only regulate their own market of produce, by compelling all business to be conducted at the Calais staple, and by exercising an efficient police over the narrow seas. As long as England possessed Calais, it was supposed that the straits between that town and Dover might be claimed to be English waters, for the passage of which transit dues might be demanded, or at least which might avail to regulate the trade from the south-western seaboard of Europe to the north-eastern region of Hanseatic commerce.

The coasting trade of the fifteenth century was the most important commerce of the time. The Hanse towns had the southern shore of the Baltic and the western coast of Norway. But there were very few settlements on the sea, between the west of Denmark and the Low Countries. The northern ports of France were in the possession of the English, and were

highly valued, for when they were held by France they were generally the retreats of corsairs, as those of Brittany constantly remained. From the mouth of the Loire to Bayonne the English were the masters, and England was on friendly terms with Portugal, with whom it had close commercial relations. Inside the straits of Marok, as the modern straits of Gibraltar were named, the trade was in the hands of the Venetians, the Genoese, and the Florentines.

The Libel of English Policy, printed among other political poems in the Rolls Series, and assigned by Mr. Wright, the editor, to a date which is a little later than the siege of Calais in 1436, gives clear information as to the origin of most commodities imported into England, and insists that the two ports of Dover and Calais were, as the Emperor Sigismund advised Henry the Fifth, the keys of the channel, and the guarantee that the English navy would be employed most efficiently in order to protect English commerce, and control that of other countries. This was clearly enough seen in the reigns of Edward the Third and Henry the Fifth, but the advice was now neglected, and consequently the continental influence of England had declined. So total indeed was the decay of the navy at this time, that the Flemings gibed the English with the advice that they should get rid of the ship from the gold noble, and put a sheep in its place.

The produce of Spain was figs, raisins, dates, bastard wine, liquorice, Seville oil, grains, iron, Castile soap, wax, wool, wadmal (a kind of coarse woollen webbing), fine leather, saffron and quicksilver, the principal mart for these goods being Bruges. The principal articles of Flemish manufacture exchanged against Spanish goods are D'Ypres linen, the best made, fine cloths, fustians, and woollen goods generally, the material being generally English, for even Spanish wool must be mixed with English to be advantageously manufactured. It was, says the poet, by its trade and manufactures that Flanders existed; it does not grow corn enough to keep its inhabitants for a month.

The commercial relations of England and Portugal were intimate. The principal exports of that country were figs and raisins, oil, wine, osey, which appears to be also wine, wax, honey and Cordovan leather, dates, salt, and hides. Brittany, though a nest of water-thieves, supplied salt and wine, crest cloth and canvas. The produce of Pruse, by which is generally meant Northern Germany and the south coast of the Baltic, was osemond, a kind of choice iron, copper, steel, bow-staves, wax, peltry, tar, pitch, timber, flax, thread, fustian, canvas, buckram and silver. From Genoa came cloth of gold, silk, velvet, pepper, wool, oil, woodashes, cotton, alum, and gold. From Florence and Venice, all kinds of spices, groceries, sweet wines, and apothecary's drugs, besides toys. But as the marine of defence had fallen into decay, so the mercantile marine of England was far behind what it had been, and great part of English goods was carried in foreign bottoms.

It is worth noting that the writer sets great store by the national resources and products of Ireland, and expresses much anxiety that the native population should be civilized. The products of the island were hides, fish, especially salmon, hake, and herrings, linen and woollen cloths, valuable furs, among which is mentioned that of the Irish hare. Rabbits are abundant in the island. The writer comments on the excellence of the Irish harbours, particularly on that of Waterford, laments that the wild natives had considerably encroached on the English pale, and are threatening the very existence of the settlement, and quotes the authority of the Earl of Ormond to the effect that the cost of a single year's war in France would be sufficient for the complete and immediate reduction of Ireland, a result which would be followed by the most marked commercial advantages. If this be not done however, he dreads that if Ireland and Wales rise in successful rebellion against the English authority, they will get the assistance of Spain or Scotland.

Twelve years before the Libel of English Policy was written, the merchants of Bristol had reached Iceland for fishing

purposes by the use of the mariner's compass, and had thus taken part in the trade which had up to that time been almost a monopoly of Scarborough, and had followed the trade with such eagerness, that they could not get cargoes enough to cover the expenses. But no traffic of this kind is so important as the control of the narrow seas, and this is entirely in English hands as long as Dover and Calais are in good military order, and the navy is made strong and workable.

This mention of the mariner's compass is significant, being, I believe, the earliest intimation of its employment in navigation. But the *Libel of English Policy* is very instructive, because it gives a summary of European trade during the early part of the fifteenth century, shows what was the origin of many articles which will be found priced in the accompanying volume, and recommends thus early, in the reputed interests of commerce, such a Navigation Act as was ultimately passed by Henry the Seventh, re-enacted by Cromwell, adopted at the Restoration, and was a principal element in the mercantile policy of England, till a wiser generation detected its inutility and repealed it.

The *Libel of English Policy* and the *Liber Veritatum* of Gascoigne bear witness to the animosity which the English, during the first half of the fifteenth century, felt towards Flanders, which was now being gradually acquired, under various titles derived from several marriages, by the house of Burgundy. The Duke of Burgundy had broken off from England, and his Flemish subjects had tried to surprise Calais. This defection and this attempt had embittered the two nations, though the mutual advantages derived from uninterrupted trade were generally understood by all but political and party factions. Hence when the unhappy misgovernment and waste of Henry's reign came to a close, Edward attempted to renew relations of amity with the Low Countries, and might, had his energy and perseverance been equal to his military genius, by an alliance with the Duke of Burgundy, to whom his sister was married, have revived the glories of

Agincourt, and by assisting in the creation of an independent Burgundian kingdom on the Western side of the Rhine have altered the history of Europe. Henry the Seventh, with greater shrewdness and success, contrived to create the commercial treaty, which, under the name of the *Intercursus Magnus*, created interests which endured for nearly a century between England and Flanders, while it baffled completely the various plots against the House of Tudor which were framed or assisted by Margaret Plantagenet, the Dowager of Burgundy.

The policy which is advocated in the poem which I have referred to, is repeated in another which Mr. Wright has included in the same work. But this later production, put at the conclusion of the volume, refers to a custom which the writer complains of as a late growth among capitalists, that of compelling their workmen to accept goods in lieu of wages, and these at arbitrary prices. It is singular to find that in the fifteenth century the abuse of the tally shop was experienced and complained of. The writer suggests that the mines of silver should be better worked, and that the money be coined on the spot. The proposal is worth noting, because it shows that there was or might be supplied in England a certain amount of silver, and that therefore this country was not, during the period in question, wholly dependent on foreign sources for this metal. The Libel of English Policy informs us also about the Irish gold mines, which it states supplied metal of the finest 'touch,' or quality.

I know nothing which similarly illustrates the character of English trade till I find the statute 32 Hen. VIII, cap. 14. The object of this statute is the improvement or restoration of the English mercantile marine. It had been, the preamble of the statute informs us, an object with certain English kings to secure the growth of merchant shipping by what we should call navigation acts. Thus by an act of 5 Rich. II, cap. 6, merchandise could be imported in English bottoms only, a monopoly which was slightly modified by an act of the next

year, 6 Rich. II, cap. 8, under which foreigners were allowed to import in default of English ships being in foreign ports. The 4 Hen. VII, cap. 10, a new Navigation Act, provided that no wine or Toulouse wads could be imported to England, Wales, Calais, and Berwick-on-Tweed, except in English ships, on pain of forfeiting the cargo. English produce too was to be exported in vessels of similar origin. This Act had been renewed by 23 Hen. VIII. Still the mercantile marine needed fostering, and the expedient which Henry's government determined on, was to issue a scale of charges for freight. These charges on different kinds of goods, as they varied with place and distance, give an account of the principal articles of export. The Act says nothing about the freight of wool, but provides for the price which shall be paid for the carriage of woollen cloth to various ports. The cost of freight consists of a variable sum for carriage, and two other items called load-manage, which appear to be the same as the labour of storage, and primage.

The rate of freight from Flanders to London, with which country the principal part of the foreign trade was carried on, was in three quantities, the fardel, which was to be carried according to size and bargain made with the shipper at 20s., 16s., 13s. 4d., 10s., and 8s., the maund, which was to vary from 6s. 8d. downwards, and the fat at the same rates. The case of velvet containing 14 pieces was to be carried for 5s., a bale of sayes six feet high for 5s., a bale of fustian or camlet for 1s. 8d., a bale of Cologne hemp or thread for 2s., a bale of madders or almonds for 2s., a bale of currants for 3s. 4d., a barrel of nails (it will be seen that Flemish nails became a frequent article of use) at 2s., a chest of trussing, of sugar, and a ton of iron at the same rate. A bag of pepper and a hogshead of prunes and dates at 1s. 8d., a hundred-weight of hops at 6d., a flasket of soap at 4d., and a piece of Brasel at 1d.¹

These various articles, not being all the produce of Flanders,

¹ Trussing is a package of various goods. Brasel is a kind of red dye.

but several of them imports from Spain and the Levant, are proof that the Low Countries at this time possessed the principal carrying trade. As part of the possessions of the House of Austria, they would naturally, if not legally, have the monopoly of Spanish produce. But pepper, sugar, and currants must have come from the Mediterranean. It is noteworthy that the Act contains no reference to products of the New World.

The trade from London to Danske, by which seems to be meant all the district from Hamburg, Denmark, and Scandinavia, was in woollens and rabbit skins, the latter being packed in a roll, pack or maund, and charged with a freight of 18s. or less according to size. But the same region sent divers raw and coarse products to England, the rates of carrying which are given. A last of wheat or rye is to pay 26s. 8d., a pack or two half-packs of flax 30s., a pack of canvas 30s., a last of pitch or tar, i.e. 14 barrels, 12s., a last of osemonds, also 14 barrels, i.e. of steel goods, 8s., a last of ashes, also 14 barrels, 11s., two dozen bundles of bow-staves 26s. 8d., a nest of counters 18s., a last of faggots of iron 4s., a fat of sturgeon or eels 2s., a sack of feathers, i.e. 9 cwts., 13s. 6d., and a straw of wax containing 16 cwts. 14s. This list of products is instructive, because it points out how this country depended for iron, tar, flax, and other articles on Northern Europe.

The trade with Bordeaux was in wine. The freight of a tun of the first vintage was to be 18s., the tun containing two pipes, four hogsheads, or six tierces. The tun of the rack vintage was to be 16s. freight. Toulouse wad was to be eight bales, or sixteen half baletts, equalling a ton, at 20s.

The trade with London and Biscay, Portugal and Southern Spain, was intended to favour these countries. For every five tons of freight the ship was to carry to Biscay a fardel of cloth containing eighteen broadcloths free. For every other cloth seventy maravedis = $9\frac{1}{2}d.$ was to be paid. Return freight was to be 13s. 4d. the tun.

To the other districts, Portugal and Southern Spain, a fardel of fifteen cloths was to be carried free, and each pack of sixteen

broadcloths was to be charged with a freight of ten duckats, each worth 5s. From Ayamonte and Lepe (two small ports close to the southern boundary of Spain and Portugal) at 20s. the ton, to San Lukar de Barromeda, San Mary Port, and the Bay of Cadiz 21s. the ton, except in case of perishable goods, from the Crane of Seville direct to London 23s., and from Malaga to London 25s. with the same exceptions.

Malaga then was the farthest range to which English ships went, or were expected to go, in the latter part of Henry the Eighth's reign. But even here it will be noticed that the more distant ports are charged with the freightage only when they go direct to London, a limitation which seems to imply that the Parliament or the government contemplated the carriage of Spanish produce from some nearer port, or did not expect that an English ship would generally make a voyage beyond the southern limits of the modern kingdom of Portugal. There was a considerable trade on the east coast of England, especially from Norfolk, many persons, as for example, Fastolfe, having accumulated no small part of their wealth by commerce with the Low Countries and Northern Germany. So again the southern ports were full of small craft which plied along the coast, or crossed the narrow seas. But Bristol appears to have been the only considerable port on the west which rose to great importance at a comparatively early date. The rivers Severn, Ouse, and Avon were navigated, and goods carried by water to Tewkesbury and Evesham. The carriage of sea coals by coasting vessels had long been practised, for we are informed by statute 9 Hen. V, cap. 10, that a custom of two-pence the chaldron had been always levied on coals carried seawards from Newcastle-on-Tyne. The vessels, called keels, were generally of twenty chaldrons burden, but they had been increased to twenty-two or twenty-three chaldrons, and the Crown had been paid on twenty chaldrons only. Hence the statute provides hereafter that the keels shall be measured and marked.

Every precaution is taken to prevent the loss of the precious metals. The statute-book is full of enactments intended to

secure a balance of cash on every bargain. The ordinance of the staple had this end in view, and the king's exchanger or one of his deputies was required to watch the sales. But either from lack of courage or lack of skill no successful attempt was made to stop the great efflux of money to the Papal Court and to non-resident foreign ecclesiastics who were quartered on English benefices.

Corn could be exported only by licence of the Crown, and this licence was not very readily granted. But it had been temporarily granted in Parliament in 1394, a time when prices were very low. Similarly low prices in 1425 and 1426 led to the grant of a similar provision. But in 1438, when wheat was very dear, nearly at famine prices, the king refused permission to allow any shipment of corn, even in the rivers, and on pretence of distributing such produce as there was where it was needed, in fear, it seems, lest English food should be exported in order to meet continental want. But in 1435, when wheat was about at an average, permission had been given to export wheat and barley, saving the king's customs. On the other hand, the Act 3 Edward IV, cap. 2, prohibits the importation of corn, unless the price of wheat reaches 6s. 8d., of rye 4s., of barley 3s.¹ It is almost superfluous to add that our forefathers viewed the trade of the corn-dealer with great suspicion, and especially such dealers as were suspected of forestalling, regrating, or otherwise engrossing. Their legislation was of a piece with that which prohibited the export of the precious metals, and though the control was generally nugatory for the end proposed, and occasionally brought about the mischief which they intended to obviate, the object was to save the country from scarcity, which they conceived might be brought about by unpatriotic exportation and by commercial greed².

The Parliaments of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries

¹ This tariff is re-enacted 1, 2 Philip and Mary, cap. 5.

² The motive which led Parliament (3 Hen. VI, cap. 2) to prohibit the importation of living sheep to Flanders was mainly to protect the revenue derived from wool. By 18 Hen. VI, cap. 3, cheese and butter, as being perishable articles, could be always exported without licence.

exercised a vigorous police over the home manufactures and the imports, native or foreign, chiefly with a view to prevent frauds. Precautions were taken to prevent dishonesty in the woollen trade, and pieces of cloth were measured before and after they were shrunk and shorn, in order to see that the quantity was just, by officers called aulnagers, who were provided with measures, 'twelve feet twelve inches long' (Rot. Parl. v. 30. b), and duly marked. The worsted manufacture in Norfolk and Norwich was intrusted to the supervision of a local corporation created by statute. The statute-book of the Plantagenet and Tudor sovereigns is full of enactments determining the measure in length and breadth and the quality and weight of textile fabrics, and deploring the decay of trade, due to the frauds of manufacturers. Thus, for example, the statute 34, 35 Henry VIII, cap. 11, recites that there had been a local manufacture in Carmarthenshire, Cardiganshire, and Pembrokeshire of Welsh friezes and Welsh cottons, which was now decayed and extinguished in consequence of short weight and measure. The raw frieze ought to weigh 54 lbs. and be 46 yards long by $1\frac{1}{2}$ yard broad. The cotton piece raw used to be 68 avoirdupois lbs. weight, was 48 yards long, and 5 quarters and a nail broad. The Act prescribes these weights and measures for the future.

The legislature is also constantly busy in attempting to save the public from the frauds of foreign manufacturers and importers. Thus dowlas and lockram, two kinds of linen for wear, ought to contain a certain quantity in length and breadth, both should have 100 ells to the piece, the former being one yard broad, the latter a yard less a nail. The manufacturer however defrauded the customer. But the worst trick of trade is pointed out in 11 Hen. VII, cap. 27, where it is stated that foreign fustians are made so ill, and so dressed in order to conceal faults, that forming as they do the cloth for doublets, they wear out in four months, to the great hurt of the poor commons and serving men. In the same reign, 4 Hen. VII, cap. 22, similar frauds in the gold thread of Venice, an article of which only the very opulent could have been the pur-

chasers, are provided against. Once, says the statute, a pound weight of gold of Venice contained twelve ounces, and was commonly sold for 33s. 4d., now it does not contain more than seven ounces and is sold for £3. In 34, 35 Hen. VIII, cap. 7, we are told that in pursuance of statute the prices of wine were fixed, at maxima, Gascony and French at 8d., Malmsey, sweet Romney and sack at 1s. the gallon, that one used to buy Gascony at £4 13s. 4d., and French at £4 the tun of 252 gallons; Malmsey at £4, Bastard at £4 6s. 8d., and Sack and Romneys at five marks the butt of 126 gallons, but that now Gascony has risen to £7 or £8, French to £6, Malmsey to £5, Sack and Romneys to £4 10s., and Bastard to £5 or £5 6s. 8d., and that the butts of the latter are constantly from twelve to twenty gallons short.

An attempt had been made to establish a silk manufacture in London. It was in the hands of women, and these women complain of the competition and frauds of Lombard merchants. They are remedied by 33 Hen. VI, cap. 5.

But the most important part of the police which was exercised over trade was that by which the legislature regulated weights and measures. Fraud was common, especially in the use of the auncel, and the 'touching of the weights.' Coopers were ready to supply barrels for beer, and for packing fish, and measures for corn which might allow dealers to practise frauds, as common as those which it is said have been committed in reputed dozens of glass wine bottles. The cooper's craft is subjected to a police, and the gallons which a cask of salmon, eels, white or red herrings should contain are defined by statute. The manner in which salt fish should be dressed and packed is laid down, and reiterated. The public which listened to the statute as the sheriff read it by royal order were instructed as to what all the measures in use should contain, and latterly provided with the proper machinery by which measures in use should be tested.

The assize of weights, though with a definite purpose, is one of the earliest laws on the statute-book. In course of time

legislation went further. By 8 Hen. VI, cap. 5, it was provided that a common balance or balances with common weights should be provided in every city, borough, or town, to be in the keeping of the mayor or constable, free for the use of all the king's subjects, and available for foreigners on the payment of small fees. These balances were to be provided within a month after the proclamation of the statute on pain of a fine of £10 in every city defaulting, of 100s. in every borough, and of 40s. in every town where there is a constable. In the next year notice is taken that cheese is sold by auncel, and that the poor are defrauded. The public is therefore informed that the wey of cheese is and shall be 32 cloves of 7 lbs. each.

Henry the Seventh seems to have been especially diligent in seeing that weights and measures were properly certified and sealed. He provided a standard to be kept at Westminster, by which all measures and weights should be tested, by 7 Hen. VII, cap. 3, a statute which was re-enacted with additional securities by 11 Hen. VII, cap. 4, and by 12 Hen. VII, cap. 5.

The avaricious cunning of Henry the Seventh, and the wanton waste of his son, were equal hindrances to that enterprise which found out the New World, doubled the Cape, and created empires or factories in America and the East Indies. During the sixteenth century, when the rivalry between the profits of the old and new roads to India was still kept up between Venice and the other Italian cities on the one hand, and Portugal on the other, England was supplied with Eastern produce, though at great cost, through Antwerp. By the middle of Elizabeth's reign Portugal was rapidly becoming the entrepôt of that produce. According to Guicciardini¹, the centre of trade in the middle of the sixteenth century was Antwerp, and the chief produce at this mart which England supplied was, as in the time of Henry VIII, wool and cloth.

¹ Guicciardini's account of Antwerp is quoted at length from an English translation by Macpherson, ii. 126.

When war broke out between Philip of Spain and the Low Countries, and especially when the struggle became desperate, numerous weavers from Flanders crossed over to England, and settling in various parts, brought with them the art of manufacturing their finer fabrics, in which hitherto England had been imperfectly skilled, especially such woollen stuffs as were formed from a tightly twisted yarn, but with a more or less close fabric. Hitherto, the cloth of this country was made with a loosely twisted yarn, but with a dense fabric, which required shrinking and shearing (*aqualio, tonsio*), before it was fit for wear, the shrinkage apparently being close upon ten per cent. of the length¹.

Debarred at first from attempting trade with the New World, and also by the Cape passage, in consequence of the Papal grants to Portugal and Spain, and subsequently checked from adventure by the opulence, as it appeared, of the House of Austria, the English strove to find an outlet for their energies in new directions. In 1551, the British merchants attempted to effect a trade with Marocco, as the year before a similar attempt had been made to carry English merchant ships into the Levant. But a more successful attempt was made in the North-east.

In 1553, a company of merchants was formed, with Sebastian Cabot at their head, to attempt discoveries. The capital of these adventurers was slender, but they fitted out three vessels, under the command of Sir Hugh Willoughby. Unluckily they seem to have set out too late in the year, were caught by the winter, scattered, and the commander was driven into a desert harbour of Lapland, where he and the crews of two of his ships were frozen to death. It is said that certain fishermen found him in the next summer sitting in his cabin, with his diary and papers before him. The third vessel however got into the bay of Archangel, and obtained an interview with the Czar, Iwan Vasilejwitch (Ivan the Terrible), who had just

¹ See 18 Hen. VI, cap. 18. Some foreign artisans had settled in England during Edward the Sixth's reign.

succeeded to the throne, and was carrying on a war in Livonia. Chancellor went to Moscow, and obtained certain concessions to English merchants in letters addressed to the young King of England. This voyage was the experiment from which the Russian company was developed.

This company was created by charter dated 6 Feb., 1 and 2 Phil. and Mary (i.e. 1554)¹. It allowed discovery, trade, or conquest; after reciting the facts of Chancellor's voyage, in countries to the North, North-east, and North-west, not as yet frequented by other Christian monarchs in friendship with the English crown. The agent of this new company, Jenkinson, is said to have sailed down the Volga to Novgorod and Astrachan, and across the Caspian into Persia, with a view to opening a trade for raw silk. He returned to England in 1560, and published the first map of Russia. The trade of the Baltic, once in the hands of the Hanseatic League, had fallen off considerably, partly owing to the exactions practised by the Kings of Denmark, partly to the removal of those causes which gave occasion to the League in the first instance. The League still had extensive privileges and immunities in England, till in 1579 their ancient relations with English commerce were practically extinguished.

In the same year, Elizabeth entered into an offensive and defensive alliance with the United Netherlands, which had now under the name of the Seven United Provinces, and the guidance of Barneveldt and the Prince of Orange, determined to resist the King of Spain. Two years before, Drake had set out on his famous voyage. That he started with the queen's connivance is probable, that his exploits were commendable in her eyes is certain, though she so far dissembled with her great enemy, that on the return of Drake, after dining with him and knighting him, she impounded part of the treasure which he had collected, for the use of the King of Spain.

¹ The Russian company was the oldest of the regulated companies—that is, a company in which they who were admitted to the privilege of trade carried on business with their own capital. It was in fact a guild of commerce.

In point of fact, discreditable as were, from a modern point of view, the beginnings of English maritime enterprise, the form they took was almost inevitable. The Pope had conferred, at a time when such grants were considered valid, the New World and all parts of the Old World which lay out of Europe and the Papal suzerainty, on Portugal and Spain. As long as Teutonic Europe acknowledged the Pope's authority, it was not easy to dispute these grants, and after the Teutonic revolt occurred, it was not politic for the reformed kingdoms to openly set them at nought. But it was very difficult to prevent private warfare, when the object of such warfare was opulent, was possessed of lucrative privileges, and was quite unable to defend these privileges by a general blockade of the ocean. Hence piracy or buccaneering became an acknowledged fact, and the rule, no peace with Spain below the line, an admitted principle. Hence Drake sailed with the distinct purpose of plundering Spanish commerce, at a time when England was professedly at peace with Spain, and the commerce which he intended to assail was virtually being carried on by the Spanish crown. It was difficult to effect an entrance into those districts where Spain claimed an absolute monopoly, but by buccaneering, and the failures of Frobisher and Davis explain, though they may not justify, the expedition of Drake. But the period contained in these volumes closes before the final and permanent breach with Spain began. Up to 1582, England had virtually no commerce either with the West or the East Indies, and the quarrel with Spain was the occasion for the settlement of the American plantations. Raleigh's first voyage was in 1584, though he had been associated with an adventure of Gilbert's in 1578.

The internal trade of England was mainly carried on in the great fairs. Among these, the famous fair of Stourbridge¹, in the parish or liberty of Barnwell, near Cambridge, was and remained the most considerable. I have described this fair in

¹ The cry of Stourbridge fair may be seen in Gutch's *Collectanea Curiosa*, vol. i. p. 11. The prices of ale, &c. point to the first half of the sixteenth century at latest.

vol. i. p. 141. It remained the most important mart in Eastern England, and was frequented by the whole of the country for nearly two centuries after the period with which these volumes close. In countries which have made but little progress in the art of agriculture, and in which the population is consequently sparse and scattered, continuous trade is improbable, perhaps impossible. It was, I believe, in London only that the market was perpetually open, and that therefore bargains in goods, even though the vendor might have been unlawfully in possession, were, if the purchase were *bona fide*, held by custom to be valid. But in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the casual purchaser was unknown, and if it were necessary, in consequence of some sudden event, such as the visit of a great personage, to buy some article which fashion required for the important guest, because the stock which the corporation or even the individual possessed in this article was low, the purchaser had to find out and, if he could find out, buy at an exorbitant price what he might need. Hence it will be seen that the price of a spice or condiment is occasionally very high. Generally the cause is to be sought and found in some sudden requirement, and a hard bargain. Thus, in 1411, New College, Oxford, pays four shillings for half-a-pound of pepper. Pepper was very dear in the years 1411-14, as will be seen by referring to the record of purchases. But this price is beyond all parallel. The explanation is in the fact that the College had suddenly to entertain their Visitor, and the natural inference is, that being out of the article, they had to give whatever price the Oxford grocer chose to demand for what he had of a stock, which was at this time exceedingly dear.

The use of fairs for the supply of annual stock has become extinct only within a generation or two, and almost entirely in consequence of the rapid communication which has been effected by railways. Fifty years ago, a Hampshire gentleman of moderate fortune regularly visited the great fairs in the eastern part of the country, to purchase cloth and cheese for his household from the West of England factories and the

Wiltshire dairies. Nothing passes away so rapidly from memory as the form in which trade has been carried on, after the form is superseded. Elderly people only remember the times in which currency was so scarce in Lancashire, that business transactions were constantly liquidated by acceptances put into circulation by a firm which had one establishment in Manchester, and another in London, and which supplied the want, to its own enormous profit, by the simple means of a banker's bill, drawn by one establishment, and endorsed by the other. There are perhaps few persons now alive who can remember how important a part the country fair played in the economy of society, and in the distribution of produce.

In the latter part of the period before me, the fair of the North hundred of Oxford, held at the beginning of September, though it never approached the dimensions of Stourbridge, was a famous place for the sale of books. New works were virtually published at fairs, and it is in this way, I think, that we can account for the publication and distribution of that mass of literature which, issued after the period comprised in these volumes, is so remarkably copious. By what means, for instance, could the exceedingly numerous works of Prynne have been distributed? In what manner did the publisher or printer reach his customers? Advertisements were unknown, patrons and a subscription list were equally matters of the future. But books were got at, and probably through these fairs, which were exceedingly numerous in the autumn months, and where, even though the book were unlicensed and considered dangerous, the dealer and the purchaser found means to know each other. I have more than once found entries of purchases for College libraries, with a statement that the book was bought at St. Giles' fair.

Unfortunately, as that which is familiar to one generation is being lost to another, no note is taken of the change, as no note is made of the circumstances when the fact is customary. But few enquiries would be more curious and

instructive than the history of English fairs when the practice was universal and the facts were significant. They begin at a very remote time, and were probably instituted on those border districts, which being no man's land, lay outside the mark, and therefore were neutral territory, in which a special jurisdiction, the court of pie-powder, had to be established. Like other valuable privileges, they soon became a franchise, and were a considerable source of revenue to those who could appropriate the right of permitting a temporary occupancy. After having served the most important ends, they have at last become nothing but a scene of coarse and rude amusement, and almost a nuisance. But the change is little more than a generation old.

CHAPTER V.

TAXES AND CONTRIBUTIONS.

THE English sovereign was charged with the maintenance of domestic order, called emphatically the king's peace, with the administration of the law, and with the charges of the royal household. To carry out these duties, the Crown was possessed, (1) of a great estate, in lands which it cultivated or let out at rent to tenants, as convenience suggested; (2) of ancient revenues derived from a variety of sources, the most important of which were those obtained from the enfranchised boroughs; (3) the fees of the royal courts, including escheats and forfeitures; (4) the feudal dues, derived from tenants of the Crown, whether free or base; (5) casualties, such as treasure-trove; (6) the receipt of the customs, which appear to have been granted for short periods as compensation for the duty of protecting the narrow seas with a competent navy. To these general sources of revenue the Lancastrian kings added those of their very extensive and scattered duchy. This was made a separate estate of the royal family, but was not part of that which had been to a greater or less extent the estate of the king in his regal capacity, the original dimensions of which had been defined and described in Domesday. After the Duchy was united to the Crown by Edward IV, it remained and still remains under a separate administration. The theory of the constitution was that except in the presence of extraordinary emergencies, the

king should live of his own, and not trouble his subjects with demands in Parliament for extraordinary grants.

Chief Justice Thirning, who declared the cause for which Parliament was summoned on Jan. 20, 1401, justified an appeal to the Commons on the ground of the rebellion in North Wales, the troubles on the Scotch borders, and the misconduct of certain English nobles. The king had incurred considerable debts in anticipation of a parliamentary aid, and therefore candidly informed his subjects of the necessity he was under in appealing to them. He was further bound to restore to the young queen of Richard II (the late king had recently died) her jewels and dowry, and to provide at serious cost for her passage to France. Great expenses were incurred also for guarding Calais, and the castles near it, and the French king has latterly made his eldest son Duke of Guienne, an ancient possession of the English Crown, and thereupon has provoked war. Thirning hopes therefore that Parliament will provide for the safety of the king and the whole realm.

I have given this sketch of Thirning's speech as an illustration of the fact that extraordinary emergencies were the only ground on which applications to Parliament for exceptional help could be entertained. The Commons reply by the grant of a fifteenth and a tenth in the customary manner, by which is meant on the old assessment. The customs on wine, wool, woolfells and hides are given on export and import, and a similar custom on imported grain. It appears from the grant that the two villis of Baledessy and Alderton near Gosford are, and had been since the conquest of Calais, charged with the duty of victualling that fortress, and these towns are to be allowed to draw on the grant for the purpose of carrying out their duties. Frauds on the revenue are to be punished by doubling the charges.

The same or nearly the same pleas were put forward in the Parliament of 1402, summoned on the last day of September by the Lord Chancellor, Edmund Stafford, Bishop of Exeter. The Commons responded, it seems reluctantly (though they

were pleased with the battle of Homildon Hill), by the grant of 50s. on the sack of wool and bale of 240 woolfells to be paid by denizen exporters, and 100s. on every last of hides, these sums being raised in the case of aliens to 60s. and 106s. 8d. for three years from Michaelmas immediately ensuing. They raised the customs duties also from two to three shillings the tun of wine, with a shilling on the pound on exports and imports, and gave another fifteenth and tenth, but with a protest that these grants should not be drawn into a precedent. These grants were made on Nov. 24, and the Parliament was dissolved the next day.

On Jan. 14, 1404, Parliament was again summoned, and their assistance requested by the Chancellor Henry Beaufort, Bishop of Lincoln, and the king's brother, in consideration of the rebellion of Henry Percy and the defeat of the rebels at Shrewsbury. But no grant appears on the Rolls. On the contrary, the Commons urge a reformation of the royal household, and particularly the removal of four persons, whom they name, from residence in the king's company or neighbourhood.

Another Parliament was summoned in the same year to Coventry on Oct. 6, when Beaufort again stated the cause of the summons. Coventry was a city always devoted to the House of Lancaster. Here the Commons granted two fifteenths and two tenths, the first two to be levied at Christmas, the other two by moieties at Midsummer and St. Matthew's Day in the following year. They reduce the tax on wool from 50s. to 43s. 4d., and from 60s. to 53s. 4d., in the two cases of denizens and aliens. But they retain the customs on exports and imports granted in 1402.

In 1406, on March 1, another Parliament meets in London, in which Thomas Longley, Lord Chancellor, addressed the Lords and Commons, and obtained another fifteenth and tenth, and the same taxes as were granted before, on the day after the House met. On this occasion the five per cent. on imports and exports, the wine duty, and a quarter of the wool and hides duties were appropriated to the guard of the sea.

The constant recurrence of such provisions points to the fact that the appropriation of supply was essentially though irregularly involved in the early parliamentary grants. On June 13, the Parliament grants an additional five per cent. on all exports and imports, if the exports and imports were made by aliens or denizens, for one year. The merchants of the Hanse are to be exempted from this charge on merchandise. This tax was remitted on the petition of the Commons, and the release was to begin from Oct. 22.

On Dec. 2, 1407, the Parliament granted a fifteenth and a half-fifteenth, a tenth and a half-tenth for the same object; the tax to be paid in three portions, on the Purification, on the first of May, and on the Purification next following. The other taxes were continued. At the same time they prayed the king that these demands should no longer be made, and these subsidies should cease. But a similar demand and a similar grant were made on the 8th of May, 1410. No tax appears to have been demanded in 1411. A Parliament was summoned for 1413, but the king died before it could transact business.

The long list of taxes given above explains the unpopularity of Henry's government, the pecuniary difficulties in which he was placed (probably by the fact of his usurpation, the necessity which arose of conciliating the more powerful classes in the community), his comparative inaction, and the boldness with which the Commons advanced their claims to the king and forced their reforms on him. On the accession of his son, the same taxes of fifteenth and tenth, and of five per cent. on exports and imports, were renewed on May 25.

The popularity of Henry the Fifth, and his evident determination to revive the glories of his great-grandfather's reign, made the task of managing Parliament and acquiring extraordinary grants easy. On May 28, 1414, the grants on merchandise were renewed in a Parliament at Leicester. In another held at Westminster on Nov. 19, the Commons grant two entire fifteenths, and two entire tenths. On Monday, Nov. 4, 1415, the Commons grant the taxes to the king for life,

and another fifteenth and tenth. On the 16th March following, they accelerate the payment of these property taxes, and on Dec. 19, 1416, grant two entire fifteenths, and two entire tenths, securing prompt payment by careful precautions. They make a similar tax on Dec 7, 1417. A fifteenth and a third, a tenth and a third are given on Nov. 3, 1419, a fifteenth and a tenth on Dec. 1, 1421. These are the taxes by the aid of which Henry prepared for and achieved his conquest of France.

On the accession of Henry VI, the Commons granted 33*s.* 4*d.* a sack on all wool and every bundle of 240 woolfells shipped by English merchants, 53*s.* 4*d.* for similar quantities shipped by aliens, and tunnage of 3*s.* on wine, and five per cent. on other articles. But the taxes were granted for one year only. These taxes were renewed in 1423, with a provision that if such merchandise were lost by the capture of the enemy, the exportation of the same amount should be free of tax. The question whether these grants were continuous or not was raised in the Parliament of 1425, and affirmed. But the grant was renewed.

On Dec. 8, 1427, the Commons granted the king power to make advances to the amount of £24,000 to the Earl of Salisbury, on the security of the customs of subsidies and grants made or to be made to the Crown, renewed the five per cent. tax, exempted English merchants from the import duty on wool, &c., and levied a property tax of 6*s.* 8*d.* on all goods in any parish of ten inhabitants, where such inhabitants have goods under the value of £6 13*s.* 4*d.*, and where the value of goods exceeds £6 13*s.* 4*d.*, 13*s.* 4*d.* The inhabitants of cities and boroughs are to pay two shillings in the pound on their goods if they exceed twenty shillings in value. The taxes on knights' fees are to be only 6*s.* 8*d.* and so proportionately to portions of such fees, it being an understanding that the lords spiritual and temporal will grant a whole tenth to the king from their temporal possessions. These taxes appear to be an attempt to introduce a new impost in the place of the old valuation, and are singular because they suggest that, on this occasion at least, the Commons hesitated to impose a sub-

stantial tax on the lands of the nobility and the lay estates of the hierarchy.

On Dec. 12, 1429, the Commons granted a fifteenth and tenth, the old taxes on imports and exports; and later on, the subsidy on wool and woolfells for two years. It was in this Parliament that the franchise in the counties was limited to forty-shilling freeholders. On March 20, 1431, another fifteenth and tenth is granted, and a third more of each, the subsidies and taxes on wool and imports are renewed, and a tax of twenty shillings on any knight's fee is imposed, and a similar sum on freeholds of equal value which had been purchased since the 20th Edward I. In 1432, the Commons grant half a fifteenth and half a tenth, and the old taxes. But the tax of twenty shillings given the year before is remitted, on the ground of the ambiguity of the grant and the grievance felt at it. In 1433, they grant a fifteenth and tenth, £4000 being deducted from the full sum, in consideration of certain towns, cities, and boroughs which were decayed, of which we know that two were Lincoln and Great Yarmouth. The old taxes on wool, &c., and on imports and exports, are renewed.

The revenues of the Crown, from ordinary and extraordinary sources, its liabilities and debts, are set out in a document presented by Ralph, Lord Cromwell, on October 18, 1433, and preserved in the Rolls of Parliament (iv. 433 sqq.). From this document we find that the gross revenue from grants for the three years last past was, on an average, £30,722 5s. 7½d., that the charges, fees, customary payments and annuities deducted from this gross sum were £3756 2s. 11¼d., and that the net revenue was £26,966 2s. 10½d. The hereditary revenue, exclusive of the Duchy of Lancaster, was £8990 17s. 6d.

On the other hand, the charges of the household of Windsor amount to £13,678 12s. 11d. Annuities charged on the royal revenues amount to £11,152 12s., of which the queen dowager receives £2124 18s. 1½d.; Joan, widow of Henry IV, 500 marks; the Duke of Bedford 1000 marks; Humphrey Duke of Gloucester 500 marks; Richard Duke of York £104 19s. 4½d.;

and among several others, the Earl of Suffolk and his wife Alice £100. The costs of the marches of Scotland and Aquitaine, and the government of Ireland, amount to £10,899 13s. 4d. The annuities paid to ministers are £1800. An allowance of 5000 marks is made to the Duke of Gloucester, while other grants raise this head of expenditure to £5503 3s. 4d. The cost of the state prisoners, the Duchess of Orleans and Bourbon, the Count Eu, the charge of ambassadors (£2626 13s. 4d.) and other particulars, make a further head of £3723 6s. 8d. The cost of Calais is reckoned at £11,930 16s. 7½d. The total charges on the crown are £56,878 4s. 10½d., and therefore, says the document, the burdens exceed the revenues, omitting from the latter item customs and subsidies, by £47,887 7s. 4½d.

The outstanding debts of the household are £11,101 os. 7d. The unpaid annuities and salaries of the household are £19,224 11s. 9½d., the loans due to the king's relations and others (one is of 10,000 marks to the Cardinal) are £19,861 6s. 5½d., the unpaid grants to the king's attendants £2899 5s., the keepers of the prisoners claim £1154 4s. 9½d., and the arrears due for military operations, castles, &c. £110,584 2s. 6d., so that, apart from the annual deficit, the Crown was in debt to the amount of £164,814 11s. 1½d. These are exclusive of some other liabilities for which complete security is held. The treasurer prayed that his accounts should be inspected, and the Dukes of Bedford and Gloucester, the Cardinal Bishop of Winchester, and other Lords of the Council, were appointed to undertake the duty. The evils of a long minority, the quarrels of the king's family, the rapacity of those who quartered themselves on the hereditary estate of the crown and had reduced it to so small an annual amount, were mischievous enough, but there was added to them the waste of a prolonged and costly war, in which adventurers won rank and fortune, but the king nothing except debts and difficulties, while the people were incessantly and necessarily pestered for subsidies and grants. The poor treasurer, who died some years afterwards one of the richest men in England, complains of the claims for

payment, and the 'importable clamour and noise that should run upon me, and great indignation of the Lords, the which I may not bear in no wise.'

On Dec. 23, 1435, the Commons, after ordering that security should be given for the king's debts, undertake several financial operations. In the first place, they impose a graduated income tax on all manors, lands, tenements, rents, annuities and offices, and all other temporal possessions of freehold above 100 shillings in annual value. From this sum up to £100 an income tax of 6*d.* in the £ is imposed. Between £100 a year and £400, the tax is to be 8*d.* in the £. On those above £400, a tax of two shillings in the £ on all residual income in excess of £400. Spiritual persons are to be charged on such possessions of theirs as have been amortized since 20 Ed. I. A further grant of a fifteenth and tenth is made, £4000 being deducted for the reasons given before, the towns specially excepted being Andover and Lincoln. Next a tax of five nobles is given on every sack of wool and 240 woolfells for two years, and the old taxes are renewed. The Speaker, by whom of course these financial expedients were devised, was John Bowes, member for Notts. The Commons, with commendable good sense, petitioned the king that no archbishop, bishop, abbot or prior should be a collector of these subsidies or taxes, adding ironically that the dioceses of the bishops and the neighbourhood of the abbeys were greatly oppressed by these parties, who would be better in their convents or at their duties. But the king's council unwisely answered *Le Roy s'advisera*.

On May 27, 1437, the Commons grant another fifteenth and tenth, 53*s.* 4*d.* on every sack of wool and 240 woolfells exported by aliens, 53*s.* 4*d.* on all exported by denizens, and appropriate 20*s.* from every sack to the sustenance of Calais. The old taxes are also renewed. In 1439, they grant a fifteenth and a half, and a tenth and a half, with the omission as before of £4000 in consideration of the wasted and decayed towns in the realm. The towns exempted are Lincoln, Elm, Wisbeach, Leverington Newton and St. Giles Tidd in the county of

Cambridge, Andover and Alresford in the county of Southampton. The subsidy of wools and woolfells, the tunnage of wine, and the five per cent. on exports and imports are renewed. They also impose a personal tax of 1*s.* 4*d.* a year on all denizens not of English birth, and Welshmen, who are householders, sixpence annually on other strangers not householders. The tax is not to be levied on persons under twelve years of age. The same Parliament takes cognisance of the great and growing debts of the king's household, and makes the payment of these debts a first charge on the Duchies of Lancaster and Cornwall. It appears from a document presented to the Commons on the king's part, that the ordinance of his household and the control of his purveyors was business put before them by the king and to which they gave their formal assent in a remarkable document, which may be found at length in the Rolls of Parliament, v. p. 8.

The Parliament of 1442 granted a fifteenth and tenth, with the deduction of £4000 as before. On this occasion, Lincoln is wholly quitted, Cheltenham rated at a half of its old assessment, as also Alresford, Scarborough, and Headington (Oxfordshire), while Yarmouth is to pay only a quarter of its ordinary liabilities. The other taxes are continued as before, with the licence tax for two years. In the same year, the number of the navy is provided: eight great ships, each with a crew of 150 men; eight barges, each with 80 men; eight balyngers, each with 40 men; four spynges, each with 25 men. The wages of each man are to be 2*s.* a month; twenty-four masters, each to have 3*s.* 4*d.* a month; victualling, 1*s.* 2*d.* per week; the whole cost to be defrayed from the tunnage and poundage for eight months, being £6090 13*s.* 4*d.* Of these ships, one, the Nicholas of the Tower, soon to be concerned in a great event, lay at Bristol. In 1444 half a fifteenth and half a tenth were granted, and the old taxes reimposed, but not the duty on aliens.

In the Parliament of 1445, held at Westminster, in which William Burley was Speaker, in place of Tresham, and a feeling

of loyalty was predominant¹, the Chancellor, Archbishop Stafford, congratulated the country on the marriage of Henry and Margaret, which he strangely illustrated by the text, Righteousness and peace have kissed each other. The House sat from Feb. 25 to March 15, when it was prorogued to the 5th of June, and thence on plea of recreation and harvest to Oct. 20, when promise was made that the attention of the Commons should be invited to extortions, oppressions, riots, maintenance, and other crimes. Then after an interval, during which it is not recorded that it transacted business, it was prorogued to Dec. 15, and again to Jan. 24. On March 15, i.e. on the day of its first prorogation, it granted half a fifteenth and half a tenth, less £2000 which is remitted to the towns named above and in the same proportion. On April 9, 1445, it granted a fifteenth and a tenth, and half a fifteenth and half a tenth, with a deduction on both sums of £9000 and the old taxes for four years. The most remarkable event however of this Parliament was the formal apology put in for the Marquis of Suffolk, and his conduct in the king's marriage. (Rot. Parl. v. 73, 74.) The foundations of Eton and King's College, Cambridge, are also confirmed by this Parliament. It will be noted that the exemption rises now from £4000 to £6000.

In the Parliament of 1447, William Tresham was elected Speaker for the third time, being as before member for Northampton county. The Roll is brief, and no grant appears on it. The next Parliament was summoned on Feb. 12, 1449, when John Say was Speaker, and half a fifteenth and half a tenth granted with the exception of £3000. The old taxes were renewed, and a portion of them, as before, appropriated to the defences of Calais and the payment of soldiers' wages there. These arrangements are to continue for four years. In consideration of a pardon for 'felonies and rapes' it was suggested that every priest, secular and religious, should pay 6s. 8d. to the king. But this, as trenching on the liberties of

¹ Unfortunately, nearly all the returns of this Parliament are lost, and we cannot tell whether Tresham was elected.

the Church, was rejected, and the whole matter referred to the hierarchy.

In the meantime, the possessions of the king in France were lost. The Norman towns capitulated, and Guienne was overrun. The issue of all this long effort, this ceaseless expense, and the overwhelming debts of the crown, was the extinction of all hopes that the ancient fame of the English arms could recover possession of the French provinces. The queen was supposed to be the primary cause of these calamities. She was credited with the murder of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, whose numerous faults were forgotten in his arrest and suspicious death at Bury, and in his stubborn defence of the foreign policy which had been conceived by Henry of Monmouth. Somerset was in France, York in Ireland. But the hateful Duke of Suffolk was in England, and on him the vengeance of an angry and disappointed people would be taken. In such a frame of mind, the Parliament being largely composed of new men, as we learn from the list, Sir John Popham, member for Hants, was elected Speaker. He seems to have been a new member, though an old man, and excused himself on the ground of feeble health, and long service in the king's wars. The House then elected William Tresham for the fourth time. This personage, as we shall see below, was a member of the king's household. His son was Speaker of the Coventry Parliament of 1459, was knighted, was an energetic Lancastrian, took part in the battle of Towton, and was attainted, with many others, by 1 Ed. IV, though restored in the Parliament of 7, 8 Ed. IV. The family then, in an age when blood feuds were particularly ferocious, could not be charged with any disloyalty to the House of Lancaster, even if, as there is no reason to think was the case, the rival claims of Richard of York had ever been whispered.

The Speaker of the House of Commons was the finance

¹ Tresham's colleague in the representation of Northants was the famous Thomas Thorpe, the Lancastrian partisan, who became Speaker in 1453, and was imprisoned at the Duke of York's prosecution.

minister of the day. He framed budgets, to use a modern phrase, and announced grants. He not only maintained the discipline of the House, but was responsible for its conduct. If it offended the king, he bore the brunt of the royal wrath. If it roused the anger of some powerful man outside the House, the Speaker was the obvious object of attack and vengeance. This great responsibility, implied to this day in the Speaker's claim for the undoubted privileges of the Commons, and his humble deprecation of offence given and taken, continued from the earliest times at least to the age of Lenthall. There were occasions on which the Speaker was constrained, as the mouth-piece of the Commons, to use uncourtly language, to complain of excesses in government, of extortion and oppression, of royal promises broken, of royal debts unpaid, of an impoverished revenue, of insolent favourites, of public dishonour at home and abroad. There were occasions on which this great official of the Commons had even to undertake the dangerous duty, at the instance of those whom he governed and served, of impeaching a powerful minister. Tresham must have assuredly counted the cost before he undertook the office which, now put upon him anew, was one of extreme difficulty and danger.

The financial scheme of Tresham was propounded at Leicester, to which town the Commons had removed, in consequence of the unhealthiness of Westminster, on Mar. 30, 1450. He proposed a graduated income-tax, taking the precedent of 1435, for going much lower in the taxable unit. All persons having freehold estate in 'lands, tenements, rents, services, annuities, offices, fees, pensions, or temporal commodities,' to the value of twenty shillings yearly, all persons having a similar income for term of life, or in an annuity not issuing from a certain place, all persons having occupation to the same amount in ancient demesne or elsewhere, all having estates by copy of court roll or custom of the manor, are to be liable to a tax of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. The limit of this charge is £20 annual income. Between £20 and £200 annual revenue, the tax is to be 5 per cent. On incomes of £200 and upwards it is to be

10 per cent. for all income in excess of £200. Tenants in ward are to be exempt, but their guardians are to pay. Every person having an office, wages, fee or fees, and term of years, is to pay $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on an income exceeding 40s.; up to £20 annual income, and between £20 and £200, 5 per cent. If any have above £200 a year in such an estate, he is to pay for the excess 10 per cent. The proceeds of the tax are to be paid to four persons, named in the grant, who are to receive each 4s. a day wages, and they are to be assisted by local authorities to be named in Commission issued under the Great Seal. The parties rendered liable to this tax are to be exempt from the obligation of taking knighthood for two years. No member of Parliament is to be a Commissioner. The Commons, protesting their poverty, declare that they cannot make the usual grants, and concede this assistance under the urgent necessities of the Crown. Spiritual persons are not to be charged on any of their tenements, except such as have been amortized since 20 Ed. I. The Bill, of which I have given a summary, was thought reasonable by the Lords, and agreed to by the king.

Tresham next proceeded to deal with the debts of the Crown, and especially those of the household. He appropriated from 122 sources of revenue the sum of £5582 18s. $7\frac{1}{2}d.$ to the king's household, with the addition of so much of the Duchy of Lancaster as remained after the queen's jointure was satisfied, and the fees, wages, reparations, costs, and expenses of the Duchy were met. These were Tresham's financial expedients, sufficient apparently for the immediate necessity.

He had however a far higher function to perform. The Commons had resolved on impeaching Suffolk, on reviving a parliamentary proceeding which had been rarely and that remotely used. That the duke (he had been raised to the highest rank of the Peerage in 1448) anticipated his unpopularity, is implied in the measures taken five years before, and commented on above. He was aware that the storm was gathering against him, and on Jan. 22, 1450, besought the king that he might meet and refute impending charges. The

claim is accompanied by a document, in which the writer dwells on the services which his family had rendered to the Royal House, how his father's attendance on Henry IV had been constant, and how he died in the service of Henry V at Harfleur; how his eldest brother was killed at Agincourt, two others were also slain in battle, and himself was captured and put to £20,000 ransom, another brother dying while held as a hostage in France; how he had been under arms for the king and his father for thirty-four winters, seventeen of which had been spent abroad, had been thirty years a Knight of the Garter, and fifteen in close attendance on the king's person. The document concludes with a protestation of innocence and a demand that the accused be brought face to face with his accusers.

On Jan. 26, the Speaker, with certain of the Commons, waited on the Chancellor, Stafford, Archbishop of Canterbury, and taking occasion of the admission made by the duke that heavy charges were laid against him, begged the Chancellor to communicate the facts to the king, and in the interval demanded that Suffolk should be imprisoned. On the following day, the Chancellor communicated the message to the king and to the Privy Council. The lords of the council consulted with the judges, who declared that the charges were too general and too vague, that they might imply offences to which imprisonment did not apply, or crimes to which it did, and that it was necessary to supply particulars.

On Jan. 27, the Speaker opened and declared in the Commons' House, before the Chancellor and other lords with him, sent by the king, how great was their loyalty and affection to the king's person, and how serious were their alarms. They professed to believe that the French king meditated the invasion of England, with the connivance of Suffolk, and that the arming, provisioning, and storing of Wallingford Castle by the duke, with guns, gunpowder and other munitions of war, with sufficient provisions, was proof of traitorous intentions; and again urged that the duke should be sent to the Tower

during Parliament. The king yielded, and the duke was committed.

On Jan. 31, Stafford was discharged of the office of Chancellor, and Kemp, Archbishop of York, substituted. On Feb. 7, the Commons presented their charges, eight in number, with a preamble in which they state that through Suffolk's means Normandy and Guienne, Anjou and Maine had been lost. The first article charges Suffolk with an attempt, in conjunction with certain French lords, to dethrone the king, by inviting Charles of France to land in England, with the ultimate view of making his own son king in Henry's room. They state that Suffolk had procured the wardship of Margaret, daughter and heir of John, Duke of Somerset (subsequently married to Owen Tudor, and mother of Henry VII), with the intention of marrying her to his son, on the ground that she was next heir to the English crown, supposing the king had no issue, and they allege that since his arrest Margaret had been married to the duke's son. (He actually married a daughter of the Duke of York.)

The second count charges Suffolk with having released the Duke of Orleans, one of the captives of Agincourt, from prison, eleven years before, and having stimulated Charles of France to attack Normandy, where the Earl of Shrewsbury and Lord Falconbridge were captured and held to ransom. The third charges him with transferring Anjou and Maine to the queen's father and the king's great enemy, thereby causing the loss of Normandy. The fourth with having disclosed the king's counsel at a given place and time to Dunois the Bastard of Orleans and others, and thereby effecting the loss of France and Normandy. The fifth with having disclosed the condition of the French fortresses to Charles. The sixth with having prevented peace between Charles and Henry, and having bragged of his influence at the French court. The seventh with having failed to forward the supplies which had been granted for the war; and the eighth with having aided and abetted certain of the king's enemies, and having discouraged

the king's friends. The charges conclude with a formal accusation and impeachment of Suffolk, and a prayer that they be enacted in Parliament.

Most historians criticise these charges as vague and uncertain, and even as malevolent. But the independent testimony of Gascoigne¹ shews that this, and more than what is stated here, was popularly believed, and founded on what seemed sufficient evidence. The charges were read to the Lords on Feb. 12, and it was suggested that a copy of them should be sent to the judges. The king, however, determined to postpone the matter. On March 7, the Lords concluded by a majority that Suffolk should answer the charges, and on March 9 the Commons put in eighteen other articles of a far more particular character. These comprise malversations in office, the lavish grant of liberties, the bestowal of the earldom of Kendal on his niece's husband (a French subject, and son of Gaston de Foix, the Captal de Buch, who, after obtaining enormous grants, leagued with the king's enemies), the trafficking in offices on behalf of unworthy persons (a constant complaint of Gascoigne), the procuring of grants, the embezzlement of subsidies to a prodigious amount, the impoverishment of the crown lands, the denial of justice to injured parties, and the concession of pardon to a murderer, the tampering with the election of sheriffs, and the alienation of the king's allies. The articles are more substantial and more serious than those alleged before.

Suffolk was brought from the Tower on March 9, and the charges were read to him. He asked for copies, and was committed, under the custody of three persons, to a tower in the Palace of Westminster. On March 13 he made his answer, denying the truth or the relevancy of the charges, stating that as regards the cession of Maine and Anjou, other lords were equally responsible with himself, and that in particular the Bishop of Chichester (Adam de Moleyns, murdered at Portsmouth on Jan. 8, 1450) had actually made the transfer. He

¹ *Liber Veritatum*, Index, Suffolk.

also softened down some of the statements which he was reported to have made.

After some delays, on Tuesday, March 17, Suffolk was brought before the king and all the lords in London, into the king's inmost chamber 'with a Gavill Wyndow over a Cloister,' i.e. probably over the cloister of St. Stephen's chapel, now the cloak room of the House of Commons, and was formally arraigned. The king asked him through the Chancellor why he had not put himself on his Peerage, i.e. demanded a trial by his Peers. Suffolk evaded an answer to this question, and put himself into the king's hands, probably by private direction: On this he was banished for five years from the first of May, to any place, except France, and other the king's dominions. This action of the king was followed by a protest from the peers, through Lord Beaumont.

The escape of Suffolk from the tower to his estate, his attempted flight, capture, and murder are known to all my readers. The Commons, under Tresham, now proceed to regulate the king's household. The debts of the king amounted to £372,000, his annual income had sunk to £5000, and the ordinary charges of the household were £24,000. The Commons, it is alleged, had frequently made grants, and could bear them no longer. There is but one remedy, a revocation of grants. Then follows a long schedule of exceptions, and the king grants the petition. It is not known when the Parliament was dissolved, but probably the rising of Cade hurried on the dissolution or concluded abruptly the Leicester session.

Cade's insurrection was only slightly agrarian, but it was largely political. It took some colour from the insurrection of Tyler, for the plan of Cade was, like that of Tyler, to get possession of the king's person, and to carry on the government under his name. But it had no other likeness to it. It was, like all such insurrections, the occurrence of an age of prosperity. It seldom happens that discontent breaks into revolt when men are desperate, and when such revolts occur they are seldom dangerous, though constantly ferocious. The immediate

purpose of Cade was to get rid of the greedy and worthless courtiers about the king, such as Say, Cromer, and the bishops. It was well understood that if the court bishops had stayed in London, or had fled to their dioceses, they were in serious peril. So they hid where they were personally unknown. One, Aiscough of Salisbury, ventured into his diocese, and was speedily murdered. The stories about Cade's hostility to property and learning and of his pretensions to legitimate descent from the house of Mortimer are late inventions of the Tudor annalists, and at variance with contemporary testimony.

The Duke of York had left Ireland, where he had gone, it appears, against his will, and had yet so conciliated the people, that long afterwards they remained profoundly attached to his family, and even to the persons who pretended descent from him. The efforts made for the recovery of Normandy were defeated at Fourmigny, and the public exasperation was at its height. Some of the authorities in London had sided with Cade, and the militia was disaffected. After the crisis of Cade's revolt was over, Margaret and the king had hid themselves at Kenilworth, and to all appearance had abandoned the functions of government. In this crisis, the Duke of York requested Tresham to meet him on Wednesday, September 23, with a view to confer with the most eminent members of the House of Commons on the policy which should be adopted. From the sequel of the story, and from the subsequent history of Tresham's family, it was plain that he was in the king's service, a zealous loyalist, and belonged to one of those few families who, having been trusted and enriched by the House of Lancaster, were faithful to it in its misfortunes. Tresham resided at his seat of Sywell, a place about seven miles north-east of the town of Northampton, and for generations after in the possession of the same family.

Certain persons, instigated it is said by Lord Grey de Ruthin, the head of a family which had produced and continued to produce the worst men in the English aristocracy, resolved on waylaying and murdering the Speaker, who had conducted the

impeachment of Suffolk. The custom of the time was that travellers made choice in the open country of the road which seemed safest, rarely came back by the same way, and kept their intentions secret. In order to effect their purpose, the conspirators sent one of their accomplices, William King, who came to him in the evening of Tuesday, and pretended that he had a suit with the Duke of York, for which he desired Tresham's assistance, asking him at the same time to inform him of the hour of his departure and the road on which he purposed riding to meet the duke, and so got information as to his intended route. He then communicated the information to his accomplices, who thereupon, to the number of one hundred and twenty, eleven of whom are named, hid themselves behind a hedge, at a place called Thorpland Close, near Moulton, about three miles and a half from Northampton, from midnight till six in the forenoon. At this time Tresham came riding along the high road 'singing the matins of our Lady,' when William King met him and gave the signal by which they knew the object of their ambush, and the murderers rose, one of them Evan Ap-Rice instantly running Tresham through the body with a spear. The rest of the party then wounded him with various deadly wounds, took from him a collar of the king's livery, a gold chain, a horse, twenty pounds in money, his signet ring and valuable jewels, and robbed his son and heir, Thomas Tresham, of his horse, his collar, his purse, his money and his jewels. The culprits went about the country boasting of their exploit, and though the widow of the murdered man intreated the sheriff to arrest them, he dared not do it. The coroners too had empanelled a jury, who wished to put off their verdict, since the culprits had threatened the jurors with death, if they gave a verdict according to the facts, or did not find that Tresham committed suicide. The widow, Isabel Tresham, a daughter of William Vaux of Harrowden, therefore petitions the King in Parliament, that a writ should issue from Chancery to the sheriff of Northampton, calling upon the culprits to surrender, and that they should be tried, on the widow's appeal, by a jury of

twelve landholders whose yearly income should be that of a knight's fee, and that if the sheriff fail in any particular he be liable to a penalty of £200. These facts were laid before Parliament on Nov. 9, 1450, and the petition was granted¹.

The Parliament which met, to judge from the Speaker whom they elected, was far less compliant than that which was summoned in the previous year to Leicester, and sat till Cade's insurrection broke out. Sir William Oldhall, knight, of Herts, who a few years later was attainted for having been an accomplice of Cade, was Speaker. It limited the assessment of the previous year to persons having forty shillings in freehold or copyhold lands, and to the holders of offices to the amount of £3 and upwards in annual value, and thus appears to have lessened the grant made by Tresham. It was prorogued from the 18th Dec. to Jan. 20, from thence to April 19, and afterwards to May 5. It presented a petition requiring the dismissal of the Duke of Somerset, Alice Duchess Dowager of Suffolk, Booth Bishop of Lichfield, Sutton Lord Dudley, Lord Hastings, Sir Thomas Stanley, Sir Edmund Hungerford, and twenty-three others, who were principally employed in the household, and prayed for an order that they should not come within twelve miles of the court, on pain of forfeiting goods and lands, and that they should lose all fees and wages from Dec. 1, 1451. The Parliament also enacts a resumption with the same preamble and the same exceptions as those of the year before, and concludes its labours with a petition that as the treasons of the Duke of Suffolk were sufficiently notorious, they should be accepted as proved, and that all the consequences of attainder should follow in his case. The king refused the petition.

I cannot but see, in my estimate of Tresham and his times, in the crime that cut short this great Speaker's career, and in the strong confidence which his widow expresses in her petition to the Crown that the gentlemen of Northamptonshire would avenge his memory, that the loss of Tresham's life was one of the most serious calamities which happened to political parties

¹ For the fortunes of Tresham's grandson see Rot. Parl. vi. 317.

in the disastrous year 1450. A coalition between York and Tresham would have resulted in a reform or a settlement of matters in dispute, and would in all likelihood have obviated the events which were impending, and were precipitated by his murder. The first blood shed in civil war is nearly always its best blood. In the same way one of the greatest misfortunes which the country underwent during the time that civil war was still doubtful in the seventeenth century was the death of the Earl of Bedford. The Parliament of Nov. 1450 was angry and vindictive, and in its proposition that the king's household should be banished, and the memory of Suffolk should be rendered infamous, it began a quarrel which was soon to develop into unrestrained bloodshed.

During the summer of 1452 occurred the revolt of the Gascons, the nomination of Shrewsbury to the lieutenancy of Guienne, and the revival of hopes that Aquitaine might be recovered. We learn that the cause of Gascon discontent was the imposition of taxes, probably on the two principal articles of export, wine and salt, which the French king might have thought as suitable for taxation as the English financier found wool was. We shall see hereafter how serious was the effect of the loss of Guienne on the consumption of French wine.

The hope was shortlived, and matters were worse than they would have been, had it never been raised. But, in the interval, loyalty, enthusiasm, and confidence in Talbot and the administration were as vigorous as ever they had been in the best days of Bedford. The Commons elected as their Speaker Thorpe, one of the officials of the Exchequer, and knight for the shire of Essex. In the parliament of 1450 he had been member for Ludgershall, and in that of 1449 he was the colleague of Tresham for Northampton. He became, as time passed, a zealous Lancastrian, was at the first battle of St. Alban's in the retinue of Somerset, and was afterwards, in 1459, a baron of the Exchequer, with higher offices in reversion. But he was executed in 1461.

Thorpe at once set to work on financial expedients. Parlia-
VOL. IV. N

ment met in the refectory of Reading abbey on March 6, 1453, and on the 28th granted a fifteenth and a tenth, less £6000, to be deducted from the assessments of impoverished towns, of which Lincoln and Yarmouth are named, which are entirely quit of the obligation. The export and import duties are re-enacted, and now for the term of the king's life. The tax on exported tin is raised to ten per cent. The tax on wool and woolfells is set at 43*s.* 4*d.* to denizens, and the last of hides to 100*s.*, also for the king's life. These taxes are raised to 100*s.* on wool and woolfells, and 106*s.* 8*d.* the last of hides, in the case of strangers exporting them, and the taxes are appropriated in part for the repairs of Calais, and for paying and victualling the soldiers. A third expedient is the licence duty on aliens, of 16*d.* in the case of householders, 6*d.* in that of individuals, with 20*s.* annually on all foreign merchants, factors, and brokers, the nationalities specified being chiefly those of Italian towns. In case any alien desires to become a denizen, he is to pay an annual subsidy of ten marks (£6 13*s.* 4*d.*) a year, in equal portions at Easter and Michaelmas, and to be free from further liabilities. The fourth financial expedient is the levy of twenty thousand archers, afterwards reduced to 13,000, to be equipped and paid by the several towns and counties according to a schedule. The facts have been commented on above, p. 74. On July 2, the Commons granted another half-fifteenth and half-tenth. They were adjourned on July 2 for the usual reasons, till Nov. 12, and from thence to Feb. 11. On Feb. 15 they complained that their Speaker, and another member, were in prison, and the Duke of York answered, that Thorpe's offence had been a trespass, and that he had been tried and cast in damages in his own court of the Exchequer. The sequel is well known, though most, if not all historians have completely misconceived the facts. His subsequent fortunes are told in a petition presented by his son Roger Thorpe in the first Parliament of Henry VII, Rot. Parl. vi. 294.

The delay in summoning Parliament was due to the king's insanity, which I make no doubt was caused by the disasters

that occurred in France during the summer. On Feb. 11 letters patent were issued appointing John Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester, the king's lieutenant. On Feb. 13 the king was made to adjourn the Parliament from Reading to London, and to appoint the Duke of York his lieutenant. It is probable that the ill success of the English arms in France had led to a palace revolution, which the queen was not strong enough to resist. On March 22, Kemp, archbishop of Canterbury and Lord Chancellor, died, and matters came to a crisis. The Great Seal was obligatory in all public instruments, and the appointment of a new Chancellor was a national necessity. The appointment was in the king's hands, and he must be seen. The story of the condition in which he was found is given in the Rolls of Parliament. On March 15, the king's infant son, born five months before, had been made Prince of Wales in Parliament, and the letters patent were witnessed by the two archbishops, seven bishops, two dukes, five earls, two viscounts, the prior of St. John's, and three barons. The temper of the House is pretty clearly shown at this time by remonstrance made about the heavy duties which they had granted on wool, the consequent decline in the export trade, and the great lowering of price which had ensued.

The first Parliamentary grant which I find in the records of Edward the Fourth's Parliaments is an aid of £37,000, less £6000, as before, in 1464. From this it appears that this sum was equivalent to the fifteenths and tenths referred to so frequently. The old tonnage and poundage, with the other dues, at 33s. 4d. the sack of wool, and 24s. woolfells, and 66s. 8d. the last of hides, from denizens, 66s. 8d. for wool and woolfells, and 73s. 4d. on the last of hides, from aliens, were given for life. In 7 and 8 Ed. IV, two whole fifteenths and two whole tenths are granted with the deduction of £12,000, Lincoln and Yarmouth being mentioned among the excused towns.

After Barnet and Tewkesbury, the shortlived restoration of Henry and the total annihilation of the old Lancastrian party, the Parliament of 1472-3 granted on Oct. 8, 1472, the subsidy

of 13,000 archers which had been made but never satisfied nineteen years before. But the force was to be called out before Michaelmas 1474, or the grant was to drop. At the same time, and as if in emulation of this grant, the Peers grant a tenth on their lordships, lands, tenements, &c. But the gift is to be void, and the payments restored to the grantors, in case the king does not pass out of the realm before Michaelmas 1474. In this year the costs of the archers were stated to amount to the estimate made by the Commons of a fifteenth and tenth, to be devoted to this object, or as an equivalent to it, viz. £51,147 4s. 7½d. The exceptions to payment are Lincoln, Great Yarmouth, New Shoreham, and Cambridge. This grant however is to be void if the king do not make his journey before Midsummer 1476. In the Parliament of 1475, the grant, estimated now at a whole fifteenth and tenth, and three-quarters of a fifteenth and tenth, is expedited. In 1482 the Parliament again grants a fifteenth and tenth, with the customary deduction. Licence duties are also renewed on strangers, 6s. 8d. a year on all resident aliens being householders, with a proviso that the tax shall be paid *per capita* on those who dwell in common, 2s. a year on all who are not householders. Foreigners brewing beer are to pay 20s. a year. Foreign merchants, brokers, and factors of divers nationalities, chiefly Italian, holding a house in England for three months and upwards, 40s. a year, and if not holding a house, 20s. a year. In case such persons leave the realm without payment, the owners of the premises are to be liable. The merchants of the Hanse Towns are exempt.

The Parliamentary grants made to Edward the Fourth are, it will be seen, comparatively infrequent. It has been said by Hallam that Edward's reign was a despotism, and this author comments upon the absence of any statute relieving the subject or giving guarantees for liberty. I am however struck with the singular leniency of this king towards his political enemies. The rolls of Parliament are full of petitions for the reversal of attainders. I do not recollect a single case in which the

petition was refused ; and though the attainder and mysterious death of Clarence have given an impression of Edward's harshness, it must be remembered that Clarence had, by his extraordinary perfidy, forfeited all claim to the king's confidence, and was universally unpopular.

The only grant to Richard III was the old subsidies on exports and imports, with 33*s.* 4*d.* for the sack of wool and twelve score woolfells, and 66*s.* 8*d.* for the last of hides in the case of denizens, 66*s.* 8*d.* and 73*s.* 4*d.* being levied in the case of strangers. These duties are granted for the king's life. They are granted for a similar term to Henry VII, in the first year of his reign. But no fifteenths or tenths are granted till 1487, when two of each are given with the usual deduction of £6000 on each, and with the customary exceptions. The licence duties on aliens are likewise renewed. In 1488 a grant of 10,000 archers is also made, the cost of which is now estimated at £100,000. To supply the means for this charge an income-tax is levied by the Commons to the extent of £75,000 on the estates of Commoners, and a property-tax on the owners of all chattels over ten marks in value, at the rate of twenty pence for every ten marks—some exceptions, as wearing apparel, money, and the like, being made from this taxable capital. A similar tax is granted by the Lords spiritual and temporal ; the three northern shires being excepted in both grants from any liability. In 1491, two whole fifteenths and two whole tenths were also granted, with the customary deduction of £12,000.

The custom of pressing wealthy citizens and others to make free loans or benevolences to the king appears to have been commenced by Edward IV, was relinquished formally by Richard III, and was revived, under the plea that the statutes of an usurper had no authority, by Henry VII. A singular statute, 11 Hen. VII, cap. 10, recognises the liability of these loans. In 1496, the Commons, on the plea of Scotch disturbances, gave the king two fifteenths and two tenths, with the usual deduction of £12,000, but with no specification of

the towns to be relieved. The taxes are to be levied by moieties on May 31 and Nov. 8, but it is provided that in case peace be effected in the course of the year, and the king do not engage in war, the second moiety shall be void. The Universities and Eton and Winchester Colleges are exempted from these subsidies.

In 1503, the king claims the aid on making his eldest son a knight (Arthur was now dead three years) to which allusion has been made above.

The old duties were granted to Henry VIII for the term of his natural life by 1 Hen. VIII, cap. 20: and by 3 Hen. VIII, cap. 22, two fifteenths and two tenths, with the customary deduction of £12,000, are granted, the plea being the aggressions of France in Italy and the Low Countries. The four towns, Lincoln, Yarmouth, Shoreham, and Cambridge, are relieved or exonerated from the tax, which is also not to apply to Oxford and Cambridge Universities, Winchester and Eton Colleges. In the next year a fifteenth and tenth are granted, though the Act is not entered on the Rolls of Parliament. The plea is the ambition of France and the threats it has made against the Pope. A poll tax is also imposed on every duke of £6 13s. 4d., on every marquis, earl, marchioness, and countess, £4, on every baron, 40s., and on every knight, not being lord of Parliament, 30s.; on every landholder whose estate exceeds £40 annual value, 20s., on others whose estate is between £20 and £40, 10s., between £10 and £5, 5s., between £5 and 40s., 2s., and on all under, 1s. Then comes a property-tax of 53s. 4d. on £800, on estates between £800 and £400, 40s., between £200 and £400, 26s. 8d., between £100 and £200, 13s. 4d., between £40 and £100, 6s. 8d., £20 and £40, 3s. 4d., £10 and £20, 1s. 8d., £10 and 40s., 1s. Labourers receiving wages between 40s. and 20s. yearly are to pay 6d., others earning less, 4d. No one is to be exempt but married women and beggars.

The next year the Commons grant £160,000 in aid of the expedition to Tournay. This is estimated on the lines of the

property and income-tax imposed in the previous year. It was found next year that this assessment only yielded £50,000, when, to make up the deficiency, $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. was granted on all lands above 20s. per annum, on all personalty above 40s., and on all wages above 20s. In the following year it was found that these means provided only £45,637 13s. 8d., and a fifteenth and tenth were granted with the ordinary deduction.

The necessities of the year 1523 were provided for by a property-tax of five per cent. for two years on the income of lands possessed by natives, ten per cent. from those held by aliens, five per cent. on the personal estate of natives, when the value was above £20, and ten per cent. in the case of aliens. If these estates were less than £20, the tax was to be two-and-a-half. In the third year a tax of five per cent. was to be levied on estates worth £50 a year and upwards. The plea is the hostility of France. In 1534, a fifteenth and a tenth are granted in the usual form under plea of the wars on the Scottish border. In the following year the monasteries whose income was under £200 annual revenue were given to the king. In 1539, the remaining abbeys were dissolved, and in 1545 an act was passed, 37 Hen. VIII, cap. 4, by which divers colleges, free chapels, chantries, hospitals, fraternities, brotherhoods, guilds, and endowments for stipendiary priests were vested in the crown. The execution of this act was delayed.

The subsidy of tonnage and poundage was granted to Edward VI by 1 Ed. VI, cap. 13, for the king's life, and by the next chapter the guilds were dissolved and their possessions granted to the king. The Colleges in Oxford and Cambridge were exempt from the operation of this act, as were also Companies of Trade, a salvo intended to protect the City companies. There is no exceptional grant on the statute book, during Edward's reign, till the last year, when two fifteenths and two tenths were given, a subsidy of 4s. in the pound of lands and 2s. 8d. of goods.

Tonnage and poundage were granted by 1 Mary, stat. 2, cap. 18, the act of Edward VI just now referred to being released as regards the subsidy. But in 1555, a subsidy on personalty was granted at the rate of 8*d.* in the pound between £5 and £10, 1*s.* between £10 and £20, and 1*s.* 4*d.* on personalty above this amount. In the case of aliens, the tax was 8*d.* under £5, 1*s.* between £5 and £10, 1*s.* 6*d.* between £10 and £20, and 2*s.* above £20. The tax on land was ten per cent. in the case of natives, and fifteen in the case of aliens, when the value was above 20*s.* The war with France in 1558 was the apology for a fifteenth and tenth granted then, and a heavy subsidy on the lines of that imposed three years before, but with rates doubled. Persons rated for personalty were not to be rated for realty, and *vice versa*.

Tonnage and poundage were granted to Elizabeth by the 20th chapter of her first act, as was also a subsidy, two fifteenths and two tenths. The tax on personalty amounting to £5 was 2*s.* 8*d.*, in portions of 1*s.* 8*d.* and 1*s.*, on aliens 3*s.* 4*d.* and 2*s.* Lands over 20*s.* in annual value were taxed at 2*s.* 8*d.* and 1*s.* 4*d.* in the case of natives, of 5*s.* 4*d.* and 2*s.* 8*d.* in that of aliens. An identical grant was made by 5 Eliz. cap. 31, a single subsidy, a fifteenth and a tenth at about half the above by 8 Eliz. cap. 18, two fifteenths, two tenths, and a single subsidy by 13 Eliz. cap. 27, a similar grant by 18 Eliz. cap. 23, and another of the same amount by 23 Eliz. cap. 15. These conclude the taxes levied by consent of Parliament during the time comprised in these volumes.

I have thought it worth while to collect out of the Rolls of Parliament, and the collection of the ancient statutes printed by the authority of Parliament, the several particulars which can be gathered about the financial methods adopted in the period before me. It will be remembered that the principal taxes were direct, and must have been granted with reluctance, though very often the tax was graduated according to the means of the person who paid it, and such a graduation was considered reasonable.

In my former volumes, I was able to give my readers information as to the particulars of taxation, and their incidence on particular estates. But the evidence which has supplied me with the facts in these volumes rarely records these payments, and when it does so seldom notes others than those which are made for privileges and confirmations. It will be seen however that the Yorkist and Tudor sovereigns were much more cautious in claiming exceptional grants than the Lancastrian kings were.

CHAPTER VI.

CURRENCY.

WITHIN the period comprised in these volumes, important, even fundamental changes took place in the currency, whatever be the interpretation given to the various indentures which the crown and the master of the mint executed. The theory of the currency is as follows. Up to 1300, the pound (Tower) of silver was coined into 240 pence. This Tower pound contained 5400 grains, and continued to be the pound of currency up to the 18th year of Henry the Eighth (1527), when the Troy pound of 5760 grains was, by proclamation, declared to be the only legal weight for gold and silver. These 240 pence each contained, according to the Tower weight, $22\frac{1}{2}$ grains, and had the penny been measured by the Troy pound it would have contained 24 grains. The standard of fineness was 11 ozs. 2 dwts. fine, and 18 dwts. alloy, and this standard of silver was continued, unchanged, till the first debasement of the currency in 34 Henry VIII; a debasement which was further practised in varying proportions during the reigns of Edward the Sixth and Mary, though both these monarchs, the former at the conclusion, the latter at the beginning of their respective reigns, strove to reform the currency. This reformation was effected by Elizabeth, who restored the old standard, and is supposed to have made a profit on the transaction. Since this reformation, which was the first act of Elizabeth's reign, the proportion of fine silver and alloy has remained unchanged. The Irish

currency was tampered with a year before the English was debased, and remained a debased currency, with rare exceptions, from 33 Henry VIII to 10 Charles I, when it was restored to the standard of the English.

The first lessening of the unit was effected in the last year of the thirteenth century. It is noteworthy that in 1299, a considerable currency of foreign origin was circulated in England¹, and was demonetized. The new money stood to the old in the proportion of 2·871 to 3. In 1344 it was lowered to the proportion of 2·622. Two years later, in 1346, to that of 2·583; in 1353 it stood at 2·325; in 1412 at 1·937; in 1464 at 1·55; in 1527 at 1·378; in 1543 at 1·163; in 1560 at 1·033; in 1601 at 1. It will be remembered that the Troy pound stood to the Tower or moneyer's pound in the proportion of 24 to 22·5.

The meaning of these figures is interpreted to be that, at various periods of English history, the English monarchs lessened the amount of the money which expressed an obligation or a power of purchase, ordering, for example, in 1412 that a landowner who had £500 to receive in fee farm or fixed rents, and who had inherited say from his grandfather a sum equal to five hundred Tower pounds of silver coin, should be content to acquiesce without murmur in accepting about two-thirds of the amount. If we suppose that the change was understood, and was effective, it is difficult to understand why all commodities should not have risen in money value to the whole of the amount, unless we accept not only the hypothesis of Adam Smith, that the relative value of silver was constantly increasing during the fifteenth and the earlier part of the sixteenth century, but that the increase corresponded with chronological precision to the several changes which were made by the indentures of the mint.

I am quite aware, when the currency of any country is employed almost entirely in domestic exchanges, that it is

¹ See vol. i. p. 193, &c.

possible for the force of government to give a fictitious value to a legal currency, and, if the currency of any country is slightly affected by the foreign exchanges, that the purchasing power of money, though it may be greatly lowered in the exchange, will suffer an unimportant, or even inappreciable reduction at home. But during the fifteenth century this country was very little influenced by the foreign exchanges. Public and private documents, acts of Parliament, and the comments of such writers as Gascoigne show that the currency was greatly lessened by the perpetual transmission of specie to the Roman court. Their complaint is that the country is denuded of its wealth by a perpetually adverse balance of trade, chiefly due to the collections made by Papal agents on ordinary or extraordinary occasions. But it is clear that, foreign trade existing, no precaution which any government could adopt would have prevented the immediate exportation of all the old money in England when, for instance in 1412, the quantity of silver in a given amount, which had stood at the proportion of 2.325, was reduced instantly to 1.937.

I suggested more than once in my earlier volumes that payments were made by weight, up to the time when Elizabeth restored the currency, and that subsequently, a perfectly new departure being made, the custom of receiving sums by tale, though it must have seriously affected the recipients of fixed rents, became habitual, because for seventeen years the country had been plagued with a base money, the intrinsic value of which was less than even that third in which, speaking generally, the new currency stood to that of the older Plantagenet kings. I did not pretend to affirm this theory positively, nor do I still, even though I have a far larger array of facts than I had when I first promulgated the hypothesis, and I must postpone a part of the evidence which I wish to put before my readers till I come to the general estimate of prices in the sixteenth century in a later part of this volume, but in the interval I may call my reader's attention to the following.

1. After the issue of the base money, and markedly after the

reform of the currency, prices suddenly and permanently rose, generally by nearly one and a half times more than the amount at which they had stood before the base money was issued, or even during several years of its currency.

2. The price of raw silver and silver plate. Silver plate is purchased at 2*s.* 8*d.* the ounce: before and after the change of 1412, as my reader may see by turning to the price of metals. In 1464, the very year in which the next change was effected, viz. from the proportion of 1·937 to that of 1·55, a very large amount of plate is purchased at 3*s.*, and the quantity is expressed in pounds, shillings, and pence. In the following year a silver jewel is bought at 2*s.* 11*d.* the ounce. In 1500 a large amount is bought at 3*s.* 8*d.* In 1535, when nearly the last change in nominal value had been made, a small amount, but a quantity large enough to test the fact, is bought at 3*s.* 7*d.* But in money of that time, paid by tale, it is not easy to understand how any wrought silver plate could have been sold for less than 4*s.* 6*d.* an ounce, even allowing a very moderate sum for workmanship. Now the cost of manufacturing plain plate appears to have been at least 8*d.* an ounce, and this when the work was done on the premises and the silversmith had his commons. Similar inferences could be drawn from the cost of gold. In 1462, from an entry which will be found under the prices of metals, gold was bought at 30*s.* an ounce. Now at this time Ruding, quoting Lord Liverpool's essay, fixes the ratio of gold to silver as $11\frac{1}{8}\frac{5}{8}$ to 1. Such a ratio will fairly square with a payment made by weight, but corresponds in no way with a payment by tale. Gilt plate too, considering how exceedingly thick medieval gilding was¹, is by no means dear. In 1425 I have the record of 320 ozs., purchased at prices varying from 3*s.* 3*d.* to 3*s.* 5*d.* an ounce. In 1486 thirteen ounces are bought at 3*s.* 7*d.*, and in 1510 $3\frac{3}{4}$ ozs. at 4*s.* 8*d.*, the difference of course being in the fashion, for no change is made in the indentures between 1464 and 1527. But the most

¹ I have in my possession a fourteenth- or fifteenth-century gilt cup, which is literally plated with gold, a solid bracteola over the silver frame.

instructive set of facts bearing on the value of the precious metals is a series of accounts, extending from the 9th to the 19th Hen. VIII, of the dealings of Cardinal Wolsey with one Amadas, who supplied him with gold and silver plate, the latter plain and gilt, wholly or parcel. The accounts are printed in Gutch's *Collectanea Curiosa*.

In the first of these years (1517), the price of sterling silver unmanufactured appears to be 3*s.* 4*d.* the ounce. Manufacturing and parcel-gilding appears to cost from tenpence to a shilling the ounce, manufacturing and whole-gilding from 1*s.* 4*d.* to 1*s.* 8*d.*, or when the article is small to 2*s.* 6*d.* the ounce. The variations are due to the difficulty and size of the article. Thus gilt spangles are charged at the highest rate, while large pieces are much cheaper; four gilt pots and two gilt flagons, containing 897 ozs. in all, are even purchased at 3*s.* 10*d.* the ounce, i.e. only sixpence the ounce above raw silver, six great gilt bowls weighing 348 ozs. at 4*s.* the ounce. On the other hand, gilding plate is charged at a shilling the ounce. It is probable then that these comparatively low-priced articles were bargains. Other purchases at the same time are a silver garnish of 1080 ozs. at 3*s.* 6*d.*; three great silver-gilt bowls of 181 ozs. at 4*s.* 8*d.*; six great gilt candlesticks at 4*s.* 10*d.*; a great silver cross with gold pommels at 4*s.*, and two great gilt chased pots at the same price. These last two articles weigh 408½ ozs.

In the same year gold is bought: fine gold at 40*s.* the ounce, i.e. twelve times the value of silver, and crown gold at from 36*s.* 8*d.* to 37*s.* The cost of manufacturing gold plate is 4*s.* the ounce.

Amadas buys plate from Wolsey, chiefly gilt and parcel-gilt, at from 3*s.* 8*d.* the ounce to 4*s.* 8*d.*, the price being generally 4*s.* Some which is quite old and broken is valued at 3*s.* 7*d.* to 3*s.* 3½*d.*, the last we may conclude being only fit for the melting-pot.

On Aug. 10, 17 Hen. VIII (1525), the cardinal purchases a large quantity of plate for his new colleges; 1613 ozs. plain at

3*s.* 8*d.*, 304 $\frac{3}{4}$ ozs. gilt at 4*s.* 10*d.* Parcel-gilt plate varies from 3*s.* 8*d.* to 3*s.* 9*d.*, and is sold to the dealer at from 3*s.* 3*d.* to 3*s.* 4*d.*

Gold plate is at about the same value as before, 40*s.*, but Crown gold is even cheaper, ranging from 33*s.* 4*d.* to 36*s.* 8*d.* On Dec. 27, however, Crown gold rises to 41*s.* 4*d.* The cost of manufacture has also risen, being now 5*s.* the ounce.

Gilt plate after December is also dearer. Wolsey buys 1498 ozs. at 5*s.* 8*d.*, 377 $\frac{1}{4}$ ozs. at 6*s.*

On Jan. 1, 19 Hen. VIII (1528), Crown gold is again at 41*s.* 4*d.* In the same year, Oct. 20, sterling silver varies from 3*s.* 6*d.* to 3*s.* 10*d.* In the same year, July 9, Wolsey buys plate for his college at Ipswich, 310 ozs. gilt at 5*s.*, 130 ozs. parcel-gilt bowls at 4*s.*, 240 $\frac{3}{4}$ ozs. of altar plate at 4*s.* 4*d.*; a gilt cross=257 ozs. at 6*s.* 8*d.*, and a gilt silver pillar=78 $\frac{3}{4}$ ozs. at 6*s.* It is to be noticed that on some occasions these purchases of plate are made in money.

In the first of these estimates of sterling silver the value assigned to this article is undoubtedly forty pence the 480 grains, and this corresponds exactly to the amount of silver in the penny sterling from 4 Edward IV to 18 Henry VIII, while the price at which the same article stands in 20 Hen. VIII should give 11.43 grains nearly to the penny, the amount, according to Ruding, which the penny contained at this date being 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ grains only.

But though raw silver is bought at or at about the mint price of coin, the price of silver and gilt plate does not so closely correspond to these prices, unless we are to conclude that the cost of manufacture was exceedingly low. After Elizabeth's reform, however, the relation of silver and silver-gilt plate to money in tale is immediate and close. Old plate sells at a little less than the mint rate, and new at the rate, plus the cost of workmanship.

3. In the preamble to Elizabeth's first proclamation on the currency, the loss of the base money is said to fall principally on pensioners, soldiers and all hired servants, and other mean

people who live by any kind of wages, and not by rents of lands or trade of merchandize. But, as has been stated frequently before, the rents paid by contract for the use of land could not be raised directly without great difficulty, but only indirectly by taking fines on the renewal of leases, or, as happened frequently in the Eastern counties, by insisting on the payment of corn rents at a fixed price. But in the great majority of cases the payments made to the lords were fee farm rents, were fixed and invariable, frequently purchased at the time, and made the basis of permanent endowments. That the labourers, and those who lived on small fixed incomes paid in base money, were worse off than employers and traders is certain, but it does not seem clear that the landowners who were in the receipt of fee farm rents were not ill off as well, or how one can distinguish this part of their income from that of a pensioner, that is, such persons as were still receiving their commutation for the surrender of their interests in the monasteries, or those who in the new foundations were in the receipt of fixed stipends as academical officers or as ecclesiastical dignitaries.

4. That the new money was speedily adopted as a currency by tale is quite certain, whatever may be said of the old. That the issue of the reformed currency was followed by an immediate and permanent exaltation in prices, amounting generally to one and a half times more than the amount at which money values ordinarily stood before, will I believe be made overwhelmingly evident in the particular facts which will be laid before my readers. But there is a remarkable document¹ which I have printed at length, in the third vol. p. 742. It is, it will be seen, a project of fixing the current value of the new and good money at fifty per cent. above its declared value, i.e., as it is expressly stated, at the amount at which the several prices stood from the 6th year of Edward the Fourth to the

¹ This proclamation is in MS. and does not appear ever to have been issued. Ruding saw a copy, also in MS., in the papers of the Antiquarian Society. My reference is to the Cecil collection in Bodley.

16th of Henry the Eighth. The project, though discussed and drafted into the form of a proclamation, was evidently abandoned.

I do not affirm that the foregoing facts satisfy me that the theory which I have proposed is demonstrable. But the difficulties which I have constantly felt in reviewing prices up to the time of Elizabeth's reform, have made me doubt whether a multiplication of pieces coined out of a pound of silver really meant an alteration in the legal value of each piece so issued, or was virtually unimportant in view of the practice of taking payments by weight. For example, in 1543 Henry the Eighth had lowered the weight of the (nominal) penny to 10 grains, the same unit having originally stood at $22\frac{1}{2}$ grains. Now in the year 1547-8¹ the average price of wheat was 4s. 11d. the quarter, a rate lower than any recorded price, if the payment were made by tale. The smallest price which I have recorded, that of 1287, is 2s. 10 $\frac{1}{4}$ d., i.e. in the coinage of the time 707.41 grains of silver. But omitting to take account of the issue of base money, which was coming into operation at this time, and assuming that a quarter of wheat was purchased by tale in 1547-8 at 4s. 11d., the price would be about 545.5 grains of pure silver only. Now this is either a prodigious exaltation in the value of the precious metals in the period between 1287 and 1547, or it must be concluded that prices instantly accommodated themselves to the king's arbitrary determination of the values which were to be assigned to the coins, or that the king was able to arrive at so instant an apprehension as to the rise in the value of silver that he could accommodate his currency to the change, or, as I have suggested, payments were made by weight, or government could give an artificial value to the currency.

That the good money disappeared during the circulation of the base coins might be anticipated. That the fact was so, is shown by the frequent allusions to the scandalous condition of

¹ The great silver mine of Potosi was discovered in 1546.

the new currency. That the recipients of this currency believed the issue to be a temporary measure, and that the coin would be redeemed in new money of sterling fineness, is manifest. They were disappointed, and the successors of Henry began by crying down the coins which they issued or their father had issued. And it was here that the misery was felt, since it was plain that any holder would be a loser. This is illustrated as follows. In April 1551, the king, Edward the Sixth, issues a proclamation, in which, on the plea that the base money is imitated, it is ordered that henceforth, from the last day of August, the teston and the groat, the nominal values of which were twelve and four pence, should be valued at nine and three pence. In the same year, I find in my notes, extracted from the annual roll of Peterhouse College, that this society lost £27 9s. 5d., *in decasu pecuniarum Collegii hoc anno ex edicto regis*. Similar entries will be found under the year 1559 in the accounts of the city of Oxford.

There was a plausible excuse, though a shallow one, which was alleged for these fraudulent issues, the wisdom of retaining specie in England. These base coins, circulating on the king's credit, would not be exported, and the good silver not being tendered, the foreigner could not get hold of it. But those who reasoned thus forgot that the good money would disappear, and that bad money would be coined by imitators. The last is the reason why Edward the Sixth decried his own and his father's money. The plea for the original issue of the base money was the expenses of the king's war, i.e. the cost of the foolish and hollow alliance which Henry made with Charles the Fifth in 1543.

The first debasement was in 1544, the coins containing only half their weight in silver. In 1545, one third only of silver was contained in the new issue. In the first and second years of Edward the Sixth, the standard was maintained at the later debasement, in the third it was slightly raised. In the fourth and fifth, the amount of silver was only one fourth of the whole. But in the last year Edward attempted to

improve his coin, by an issue of nearly the original standard. So also did Mary in the first year of her reign. There was not, according to Ruding, any further issue of English silver during Mary's reign.

It appears from the evidence collected by Ruding, as to the state of public opinion at the time, that there were persons who approved of these issues¹, and wished them to be continued. It is not difficult to understand, from the experience of later times and similar expedients, why there are always found to be a minority, invariably noisy and occasionally powerful, who are glad to abet any scheme of folly and fraud. But to the mass of the people, the ill coinage of Henry, for it was mainly his doing, was impoverishment at once, and finally beggary. Such wisdom as statesmen possessed was competent to show them how the English people would sink from being a first-rate power in Europe, as it had been for centuries, into an unimportant state, how its ancient and just credit was impaired, its wealth lavished, and its powers shortened. It was also an infinite danger to the Reformation, which, in the eyes of those who were willing and able to connect cause and effect, was identified with Northumberland's intrigues, the old king's bad money, and the baffled projects (if indeed people believed the Council to be sincere in their projects), for restoring the currency, which were over and over again proclaimed in Edward's reign.

The idea of Edward's courtiers was that it would be proper and wise to issue base money in order to clear off the debts of the Crown, and then to set about restoring the currency. How they were to be rid of debt, by incurring more debt, does not seem to have occurred to them; but these foolish proposals, for making profit out of credit by destroying or weakening credit, have been constantly in vogue, even down to the days of Price's sinking fund, as it was interpreted by the commissioners who were appointed to carry it out. Meanwhile the king was made to state in his proclamations that he had

¹ See William Thomas's letter to Edward VI. Thomas was clerk of the Council. Ruding, i. 317, edit. 1840.

continually 'diminished the value of his money, to his great loss.' On the other hand the public found that these expedients were a heavier loss to them.

The distress was greatest in 1551. The price of wheat after the harvest of 1550 had risen to a price to which there had hitherto been no parallel, but that of 1551 was still more serious. A sharp proclamation was therefore issued on July 18, 1551, when the prospects of the ensuing harvest were pretty clearly anticipated, denouncing with great indignation the rumours current about the coin being further abased, by which I conclude is meant, that the redemption of it, in good money, is further repudiated. A month after the date of the proclamation a further repudiation is announced.

In 1552, according to Ruding, there was an issue of coin at nearly the old standard, 11 oz. 1 dwt. to 19 dwts. alloy. But there is no information as to the amount coined, and it is certain that whatever was coined would have been speedily exchanged against base moneys, and would be hoarded. And this in fact was done¹. Whether indeed, had Edward lived, he would have reformed the currency may be questioned. He had the most favourable opportunity offered him at the end of his reign, for in 1552-3 and 1553-4 the price of wheat sank to 10s. 6¾d. and 10s. In 1551, it stood at an average of 23s. 8¼d. It rose in 1556 to an average of 28s. 5½d., and never reached that price again for thirty years.

That Mary was anxious to carry out her brother's purposes is highly probable. She knew how much unpopularity the Reformation had incurred by reason of the base money, and within a month of her accession she issued a proclamation announcing her purposes. But she never carried out these purposes, if she seriously entertained them. She had, I imagine, little chance of doing so, for in 1554 wheat rose to 18s. 8¼d., in 1555 to 22s. 0½d., and in 1556 to 28s. 5½d. The highest price which I have noted in this last year is 40s., at which it

¹ Leake, p. 215.

was sold at Cambridge in March. But the corporation books of Norwich supply a price of 53s. In 1557 it sank to 8s. 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ d., and stood at 9s. 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. in 1558. My reader will remember that the year means the harvest of the year, and is really three months of the year named, and nine of the year following. It is possible that Mary might have undertaken what her sister effected, but she was drawn by her husband into the war with France, in which Calais was lost, to the great indignation of the English, and to the great relief of the royal exchequer. In 1557 Mary declared war against France, in 1558 she lost Calais.

As soon as it was possible, Elizabeth began to reform the currency. She began by issuing a currency eleven-twelfths fine, having granted a commission for that purpose on Dec. 31; and in 1560, Sept. 27, she issued a proclamation declaring the value at which the base money should be received in exchange and at the mint. Naturally she kept the time of her proclamation a secret, else the pieces, which were of very various value, would have been selected, and only the basest would be presented at the mint. This practice indeed began immediately on the issue of her proclamation, and was declared, of course vainly, punishable on October 9.

It is not easy or even possible to distribute the responsibility of base money among the two sovereigns who issued it, but it is highly probable that by far the greatest amount in circulation was issued by Henry the Eighth. We know however what was the amount of base coin, *in pound weights*, which was brought to the mint in answer to the queen's proclamation between Michaelmas 1560, and Michaelmas 1561. It was 631,950, 'which was current money according to the rates of the several standards to the amount of £638,113 16s. 6d.' From this it appears was extracted 244,416 lbs. of silver, which was coined into £783,248 at sixty shillings from the pound. The costs of coinage were £12,983 4s. 3d., but the account does not give the cost of refining. Of course this was not the whole of the money in circulation. Elizabeth's government

was under the impression, as William the Third's was, nearly a century and a half later, that the reform of the currency could be carried out without interruption to business, even though the smaller coins were allowed to be current at fixed rates. But as we might anticipate, great inconvenience was experienced in 1561, for want of small coins; which coins the mint was ordered to immediately issue.

These proclamations were illustrated by facsimiles of the coins, with a view to assisting the knowledge of the public, and were sent to all the authorities of the several counties and towns.

It has been suggested from the above figures that the queen made a profit on the re-coinage. If she did she did not contemplate such an advantage. In the proclamation of Sept. 27, 1560, she says of the basest coins, that she agrees to take them at this estimate (as proclaimed) at the mint in good money, and if they be found to contain more good silver, to pay the same, and over and above on every pound of the same, 3*d.* in good silver. The queen herself declares the new coinage to be a loss to her, and Elizabeth never told falsehoods in case she was likely to be found out. Her contemporaries believed that she had done a good public service and had done it with the best motives. While she instructed her subjects in the value of foreign coins which were circulating in England, and published the figures of the coin which she so valued, she offered to give at the mint the full value of these foreign coins in gold and silver of standard purity.

I have already referred to the remarkable intention she had of making her coins current at the weight at which the coins were struck in the 6th of Edward the Fourth. The MS. of this proclamation reducing the coins to two-thirds of their nominal value, with a view of bringing back in some degree the prices which prevailed, in place of those which were consequent upon the altered state of this, is contained in the great volume of Elizabeth's proclamations, which almost certainly belonged to Burleigh and Cecil, and is the choicest

book of the Rawlinson collection in Bodley's library. Doubtless the plan was abandoned, because it would have disturbed money values, would have given rise to a suspicion that the queen intended to enhance her own money dues, and would not in the end have effected any good adequate to the distrust which it would certainly have caused.

The ratio of gold to silver was during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries at from $10\frac{1}{3}\frac{0}{7}\frac{0}{8}$ to $11\frac{1}{1}\frac{5}{9}\frac{1}{1}$, according to Lord Liverpool. The gold was either 'fine' of $23\cdot3\frac{1}{2}$ carats fine, i.e. nearly pure, or 'crown' of 22 carats fine with 2 carats alloy. The distinction was first introduced by Henry the Eighth in 1527, and was continued till the Restoration, when the mintage of fine gold was abandoned, and crown gold made, as it has continued ever since, the standard of the English gold currency. Henry probably learnt fraud from the French kings.

The English gold coins were the Rose noble or rial, coined throughout the fifteenth century up to the 18 Hen. VIII; the angel, originally the third of the pound or half a mark; the angelet, which was half the angel; the quarter angel; the sovereign; the double sovereign coined by Henry the Eighth only; the George noble, the crown and half crown, coined also by Henry the Eighth; and the pound and second rial continued from Henry to Elizabeth, the latter by Elizabeth only. From notes which I have made, I find that the exchange of silver into gold generally involved a small *agio* in favour of the latter. See notes on year 1569.

It ought to be reiterated that the possibility of the executive giving an arbitrary value to the currency without affecting prices materially, or even at all, depends on the extent to which the industry of the country is excluded from the effects of foreign trade. There is, indeed, no economical problem which is more difficult of solution than that of determining the extent of this power. We are told that internal prices in India and Russia have not been traceably affected by the depreciation of silver, and the debasement of the paper rouble; and it might be the case that even the serious lessening of the

actual amount of silver in the coins from Edward the First's to Henry the Eighth's time may have had no appreciable effect on prices. It is probable that, in any case, and whatever may be the extent of the power possessed by the executive, the rupture of all relations with the see of Rome, and the consequent cessation of those monetary transactions which took place so regularly between the clergy and laity of England on the one hand, and the Roman court on the other—transactions which were vexatious, dilatory, and costly—may have strengthened the King's position, and given greater power to him in his currency experiments, especially when one considers the large mass of specie which must have been added to the currency by the spoliation of the monastic treasures.

When however the currency was debased, and not only debased, but decried, a change in money values was inevitable. The reform of the currency under Elizabeth, necessary and righteous as it was, developed novel and permanent relations between prices and silver, as is curiously illustrated by the fact that, speaking generally, ordinary prices are trebled, at the end of twenty years, as compared with older rates at the conclusion of the period embraced in these volumes.

But the most remarkable fact in connection with the issue of base money by Henry VIII is the singular identity of the average price of grain, especially wheat, during the first 140 years of my present period, with the last 140 of my first two volumes. Between 1261-1400 the average price of wheat was 5*s.* 10 $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.*, between 1401 and 1540 it was 5*s.* 11 $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.* The average price of barley in the earlier period was 4*s.* 3 $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.*, in the later 3*s.* 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.*, a discrepancy accounted for by the fact that the greater part of the later barley prices issue from Norfolk. The price of oats was 2*s.* 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.* and 2*s.* 2 $\frac{1}{4}$ *d.*, of rye 4*s.* 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.* and 4*s.* 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.*, of beans 4*s.* 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.* and 3*s.* 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ *d.*, of peas 3*s.* 9*d.* and 3*s.* 10*d.*, of malt 4*s.* 10*d.* and 4*s.* 1*d.* During the period of the next forty-two years the prices were 13*s.* 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.* for wheat, 8*s.* 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.* for barley, 5*s.* 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.* for oats, 9*s.* 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.* for beans, 8*s.* 8*d.* for peas, and 10*s.* 5*d.* for malt. For the first seventy years of the present period,

during which alone fairly continuous prices of vetches have been found, the average value of vetches is 3s. 7½d., that of the previous 140 years being 3s. 9½d., pulse for the same period being 2s. 10½d. The subsequent rise in prices is only varied by one year of plenty, 1547-8, when the harvest must have been exceptionally abundant.

CHAPTER VI. *

WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

I COMMENTED at some length in my first volume on general and local weights and measures. Local measures were far more numerous in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries than they were in the fifteenth and sixteenth. The gradual subjection of England to a central system of justice and law, the constant efforts of authority, and the obvious convenience of uniformity, go far to account for this identity in the conduct of business transactions. But the fact that most of my notes in the fifteenth century, and nearly all those in the sixteenth, are of purchase and not of sale, will explain the general uniformity of measures in the quantities purchased or sold. The aggregate of information which I have been able to discover, as to the price of wool, accounts for the general uniformity of the measures used for this article; though it is probable, had my information been copious, that the use of a common measure would have been more general, as a resultant of the causes or influences mentioned above.

The Great Charter had declared that weights and measures should be uniform throughout the realm. This had been re-enacted by the 25, 27, 31 Edward I, by the 34 Edward III, and by the 13 Richard II. A statute of uncertain date had defined the weights and measures of various articles; and those laws which regulated the assise of bread and ale, the judgment of the pillory on offenders, and the statute of bakers are also

undated. The assises of wine 4 and 27 Edward III, of herrings 31 and 35 Edward III, of hay, oats, and housebread 13 Richard II, of salt fish 31 Edward III, of poultry 37 and 38 Edward III, of imported cloths 2 Edward III, of home-made cloth 27, 47 and 50 Edward III, of wool 25 and 34 Edward III, and that defining the measure of land, of uncertain date, testify to the anxiety with which the government sought to enforce uniform standards. Similar to these provisions were the prohibitions issued against certain fraudulent modes of measuring and weighing.

As early as 16 Richard II it was enacted that local measures were to be tested by a standard preserved in the exchequer, and to form a model for that used by the clerks of the Market. In 9 Hen. V, statute 2, cap. 8, authority is given to Justices of the Peace, Sheriffs' escheators, and other sufficient persons, to be nominated by the Commission, to apprehend and imprison falsifiers of weights, and counterfeitors, i.e. imitators of false weights, the punishment in the case of conviction being fine and ransom at discretion, and imprisonment till the fine be satisfied.

By 8 Hen. VI, cap. 5, it was enacted that in every English city, borough and town there shall be a common balance, with common weights sealed, after the standard of the exchequer, to be provided at the cost of the city, borough, or town, and to be kept in the custody of the mayor and constable. The inhabitants of the town shall have free use, without payment, of these balances and weights; strangers shall pay a farthing for weighing goods to any amount under 40 lbs., a halfpenny between 40 lbs. and 100 lbs., and a penny for the use between 100 lbs. and 1000 lbs. Goods, especially woollen yarn or cloth, must be weighed, and penalties are to be inflicted for disobedience or fraud. The authorities of city, borough or town are to provide these weights under penalties; a city of £10, a borough of £5, a town, where a constable is, of £2, within two months after the ordinance is proclaimed, and the statute is declared to be perpetual.

The statute is re-enacted by 11 Hen. VI, cap. 8, where divers statutes are recited. One of these is 1 Hen. V, cap. 10, defining the quarter of corn to be eight struck bushels, and putting fines on purveyors who take more. This statute also denounces the London falt, which contained nine bushels, and a practice which had grown up in the city of making sellers of corn not only submit to this extra measure, but to a tax for measuring corn. The statute provides that as the law had hitherto required a common balance, the local authorities shall also provide a common bushel, certified according to the standard of the Exchequer. The Mayor of the city of London is to make oath at the Exchequer that he will satisfy and carry out the law, the mayors and other chief officers of provincial towns shall do the same, and all of them shall account at the Exchequer for the fines and forfeitures which they have imposed on culprits.

By 7 Hen. VII, cap. 3, weights and measures are to be provided for every city, town, and borough by the treasurer or under-treasurer of England, at the costs and charges of the locality, and these are to be the standard by which private measures shall be marked or stamped. The chief officers of every such city, &c., shall stamp these private measures, charging a penny for sealing every bushel or hundredweight, a halfpenny for every half hundred, and a farthing for all smaller weights. Defaulters are to be fined forty shillings. The statute is re-enacted 11 Hen. VIII, cap. 4, with additions. The duty of seeing that proper standards are found is imposed on the borough members. Offenders who sell by false weights are to be punished by a fine of 6*s.* 8*d.* for the first offence, 13*s.* 4*d.* for the second, and the pillory for the third. Eight struck bushels are again declared to constitute the quarter of corn, 14 lbs. to be the stone, and 26 stone to be the sack of wool; and a list of towns in which a standard should be kept, one in each county, is appended to the act.

There are numerous statutes as to particular articles. Thus the butt of malmsey is, 7 Henry VII, cap. 7, to contain 126

gallons, to pay an additional duty of 18s. when imported by aliens, and to be sold at £4; the size and quality of tiles are defined by 17 Edward IV, cap. 4; on cloth very numerous statutes, both as regards its sale and its measurement (aulnage), and on merchandise in general, are enacted.

The enormous mass of legislation enacted during Henry VIII's reign contains very little which bears immediately on weights and measures. There are, however, a few such statutes.

The legal measures of corn and wool had now, we may imagine, become nearly universal, but some legislation was still needed for liquid measures. The statute 23 Hen. VIII, cap. 4, provided that no common brewer should be a cooper, under a penalty of 3s. 4d. for every barrel, kilderkin, or firkin made in contravention. Every cooper is to brand his barrels with a trade mark. The barrel of beer is to hold 36 gallons, the kilderkin 18 gallons, the firkin 9. But the barrel, kilderkin, and firkin of ale are to contain 32, 16, and 8 gallons. The act also provides that the barrel, half barrel, and firkin of soap should weigh, when empty, 26 lbs., 13 lbs., and 6 lbs., and contain 32, 16, and 8 gallons.

Again, by 28 Hen. VIII, cap. 14, it is re-enacted that the tun of wine should contain 252 gallons, a butt of Malmsey 126 gallons, a pipe 126 gallons, a tercian or puncheon 84 gallons, a hogshead 63 gallons, a tierce 41 gallons, a barrel 31½ gallons, a rundlet 18½ gallons. These measures had been previously defined by 1 Ric. III, cap. 19. By 24 Hen. VIII, cap. 3, it was enacted that meat should be sold by avoirdupois weight, beef and pork at a halfpenny the pound, mutton and veal at three farthings. This act was repealed by 33 Hen. VIII, cap. 11; probably for the reason that the prices were fixed too low. Several statutes regulate the manufacture and measurement of woollen cloths. By 21 Hen. VIII, cap. 12, constituting Bridport a staple for hemp and establishing a local manufacture of ropes and cables, the stone of hemp, the cultivation of which was compulsory, was declared to be 20 lbs.

By 5 and 6 Edward VI, the measure of the various kinds of cloth manufactured in different parts of England is defined, as also their length, breadth, and weight when thoroughly scoured and milled. The broad cloths of Kent, Sussex, and Reading are to be from 28 to 30 yards the piece, seven quarters broad, and to weigh 90 lbs.; white Worcester long cloth and Coventry cloth, 29 to 31 yards the piece, the same breadth as above, and weight 84 lbs.; coloured Worcester and Coventry to be of the same length and breadth, and weigh 80 lbs.; short Worcesters shall contain from 23 to 25 yards, the same breadth as before, and weigh 60 lbs.; coloured long cloths of Norfolk, Suffolk, and Essex shall contain from 28 to 30 yards, be seven quarters broad within the list, and weigh 80 lbs.; coloured short cloths from 23 to 25 yards, and weigh 64 lbs. at least, being of the same breadth; handy-warps of the same counties, of the same length and breadth, every yard weighing three pounds; white handy-warps of the same counties, Coksall whites and Glaynesford handy-warps, to be of the same length, breadth, and weight; white and red cloths of Wilts, Gloucester, and Somerset, shall be between 26 and 28 yards long, seven quarters broad, and weigh 64 lb. the piece; broad Plunkets, azures, blues and other cloths of the same counties to be between 25 and 27 yards long, the same breadth, and weigh 68 lbs. the piece; ordinary kerseys to be from 17 to 18 yards, the same breadth, and weigh 20 lbs. the piece; sooting kerseys to be of the same length and breadth, and weigh 23 lbs.; Devonshire kerseys, called dozens, are to contain from 12 to 13 yards, the same breadth, and weigh 14 lbs.; Taunton and Bridgwater broad cloths to contain the same length and breadth, narrow cloths, 23 to 25 yards in length, a yard in breadth; and each piece, broad or narrow, shall weigh 34 lbs.; check kerseys and streats¹, 17 to 18 yards in length, one yard in breadth, and weigh 24 lbs.; Welsh cottons, 32 yards² long, three-quarters of a yard broad, and

¹ These appear from 7 Ed. VI, c. 9, to have been manufactured in Devon and Cornwall.

² The word is 'goad' in the original, which seems by 8 Eliz. cap. 12, to be a western word for yard.

weigh 46 lbs.; Welsh friezes of Cardigan, Caermarthen, and Pembroke, 36 yards long, be three quarters broad, and weigh 48 lbs.; Northern cloths shall contain from 23 to 25 yards, seven quarters breadth, and weigh 46 lbs.; half pieces or dozens, twelve to thirteen yards, of the same breadth, and weigh 33 lbs.; Pennystones and forest whites are to be from 12 to 13 yards long, six and a-half quarters broad, and weigh 28 lbs.; Manchester, Lancashire, and Cheshire cottons shall be 22 yards long, three quarters of a yard broad, and weigh 30 lbs.; and lastly, Manchester rugs shall be 36 yards long, three quarters broad, and weigh 48 lbs.

These varieties of quality and measure, and the diversity of place in which textile industries were carried on, may seem rather more relevant to that part of my subject in which I shall treat of cloths, or to that in which I have dealt with the distribution of employments and wealth. But it seemed more convenient to insert this information in what has to be said about weights and measures, in order to show how the police of government extended itself from the earliest and most obvious necessities of consumption to the particulars of trade and manufacture.

The measure of Lancashire cloths is made anew a subject of legislative precaution by 8 Eliz. cap. 12. Another act, 14 Eliz. cap. 10, restrains 'the inordinate length of kerseys.' By 23 Eliz. cap. 8, the barrel of honey is fixed at 32 wine gallons, the kilderkin 16, and the firkin 8, frauds to be fined at the rate of five shillings the pottle. This is the last enactment about weights and measures on that part of the statute book which comes within the epoch of my researches.

The quarter, bushel and peck are nearly universal measures of corn. But the comb or half quarter is very general in the Eastern counties, particularly in Norfolk. I have not retained it in my accounts, but have reduced it to what it always represents. The sum is also used for the quarter, and the strike for the bushel. As I have already observed, the sum of

oats is occasionally, as before it was not infrequently, used for the double quarter. The celdra or chaldron is employed in some places, especially at Finchale or Wearmouth. It appears to contain four quarters or thereabouts, and is perhaps the original measure of which the quarter is a fraction. Sometimes, as in 1477, the quarter is distinguished as chapman's measure, in one case, 1482, as Manningtree measure. In the Derby household book of 1561, wheat, malt, and oats are sold by the quarter and the windle, in which the quarter clearly contained sixteen windles, and must have been a wholly different measure from that with which we are familiar¹. I have inserted these particulars, not because I thought they would throw any light on the prices of the year in which they occur, for they appear to be purchases in the Isle of Man, but because it occurred to me that the record of a novel use of this familiar measure was worth preserving.

Cubic measures of quantity were employed for other articles, as will be seen on inspecting the prices of goods purchased or sold. In certain districts cubical measures are employed for articles which are elsewhere valued by weight. Thus in the Eastern counties, butter was generally sold by the gallon, quart, and pint, as in modern times it is sold by a curious linear measure. Cheese and salt are purchased by the wey of two hundredweight, or by the stone of fourteen pounds. The barrel of butter, comparatively common in the later years, appears to contain 240 lbs. The barrel of honey, to judge from the price of the same article by the gallon, appears to have generally contained the quantity which was prescribed by the statute of Elizabeth mentioned above.

The pondus of wool at Alton Barnes and Stert is three cloves or 21 lbs. The former of these places affords nearly continuous wool prices for the greater part of the first half century. The 'wyghte' or weight of Brixton Deverell appears

¹ The Derby quarter was probably a chaldron of 36 bushels. This interpretation will be found below (corn prices, 1561-2) to give satisfactory results.

to be this pondus. The same weight is used at Farley in the year 1500. It is always the wool weight in Wilts. Generally, however, the stone or petra, almost always of 14 lbs., is used, the tod of 28 lbs. and the sack of thirteen stone.

I was able to supply but little evidence as to hay and straw in my earlier volumes. But the evidence is abundant during the later period. Hay and straw are sold by the carecta, bigata, or load, and in earlier times by the tass, or portion. I have no doubt that the load is the quantity with which we are familiar in modern times. The arconius appears to be sometimes a rick, the dimensions of which vary.

The various measures employed for the sale of fuel will be commented on when I come to these articles. They are naturally local.

The hundredweight of 112 avoirdupois lbs. becomes general in the period before me, and is employed for the commoner kinds of materials. The old Saxon and newer Troy weight appears to be used for spices and such rarer articles of commerce. In the case of metals, the old quantities almost disappear; and iron is almost always sold by weight, much of it in a wrought form. Steel is still sold by garb or sheaf, gad, burden, or barrel. In the later part of the period, the ton and cwt. are almost invariably used. Various weights are employed for lead, but finally they give way to the fother and the hundredweight. The evidence on these articles is far more copious than that supplied in the earlier period. Comment will be made on these measures or weights when they are dealt with particularly.

The long hundred of 120 is employed in many articles. Eggs, fish, nails, and probably slates, tiles, and bricks, are thus measured. Square measures will be found under building materials.

The measures of glass are very various, the commonest being the square foot.

Cloth, linen, and canvas are sold by length, or by the piece. The very various quantities in which pieces are made

up, explain the latter custom. It would seem that bargains were frequently made for separate pieces. But it would be, as in other cases, inconvenient to anticipate the particulars in many of these articles.

As might perhaps be expected, variations in measures, due in all probability to local causes, are exceedingly frequent in the purchase and sale of lime.

CHAPTER VII.

AVERAGES OF PRICES.

THE principles on which the averages of prices are drawn in the following chapters are generally the same with those which were adopted in the two volumes previously published. Later experience has shown that I was right in anticipating that sales of small quantities were as exact indications of market prices as any fuller or larger entries would be, and that they were as good guides to the state of demand and supply as transactions on a very extensive scale. The fact might be illustrated by the sales of wheat, rye, and malt at the Rotherham and Sheffield mills at the close of the period comprised in these volumes. Here the entries are very numerous, the quantities varying from considerable amounts to very small parcels. But whether the amount sold be small or large, the price, under the same conditions, is at the same rate, the purchaser of a peck paying no more and no less than those who bought several sacks (here the local measure is two sacks to the quarter) at the same time.

Not infrequently, however, the record from which I have made my extracts gives the average price for the whole year. This is constantly the practice at Sion abbey, the entries from which are very instructive and very copious, though unfortunately the series is exceedingly broken. Beyond the value of such copious and accurate accounts, the Sion series has a special importance, as it records the prices of wheat, malt, and

other provisions in the proximity of London, where prices were always higher than in those rural districts. It is important also to observe that, as the prices of corn are high near London, so they are low in the Eastern counties. This is especially the case with barley and malt, the production and export of which was carried out on a very large scale in Norfolk and Suffolk. Cambridge, from which much information of the most valuable kind has been derived, has the advantage of nearness to these counties, and shares in the cheapness which such a proximity afforded.

I. The aggregate amount of information as to corn prices is far less than that which I was able to procure for the earlier period comprised in my first two volumes, though I am dealing here with forty years more than I handled before. Less however as the amount is, it has been collected with infinitely more labour. To gather the facts of the first two volumes, I estimated that some eight thousand documents were consulted. The contents of the present volumes have necessitated a search into ten times that number, the vast majority of which have been almost barren of information, or have supplied very scanty results. I despaired of discovering a series of corn prices till I found out the Cambridge documents in King's Hall, King's College, Peterhouse and Pembroke Colleges. Even here however there are breaks, and sometimes there was no little difficulty in identifying the year in which the account was compiled. Patience and a careful examination and estimate of internal evidence have at last enabled me to fix the dates of all which have been employed in the third volume, though I have had, to my vexation, to reject not a few accounts, whose exact chronological position, essential in an estimate of corn prices, I was finally unable to determine.

Though there are years in which my information is vague, yet such information as I have is genuine, and is not infrequently assisted by the circumstance that, with one exception, all the accounts which have contributed corn prices date from Michaelmas to Michaelmas, i.e. from a little after the

completion of one harvest to a similar event in the next year. In consequence, every set of facts for each year, especially when the entries are dated, throws some light on the facts of the year following, and would allow one to infer with some exactness, even if no information were forthcoming. Thus, for example, the facts collected for 1546-7 are very scanty, being nothing for wheat beyond the wardrobe account, and one entry afterwards discovered in a Memoranda roll of the Record Office, from St. Ives in Cornwall. But the Cambridge account of 1545-6 is dated, and gives evidence of a declining market in September.

The corn accounts have moreover, scanty as they sometimes are, this advantage over the farmer's accounts of the earlier period. The farmer sold his corn in the immediate vicinity, the market town, or by private contract at home. The opulent corporations, whose records, at least for the later period of my enquiry, have supplied nearly all my information, went to considerable distances for their purchases. The monasteries of Finchale, Wearmouth, and Durham bought their wheat and malt at remote markets, and had their purchases conveyed by water-carriage along the coast. The Cambridge Colleges go as far as Hampshire to buy one kind of produce, to London to procure other provisions. Economy in expenditure, even for the necessities of life, was a matter of profound, even of vital interest to those who lived numerously on an academical or monastic foundation, and soon learnt that any notable increase in the price of necessities involved a serious curtailment of familiar comforts. The fact is curiously illustrated by the common practice adopted by the Cambridge Colleges of reserving part of their rents in corn at nominal prices, a practice which was very prudent on their part, though it has seriously perplexed, sometimes wholly baffled the enquirer who is trying to discover what was the market price of the year. But where the facts are found, they are not only immediately instructive, but to a greater extent than in the farmer's accounts, exhaustive of prices over a fairly large area, as well as in the proximate

market. In some instances, the register of prices is almost weekly, and when the entries are numerous, they are also generally continuous.

II. In the case of stock, a further change is to be noted. In the earlier volumes, prices of lean and fat stock could not be distinguished, except by exaltations of price. In the present volumes, most of the articles priced, especially after the first fifty years, when farm accounts almost entirely cease, and the record is all but exclusively of consumption, are of fat stock for consumption. The reader will therefore be cautioned not to infer too hastily that the market exaltation of price which he will recognise is the result of any increased dearness. I have thought it best to give in the tables of these prices, the maximum price of the year at which I have found that each description of animal is sold. I am the more easily able to do so, because the record of purchases for consumption is nearly if not quite continuous, and I am in particular possessed of information on some subjects of this kind which was generally wanting in the earlier volumes, such, for instance, as the price of boars, fatted for Christmas. Towards the latter end of the period, definite information is given as to the price of meat, the more important as contracts for sheep, &c. are entered into, as in the case of corn, at nominal prices.

The caution which I found it necessary to give in my earlier volumes, as to the omission of prices allotted to inferior or scurril grain, 'kebb' oxen and sheep, and similarly low-valued articles, is not needed here, at any rate in the same degree. The great corporations purchased only the best, and even sold the refuse of the meal under the name of cheet and grudgins, and the spare or coarse fat of the kitchen-pot or dripping-pan, under the names of flotas, cepum or cebum, and tallow. Unfortunately the consumer does not keep so accurate a register of minor articles as the producer did, and I cannot supply my readers with such full information as to the price of dairy produce and eggs as I was able to afford in my previous volumes. Enough, however, will be

found not only to illustrate with sufficient fulness the history of prices in these directions, but to show the extent to which the exaltation of prices during the latter half of the sixteenth century affected these commodities. Nor shall I be able to give as much information as before on the price of such articles as constituted the economy of the farm. I have been, from the scantiness of my facts, compelled to omit several tables in these volumes, which were prominent in the other volumes, and group all which I have collected under the miscellaneous head of sundry articles.

I regret nothing so much as the poverty of my information about wool. My facts were very copious for the first volumes, are meagre and broken now. But as I have elsewhere observed, wool was the principal and most important produce of medieval England; was for more than two centuries an unfailing financial expedient, taxes on which were levied on exporters, but paid by foreigners; and was even a diplomatic implement of the most potent kind. But I have found little information as to wool sales after the middle of the fifteenth century, though enough to follow the great rise in its value. Even when I have been able to investigate the accounts of a great sheep farm, as for example that of Coleshull, it is very rarely that the account gives a price of wool. The owner sells it himself in person to the wool-stapler. We find him often to be a Lombard or Flemish merchant, and the transaction does not appear on the bailiff's roll. My reader will, however, find in vol. iii, p. 704, a singular account of the various qualities of English wool, and a confirmation of the surmise which I expressed in vol. i, p. 182, that the evidence of prices, when that evidence was fuller, implied that there must have been different breeds of sheep and different qualities of produce in different districts of England. It will be found by the extract from the Rolls of Parliament that the best English wool was five times dearer than the worst or cheapest produce. It is something to know that even the most copious information conceivable would still, unless one were informed as to the locality, and

the continuity with which the character of its produce was maintained, give us but a vague average as to general values.

III. The comparative scantiness of information as to farmer's produce in the hands of the agriculturist is true also of farm labour properly so called. I cannot as in the previous volumes separate the thresher's labour by the five great districts of England, for I cannot give anything like continuous prices of labour for any district or for the whole of England. There is however enough information for purposes of comparison. On the other hand the facts are continuous and copious for skilled and unskilled labour, and the reader will have no difficulty in following the change which the general alteration of money values induced on the wages of labour, and will be able to see how far the statutes of labourers' wages were operative. The facts were so copious that I was obliged to select; but I have thought that it was important to give full information as to wages paid to such labourers as were employed on royal works. Here, again, I have given a table of maximum rates in the most important kinds of labour, and am able to show a pretty constant record of the price of labour in London.

IV. In almost all other articles the information supplied is far more copious than it was in the preceding volumes. Salt and tar are exceptions. I have been unable to give an absolutely continuous price of salt, though generally, as might be expected, the purchases of this article are in larger quantities than in the previous accounts. But while salt was bought at nearly every farm house as long as the old system prevailed, it does not come into the expenses of the later bailiff or collector, and in the accounts of the consumer is often omitted, or stated in a gross sum with other purchases. But the observations which I made as to the extent to which the cost of carriage enters into the price of salt are confirmed by the later entries. The indirect inferences gathered from the price of salt may be collected from those of hay and straw, which are supplied in great abundance in the present volumes, as

well as from other articles. The record of the price of iron, generally manufactured, but constantly sold by weight, and other metals, is very copious. I shall dwell in detail on other manufactured goods, on which there is abundant information, especially on linen and woollen stuffs, the price of the latter supplying in the most concrete form what is wanting in the record of the values assigned to the raw material.

The cost of carriage is as efficiently illustrated in the later as it was in the earlier volumes. It enters necessarily into the price of all commodities, but is a far more serious consideration in the later part of the present period. But not to anticipate too fully what will be discussed in a later portion of this volume, it may be stated that the cost of carriage decreased during the time which immediately preceded the Reformation, and is disproportionately increased after that event. There is reason to believe that the roads became worse in the latter part of the sixteenth century, and the perils of the traveller became greater.

V. I have not thought it necessary, for reasons already adduced, to adhere so strictly to the cautionary rule given in my previous volumes, of taking the maximum price for various articles. Records of consumption are, I repeat, far better evidence of prices than records of production and sale, for the best was bought for the consumer, and all was sold by the producer. But I must simultaneously repeat the warning that the reader must not believe that prices were always dearer, because sales were effected at higher prices. The value for instance of an ox-hide sold by a college or monastery was of the beast stalled and in good condition. The value of an ox-hide sold by a farmer is to be discounted, for the animal might have been worn out at the plough, or killed because sickly, or most probably, even if he were in any condition, an inferior animal slain for the harvest diet. So with the rest of the articles referred to in vol. i, p. 185.

VI. I have thought it unnecessary to go so far in my averages as I did in the previous volumes. I calculated on

that occasion to eighths of a penny, a needless precision. But I have sometimes, especially in the earlier years, continued the practice in certain kinds of produce and in certain kinds of labour. And as before, I have, when a fraction remained over the lowest money unit retained in the product, added it when it was in excess of half the divisor, omitted it when less than half, and for the reason then given. I have not thought it expedient to calculate values in grains of silver, partly because the question whether payments were or were not made in weight does not seem to me to be settled, partly for the humbler reason that the space required for such calculations is disproportionately great for the value of the product.

CHAPTER VIII.

ON THE PRICE OF GRAIN.

DURING the period comprised in these volumes, the price of wheat is continuous and unbroken. There are slight breaks in the price of barley, malt, and oats. Drageum, which appears to be the same as bigg or bere, occurs pretty regularly for the first forty years and then almost disappears. The record of the price of rye is very interrupted, and its use appears to be decreasingly frequent in England. During the greater part of the fifteenth, and for nearly the whole of the first half of the sixteenth century, the price of wheat in England was so continuously low, that its acquisition was within the reach of the ordinary unskilled labourer, whose wages were about fourpence a day, or two shillings a week. Three weeks' labour could obtain him a quarter of wheat, on an average of the price of wheat between 1401 and 1541. There was no necessity for him to have recourse to a quarter of that grain, the acquisition of which would have cost him about a fortnight's labour. We must, I believe, ascribe to the same cause the fact that the cultivation of bigg or drage is abandoned. Barley was even cheaper proportionately than wheat, and there was no need that the peasant should drink an inferior beer. The occasional use of wheat and oat malt must be, I suspect, referred to the fact that curious malt liquors were in use even to so late a period as to come into the excise acts. Mum is said to contain malted beans, and I have found malted beans in the accounts.

There is no reason to doubt that the relative proportions in the value of wheat, barley, and oats, designated by the inferences of the first two volumes, were maintained during the period before us. They stand, roughly speaking, at 100, 73, and 50, oats being taken at their best prices, for every quality of oats came into the market. But I must remind my readers that by far the largest amount of information comprised in these two volumes comes from Eastern England, in which barley was the staple product, and generally cheap. Besides, in accordance with the law of prices, when articles of the same genus are cheap, the lowest prices prevail in the inferior species of the same genus, the reverse phenomenon occurring when prices are high.

The information given as to the price of peas is pretty continuous, many kinds, black, white, grey, and green, being recorded, the second and fourth apparently being always used for human food. The entries of vetches and beans, as might be expected, are scanty. They are rarely bought by consumers, even for horses, as our forefathers were accustomed to buy horsebread, into which it is probable that beans entered largely. But the purchases of horsebread never give the weight of the article. Garden beans are found twice, and were probably familiar. Most likely the college or monastery kept its own seed from year to year. Frequently beans and peas are taken together.

There is considerable, almost continuous, evidence as to the price of oatmeal. It appears that oatmeal measured by the bushel was reckoned at the meal only, while wheatmeal, the price of which by the bushel differs but little, except in the cost of the miller's labour and toll from the corn, was bought by the estimated bushel of wheat, or by that which the meal represented before grinding. I cannot conceive how this correspondence between corn and wheatmeal can be otherwise explained.

I shall now proceed to make a brief comment on the harvest of each year, mentioning the localities from which evidence has been forthcoming as far as appears necessary, tracing when

possible the course of the market, and making such comments as the evidence suggests, or as may be inferred from notes either contained in the evidence or supplied from other sources of information.

1401-2. The evidence is derived generally from Southern England, though the Midlands and the East are represented. Prices are not quite so high as in the preceding year, when wheat was nearly 8s. a quarter, it having now fallen to 7s. 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ d. Still it stands at over 10s. in several places, at Alton Barnes, Bromham, Hornchurch, Stert, and Takley. Rye is proportionately high. Oats and barley are also dear, though they are not so high as might be expected. The comparatively high price of malt however suggests that the quality of the barley was inferior, and the harvest like that of the preceding year was probably wet, shortening the supply of wheat and lowering the malting quality of the barley. Beans, peas, and vetches do not appear to have been much below an average crop. Pulse at Stert and Pershore it seems is peas. If so, the price is nearly the same as that in other places.

1402-3. The price of grain is declining, and the average would have been lower, but for the high price paid in the North East at Jarrow and Wearmouth. These, it is probable, are purchases in the later part of 1402, when the price was still high. The two northern monasteries have to pay as high prices for barley, beans and peas. Generally, however, prices have fallen considerably, and in many places are not above the average. The evidence is abundant and extensive, but is chiefly from the southern counties. The price of rye corresponds to that of wheat, barley, and oats, a little cheaper than the average. Beans, peas, and vetches—of the last there is very little information—are at rates which are proportional to the average. To judge generally, the harvest must have been better in the South and West than it was in the Midland counties and in the East; for, omitting the two prices mentioned above, the highest rates realized are at Heyford Warren, Hornchurch, and Kington, all in the Midlands and Eastern England. It is not infrequently the case that when wet is local, it is worst in the Midlands and Eastern counties.

1403-4. The evidence of the price of wheat is derived from a fairly wide range, extending over the Southern counties, and some districts in the Midland and East. The price has fallen considerably, the average being 4s. 11 $\frac{1}{4}$ d. In one or two places the price is high, probably a relic of the last year's deficiency. But on the other hand

it is low in the Eastern counties, if we can take the Cambridge account as sufficient evidence, for one purchase at a Cambridge college is as low as 2*s.* 8*d.* The Heyford Warren rent charge is reckoned at 5*s.* 4*d.*, i.e. on November 1. The price of barley is not quite so low, proportionately, as wheat, but the average is raised by the northern price, as is proved by the price of malt. Drage, of which a large quantity is sold at Pershore, is proportionately lower, as might be expected when prices were yielding. Rye at 3*s.* 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.* is exalted in the same way that wheat is, and for the same reasons. Oats are on an average of 2*s.* 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.*, and oatmeal at 7*s.* 3 $\frac{1}{4}$ *d.* I have found one price of beans, but none of vetches. But peas are at 3*s.* 1*d.*, and pulse at 2*s.* In the case of pulse, I have ventured on concluding that the entry means vetches.

1404-5. The price of wheat is still lower, and, with one exception, is very uniform. It is as low as 2*s.* at Charlbury in Oxfordshire, and apparently through the year, as one price is given in June, the other after the account was drawn up, and therefore after the harvest of 1405. The prices are a little higher on the eastern side of England. But the evidence is to the effect that there was an abundant harvest. Rye is even lower than the proportion. Barley is not so cheap as wheat, or as it might be expected to be. The same comment can be made on oats. Beans (of which one entry alone is found), peas, and pulse are very cheap. The disproportion is perfectly in accord with what is generally to be found in cheap years.

1405-6. The price of wheat sinks again, the average being 3*s.* 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.* In some places it is very low, a considerable quantity being purchased at Cambridge at a little over 3*s.*, and only a little less at Charlbury in Oxfordshire at 2*s.* The range of information too is wide. The sales at Lullington, being the quantity debited at market prices to the steward of Battle Abbey, are large, and indicate that the produce at this estate was exceptionally abundant. The chaldron bought at Wearmouth is also low-priced. The year contains a large purchase made by the Countess of Warwick, which, as the quality was likely to be the best, is similarly illustrative of a plentiful harvest. Barley is also cheap, and drage delivered from those localities is equally low-priced. The price of rye, oats, and beans is also low, the quantity of oats sold at Hornchurch being very large, viz. 320 quarters. It must have been a year of great plenty, prices being but little in excess of those in the three abundant years, 1392-4 inclusive.

1406-7. Prices rise a little in this year, though not to any notable degree, no entry being made of exceptional cheapness. They are

also singularly uniform. The highest price is at Hornchurch in Essex, a place always affected by London prices. The average is 4*s.* 4*d.* Barley at 2*s.* 11*d.* is, as is usual in cheap years, below the proportion, and drage is rateable to barley. Oats, of which a very large amount of purchases are made at Salisbury, are very cheap. Rye at 3*s.* 2*d.* is fairly proportionate to wheat. Beans and peas are low-priced, and pulse, which I have ranged under vetches, is exceptionally cheap at one locality.

1407-8. The price of wheat, the entries of which are still abundant enough, rises a little, the average being 4*s.* 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.* As before, the price is highest at Hornchurch. It is also dearer in the west of England. Barley is dearer, and also appears to have been deficient to a greater degree in the west, an inference which seems to be strengthened by the high price of malt. Drage and drage malt participate in the rise. Oats are also slightly dearer on the average, though large sales of this grain are made in Hornchurch at low prices. Rye experiences a rise which follows closely that of wheat. Beans, of which there is one entry only, are very low. Peas, of which the entries are more numerous, are affected by an analogous rise. Pulse and vetches are represented each by one entry only. Altogether, I conclude that the harvest of this year, though abundant in quantity, was various in quality, the best crop being in the Eastern counties.

1408-9. The harvest was decidedly scanty, and the anticipation of defective supply must have been formed very early, to judge from the Heyford Warren return of Nov. 1. The evidence of the year is chiefly derived from the Midland and Southern counties. It would again appear that the harvest was worse on the eastern side of England; for the average price of wheat at Cambridge is higher, the entries being more numerous than that of all the other localities together, for it is 8*s.* 2*d.*, while the general average is 7*s.* 3 $\frac{1}{4}$ *d.* The highest price of the year is some seed corn at Jarrow, the price of which is 11*s.* 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.* Nine quarters are sold at Hornchurch at 10*s.*, 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ at Wellow at 10*s.* 8*d.* I have thought it expedient to exclude the Pershore and Wearmouth prices from the average, as they are unnaturally low, and in the latter more probably represent an accidental bargain. But I have included that of Aylsham; though I feel that the whole of the corn entries from this place are suspicious. I am disposed to think that the scarcity was overrated, or that the plenty of the Eastern counties in the next year might have been local in this Norfolk town. The price of barley corresponds generally to that of wheat. Drage, which occurs in two localities only, is at a price which

is not suggestive of an accurate inference. The entries of malt are numerous, and imply that as malt was proportionately dear, the quality of the barley was low, for even drage malt is dear. Oats are proportionate to other kinds of grain. The entries of rye are scanty, and are affected by the Aylsham prices. Beans occur twice, and the average of the entries is probably near the facts. Peas and pulse correspond to the price of beans, though the entries are few. On the whole, there must have been a well-marked scarcity during this year.

1409-10. Prices are uniformly higher, rising above any year since 1369. To this general scarcity there is one marked exception, that of Cambridge, where wheat and barley are purchased at average prices. A small quantity of wheat is bought at a low rate at Pershore, and a large quantity of barley at Winterton is very cheap. Oats are also dear. Rye follows the price of wheat. I should gather from the entries that the summer was generally wet, but that some districts and some soils were unaffected by the prevailing weather. The highest prices are reached in Essex. The two entries of drage are misleading as regards what must have been the general value of this kind of grain, though the value corresponds with that of wheat and barley in the localities which give the information. The entries of malt come almost exclusively from Cambridge, and correspond to those of wheat. The high price on Nov. 1, at Heyford Warren, is an indication that the prospects of the harvest were anticipated at an early date.

1410-11. The information is sufficiently copious, being chiefly of the Southern counties. The high prices of the previous year affect early sales, one at 8s. for wheat being recorded, but, as will be seen, corn falls to little more than half the value at which it stood generally in the previous year. One entry of seed wheat is high. The purchases of malt at Cambridge are very numerous, and probably represent weekly buyings. But the average price fairly corresponds to wheat. Barley prices are high and suggest purchases for seed. Rye is rather over price, being heightened by seed buyings. To judge from the few entries recorded, beans, &c. must have been abundant and cheap.

1411-12. The information is of the same character with that of the foregoing year, and prices are nearly identical with those of the preceding season. Wheat is 4s. 10d. the quarter. Barley is lower, and the harvest must have been plentiful. Drage is as low as the proportion would suggest. Rye is even lower than might be expected, except that the price would be depressed by the cheapness of wheat.

Beans, peas, vetches, and pulse are also cheaper. Malt is again chiefly represented by Cambridge, at which large purchases are made under very favourable terms. The year, in short, is one of great abundance and cheapness, especially in Norfolk, where the summer must have been dry and hot.

1412-3. The information is more extensive, and prices are almost exactly as before, wheat being at 4s. 10 $\frac{3}{4}$ d. It would seem that the harvest on the east was not quite so copious as in the previous year, but that it was more plentiful in the south and west. Cambridge again supplies full and continuous information as to purchases, generally in small parcels; but it does not buy malt, apparently buying barley for home manufacture. This grain and also drage are lower than in previous years. Oats are cheaper, and rye a little dearer than in the previous year, owing probably to the slightly upward tendency of wheat. Beans, peas, vetches, and pulse are also low. Malt prices are high, and seem to indicate that good qualities of malting barley bore full prices.

1413-4. Corn prices, though the area of information is not so wide, and Cambridge fails me this year, are lower than before, in some places singularly so, quantities of corn being sold at a very low price. Barley is not quite so cheap as in the previous year, but drage stands at nearly the same price. Rye falls correspondingly with wheat. Oats are sold at the same price as the year before, the evidence being abundant, and the sales large. One entry of oats at a very high price, and said to have been bought for malting, is singular. It has not been reckoned in the averages. Beans, peas, vetches, and pulse stand at prices which might be expected. Only one entry of malt has been found, but the price of barley suggests that malt must have stood at much the same price as is given in the tables.

1414-5. The range of information is about as wide as in the previous year, Cambridge again supplying entries. The price is slightly lower than in the last series. The evidence is that of a uniformly good harvest. The entries of barley are numerous and in large parcels, some being sold very cheaply. The entries of drage, though scanty, correspond to those of barley. On the other hand, the high comparative price of malt, of which there are weekly entries from Cambridge, suggests that the malting character of the barley was low, a fact which is further implied in the slight difference of value between best and inferior malt in Wilts. Oats are rather dearer. Rye does not materially vary from its natural relation to wheat. Beans, &c.

are rather dearer. The nearest parallel to this remarkably low range of prices, lasting for five years, is to be found in the rates which prevailed with little interruption between 1332-45 inclusive.

1415-6. There is a general and considerable rise in the price of corn, which appears to be progressive. The information is fairly wide, and as before is chiefly from the south, the Midland and the Eastern counties. The rates are low at Cambridge, though even here one high price is recorded. But though there is a considerable rebound from the prices which ruled during the five preceding years, the amount is not excessive. Barley rises correspondingly. Drage is not so much affected, but oats are fully, the price at Hornchurch being very high. Malt corresponds fairly to the price of barley, and rye to the ordinary relation in which it stands to wheat, though the average is a little depressed by one entry at a low rate. There is no entry of the price of beans, but peas and vetches are at their naturally proportionate rates.

1416-7. The price of corn rises still further at the beginning of the harvest year, though it falls to the average towards its conclusion. In some places sales are effected at rates which are nearly as high as those of 1409, especially in Essex and Sussex. The Cambridge account, which is copious and instructive, though unfortunately it is not dated, contains twenty-four entries, which represent consecutive prices. It is probable then that the high prices represent the harvest of the year 1416, and the lower values purchases made or sales effected when the harvest of 1417 was anticipated. Barley is cheaper proportionately than wheat. For the first time there is no entry of drage. Oats are a little above average prices. The very abundant entries of malt at Cambridge show generally high prices and suggest that the quality of the barley was low. Beans are not represented; peas are fully. Vetches and pulse are probably seed corn only. It is remarkable that the average price of wheat is very close on that of the November purchase of Heyford Warren.

1417-8. The information is derived from a fairly wide range. Prices have fallen considerably, the average again closely corresponding to the Heyford account. It seems also that there was little variation in the price of wheat during the year, the highest rates coming from the North of England, Durham and Wearmouth, to which places it was probably conveyed by water carriage. After these the highest price is realised at Lullington in Sussex, where Battle Abbey is debited at the rate of 6s. 8d. on the wheat supplied by the bailiff of this farm. Barley is proportionately cheap, and the crop

was probably abundant and of high quality, an inference which is supported by the price of malt, particularly at Cambridge, where the average is 4*s.* a quarter to barley at 3*s.* 8¼*d.* Drage malt is about the price of barley. Oats are not particularly cheap on an average, the price being elevated by the Hornchurch entries, where oats are always dear, and even by those of Heyford and Oxford, where they are generally cheap. Rye is dear; for some unexplained reason the entries, chiefly from Hornchurch, giving higher prices than for wheat. There is only one small purchase of beans, at a very low rate; but peas, the entries of which are numerous, and vetches, and pulse, for each of which only one entry has been found, are equally cheap.

1418-9. The evidence, which is fairly plentiful, shows a considerable rise in the price of wheat generally, the average reaching 6*s.* 11½*d.* The highest rates are reached in Wilts and Sussex, and probably, as such facts generally suggest, the summer was wet in the southern counties. In Cambridge the average is not nearly so high, nor again at Hornchurch, a place always affected by London prices. Barley and malt however are cheap, and the crop must have been abundant except, as above, in the south. Lower still is the price of oats, large sales being effected at Hornchurch at 1*s.* 4*d.* the quarter. Oats are not dear even in the south, and the average would have shown a lighter rate, had it not been for two entries from Norwich and Bromham, both probably of an exceptional character. Rye again is cheap, even at Hornchurch, though as before it is dear in the south. Beans and peas are cheap, but there is no entry of either vetches or pulse. The harvest must have been below the average for wheat, and above it for all other kinds of grain, and the barley crops must have been very heavy in the eastern counties.

1419-20. There is a considerable fall in the price of wheat, the information being more copious than that for the preceding year. But barley, drage, and oats are higher, the price of malt being depressed by the low Cambridge average. Oats are not very dear at Hornchurch, but at a place named Porlok, they are distinguished as great and small, the marked contrast between the prices of these two qualities bringing out what I have frequently referred to, the difficulty of arriving at any standard for the quality of oats, which seem to have varied from an almost worthless grain to one of great weight and high quality. Perhaps the best test of the oat crop is the price of oatmeal, of which plentiful but not continuous prices will be found in the tables: the price of this varies from 12*s.* to 8*s.*, the average being

9s. 10½*d.* There are no entries of beans in the tables. Peas are rather dearer than might be expected. Pulse is cheap, to judge from a single entry.

1420-1. The evidence is of the same character as in the preceding year. But prices fluctuate greatly, and are very various. The harvest must have been deemed abundant in the autumn, and have been found deficient, locally at least, later in the season, for the Heyford price of November is very low. Wheat, which is only 4s. 4*d.* in the first entry of the Cambridge account, rises to 7s. 4*d.* later on in the year. It appears too that southern supplies, as at Lullington, Teffont, and Wye, were scanty, while the crop in the eastern counties was plentiful. The same inferences can be made about barley, though generally this crop must have been copious, though its quality was probably low to judge from the price of malt, which is nearly 5s. 3*d.* a quarter at Cambridge, at which fifty-four entries are made, and where the fluctuations of the market correspond with those of wheat. The Hornchurch rye is cheap, and oats are at about an average price, the rate at Hornchurch being low. There is no entry of beans, but peas and pulse follow prices locally, and otherwise, being variably cheap and dear.

1421-2. As might be expected from the record of the past year, there is a considerable fall in prices. The evidence is not so abundant as before, the Cambridge account being defective, but the range is wide. Prices are high in the south, at least at Apuldrum and Lullington, but low elsewhere. The same fact holds good with barley, considerable sales of which are recorded. Oats are rather dear, the average being probably enhanced—though the price is nowhere low—by some specially good qualities having been bought at two places for meal and seed. Beans, peas, vetches, and pulse are rather cheap. On the whole the harvest must have been plentiful, and the quality high. This, in the case of oats, is proved by the low price of meal, this being only 8s. 2½*d.* the quarter.

1422-3. The evidence is of the same character with that of the preceding year. Prices are lower, the average of wheat being 4s. 4*d.*, and very uniform. Barley is slightly above the proportionate average, very large sales being made at Guyton at a low rate. The entries too are derived from wide sources, from Sunderland to the Cotswolds. Drage does not appear. Oats are rather lower, but the quality is good, to judge from the price of meal, 8s. Rye follows wheat. Beans from two entries are rather high. Peas are slightly above the average, being heightened by a dear purchase of seed. This fact

also explains the high price of vetches. The harvest must have been abundant and of good quality.

1423-4. The harvest is practically of the same character with the preceding, the evidence, though not so wide, being of a similar kind. The highest prices are in the eastern counties. The same facts apply to barley; and it would appear from the difference between the prices of barley and malt, that good qualities of the former were comparatively scarce, though the principal and largest purchases and sales of malt are in Cambridge and Norfolk. The price of oats is low, and the quality is good, for seed oats are bought in dear localities at cheap rates, and the price of meal falls even as low as 6*s.* 8*d.* Rye is fairly analogous to wheat. There is no entry of the price of beans. Peas, vetches, and pulse are cheap.

1424-5. There is a slight rise in the price of wheat. It is considerably dearer in the eastern counties, but cheap in the south and Midlands. Barley is slightly cheaper, and as the price of malt is lower must have been of better quality. Oats are at exactly the same price as in the previous year, and the quality must have been as good or better, as the rate of seed oats and meal is low. There is an entry of oat malt at a high price, but this, apart from the cost of manufacture, must have been of very superior quality. Rye follows the price of wheat. The prices of beans, peas, pulse, and vetches present nothing worthy of special note. The average price of malt at the twenty-two Cambridge entries is 3*s.* 10½*d.*, which fairly represents the proportion of barley and malt. The general average is elevated by the price of eleven quarters purchased at Jarrow.

1425-6. The cost of wheat is still lower, having fallen within a fraction to that at which it stood twenty-one years before. In all places but two cheap, it sinks to 2*s.* 8*d.* in two places remote from each other, and the average would have been lower had it not been for the rates realised at Ormesby. Oats are still cheaper, and the price of oatmeal falls to 6*s.* for a time.

1426-7. There is a further slight fall in wheat. The evidence, though far from large, is fairly wide and representative. The harvest must have been very abundant and have been generally so. Barley is only a little less than wheat. Drage is not found. Oats vary little from the prices of the previous three years, but oatmeal is a trifle dearer. Rye, from two entries, is slightly lower than wheat. Beans, peas, and pulse are at normal prices. The low price of malt at Cambridge, 3*s.* 8½*d.*, points to good quality of barley.

1427-8. The price of wheat is still low, though a slight rise has

taken place. Barley, however, is lower than last year, and seems, to judge from the price of malt, to have been of good quality. I have, however, in my estimate of malt prices, omitted an entry, the amount of which is prodigious, from Sidmouth. There must, I suspect, be some clerical error in the account, for the price is wholly abnormal. Oats have slightly risen in price. Here too I have omitted an entry from Ormesby, a small quantity of French oats having been purchased here at a very exalted price, probably as seed, and possibly with a hope of improving the crop. If the latter surmise be correct, this entry is an early instance of an attempt to improve seed by foreign importation. Other prices call for little comment. Rye is very cheap, as are also beans, peas, and pulse, the second of which is very fully represented. The harvest of this year closes a period of extraordinary abundance and cheapness, which has lasted without intermission for seven years.

1428-9. The average price of wheat is more than double that of the previous year. The rise in price, which amounts to 13s. 4d. at Hoxon and Lancaster, appears to have been due to a wet season, particularly affecting Western England, and as is frequently the case with medieval corn prices, becoming progressively severe as the season advanced, and the prospects of the next harvest could be more or less exactly predicted. On the other hand, though all prices are exalted, it appears that Midland and Eastern England were not equally affected. Thus barley is and remains cheap in Norfolk and the east, but is very dear in the south-west, rising to 8s. at Sidmouth and Stert, and to 6s. at Alton Barnes, while large sales are made at Guyton at from 2s. 6d. to 2s. 8d., and at Heveningland in Norfolk at 2s. 8d. Oats too, though the price is very variable, show remarkable fluctuations. An entry at Oxford, and another at Stert, seem to indicate that the highest prices were reached generally in the spring, while one at Lancaster towards the end of the year points to famine. The price of rye supplies similar evidence, this grain being sold in Devonshire at 8s. Beans, &c. do not seem to have been similarly affected. Malt would not be so dear—indeed it is quite cheap at Cambridge—had it not been for the very significant entry from Sidmouth. As I had included the Sidmouth wheat, I felt constrained to include that of malt in the malt prices.

1429-30. The evidence is not quite so copious, but is derived from a wide area. Prices slightly decline, but this year the east suffers more than the south, wheat being sold at Cambridge and Hornchurch at 10s., and the price at the former locality being con-

tinuously high. Barley follows the fall in wheat. Oats too are slightly cheaper, but rye is dearer than it was the year before, the entries coming from Devon and Essex. Beans, peas, and vetches are not apparently affected. The average price of malt at Cambridge over the whole year is 4*s.* 9¼*d.*, but the general average is greatly exalted by the high price at which best malt is sold at Sidmouth. This and the preceding year must have been characterised by continual rain, the latter in the west, the former in both east and west, though the east seems to have suffered most.

1430-1. Prices suffer a considerable fall. The harvest appears to have been generally good, though the southern and eastern sides of England show generally the highest prices, as at Battle and Hornchurch, at each of which 8*s.* was reached, this being the price paid for a large quantity of wheat at the former. Barley falls correspondingly, as also do oats, the quality of which, to judge from the price of meal, must have been good. Malt at Cambridge is at 3*s.* 10¾*d.* on the average of the year, at Ormesby 3*s.* 10*d.*, the general average being raised by the cost of that bought at Colleshull parsonage. The price of beans, peas, vetches, and pulse is low.

1431-2. The information is fairly extensive, prices being generally low, the highest at Colleshull, near the Cotswolds. Wheat is very cheap at Cambridge, only touching 4*s.* once in the year. Barley is proportionately cheap, as also is drage, which appears again this year. Oats are at a lower price than in any year in the present century, indeed since 1387; and oatmeal is cheap. Malt is in fair proportion to barley. In the thirty-three entries from Cambridge it stands at 3*s.* 8½*d.*, and in two considerable sales from Castre in Norfolk, at 3*s.* 8*d.* There is nothing to note about the scanty entries of peas and vetches.

1432-3. The information is of the same character with that of the preceding year. But prices suffer a considerable rise, especially in the west and south. The Lullington produce is credited to the bailiff at 10*s.*, the highest price recorded. But wheat is at 9*s.* at Hornchurch, and 8*s.* at Sutton-at-Hone. Barley is not so much affected by the seasons as wheat is, the entries being numerous and significant. The average of the Cambridge malt prices is 4*s.* 7*d.* on twelve purchases, the College having, contrary to custom, bought their malt in large parcels. There is a considerable rise in the price of oats, which are sold in large quantities from Sutton-at-Hone, in Kent, and at Embleton in Northumberland, whence also comes a very high price of beans and peas. Rye is cheap in Norfolk and dear in Essex,

the only two counties which have supplied information about this grain.

1433-4. The range of information is south, midland, and east. Prices have fallen generally, but are higher in mid and east England than elsewhere. The highest amount reached is at Hornchurch. Heyford (Nov. 1) is high, and Oxford is similarly high. On the other hand, Alton Barnes (Wilts) is low. The highest Cambridge price of wheat is 6*s.* 8*d.* towards the end of the year. Barley fairly corresponds to wheat. Rye, of which there are three entries, is above the proportion. Drage is in its proper relation to barley. Oats have fallen, but the average is higher than the price of meal would suggest. The only price of malt is that from Cambridge, from which there are numerous entries. It corresponds to that of barley. Beans, peas, and vetches are not abnormal. The harvest must have been a good average.

1434-5. The evidence is derived from the south, east, and midland shires. The average price of wheat is lower than in the previous year, and the rate in the east, though fluctuating and uncertain, as might be anticipated in cheap years, is a little higher, Cambridge excepted, than elsewhere. The greatest price is at Hornchurch. The Heyford entry, of the date often mentioned above, is low. Barley, the principal entries of which come from the eastern counties, is very cheap, and was evidently a very abundant harvest. The quality too, judging from the price of malt (3*s.* in Cambridge, 3*s.* 9*d.* at Ormesby), must have been good. Oats fall to the price at which they stood eight years before, and the quality is indicated by the low price of meal. Rye corresponds to the price of wheat. There is no entry of beans, vetches, and pulse, but merely of cattle peas. The price of these is low.

1435-6. The range of prices is wide, and the information distributed. Wheat is at an average price. But all other kinds of grain are very cheap. Barley, malt, and oats are lower than at any time in the century, even in districts such as Sussex, where they are generally dear. Some of the sales too are large. Rye is also relatively cheap, the proportion in which it stands to wheat corresponding closely with that of the past year. There is nothing to comment on in the few entries of beans, peas, pulse, and vetches, the price of which is also low. Oatmeal is cheap.

1436-7. The information is plentiful and wide-spread. The year begins with low prices, the Heyford entry being 4*s.* Gradually, however, the price of wheat rises, the forecast or reality of the crop of

1437 having had its effect on the markets. Thus, beginning at Cambridge at 4*s.* and 4*s.* 4*d.*, the price rises to double the amount, 8*s.* 8*d.*, before the year is over, and at Ormesby from 4*s.* 5*d.* to 9*s.* 4*d.* It appears too that these low prices went over the spring, seed corn being cheap. But neither barley, with malt, nor oats are similarly affected, unless we except certain entries of oats at Ormesby late in the year. The price of oatmeal is low. Rye is a little dearer than usual, owing to seed purchases. The price of peas, &c. is low. The sales of barley and malt, derived mainly from Fastolfe's estates, are very large, more than 300 quarters of malt being sold at Ormesby, 270 at Grantchester, 100 at Heveningland, and 68 at Caldecotes.

1437-8. The price of corn rises rapidly. At November it stood at 8*s.* It rises to 12*s.* 8*d.* at Canons Ashby, to 13*s.* 4*d.* at Hornchurch, to 10*s.* at Lullington, which is doubtlessly an average, and at Ormesby. It even reaches 16*s.* at Sutton-at-Hone. It seems that the southern counties were most affected by the season, which was wet. The price of barley does not rise correspondingly with that of wheat, though traces of scarcity appear towards the end of the year, as well might be. The high price of malt seems to imply that the quality of the corn was bad. Rye, of which the entries are unusually large, is fully affected by the scarcity. Oats and oatmeal are also dear generally. The price of beans, &c. is not so high as that of other kinds of grain. It is plain that a dearth of considerable local severity prevailed during this year.

1438-9. This is a year of undoubted famine, the most serious since the great famine of 1315-16, from which it is separated by an interval of 122 years, a period which has recurred so often as to suggest that the germ of a theory as to a cycle of the seasons may be derived from studying the recurrence of famines and dearths. The scarcity besides being very serious is universal or nearly so, though it was probably more intense in some districts than in others, as is proved by the petition presented to the King by the House of Commons, praying that inland navigation to distressed districts might be permitted without restraint. The prayer was refused, on the plea that advantage might be taken of the liberty to export corn to foreign countries, a proof that the seasons were as unpropitious on the continent as they were in England. Such information as the scanty chronicles of the time give one show that the cause of the calamity, as is invariably the case in England, was heavy and long-continued rain in summer, with an almost total absence of the normal solar heat. The price of wheat, it is true, does not rise to the amount

which is reached in some parts during the great famine of 1315, when a price of 26s. 8d. is recorded; in 1316, when 20s. is reached in several places; and 1321, when a price of 21s. 8d. is found; for the highest amount in this year is 20s., at Hornchurch. The sales are not large, as may be expected, the principal being the purchases at King's Hall. It is to be observed that the dearth is early recognised, the price in November being nearly up to the average of the year. Barley and malt do not appear to be so seriously affected as wheat is. Oats rise greatly in price, but this grain does not also seem to be so much injured. Rye is fully proportionate to wheat. Beans, peas, and pulse are very dear. Oatmeal, though not at so high a price as might have been expected, is proportionately dear with oats.

The scarcity of the year 1438-9 is the most serious in the fifteenth century. It does not indeed, either in severity or extent, equal those of the fourteenth, on which comment was made in the earlier volumes. But there can be no doubt that it created general distress, perhaps loss of life in the more impoverished and inaccessible districts. The calamity did not indeed endure long, for as we shall see, the harvest of the next year was fairly good.

1439-40. The information for this year is more extensive. It appears that, as is not infrequently the case when a period of bad seasons is affecting England, the wet was more serious in eastern and southern than in mid England. The price of wheat and malt remains high in Cambridge, Sussex, and Devon. But it was low in Oxfordshire and the Cotswold district. Barley does not fall proportionately to wheat. The price of malt is greatly exalted by high prices at Cambridge and Bicester. Oats and rye have fallen to ordinary rates. The prices of beans and peas are, judging from the scanty entries, low.

1440-1. The price of wheat is uniformly low, and appears to have remained low throughout the year, the information, though not extensive, being sufficient for purposes of inference. Barley, some of which is sold in large quantity in Sussex, is cheap; and malt, of which large purchases and sales are made in Cambridgeshire, is very cheap. Oats also are a heavy crop, for large sales at low prices are effected in Sussex, and the price of oatmeal is very low. There is only one entry of rye, but this corresponds fairly to wheat. The entries of peas also imply low rates.

1441-2. The price of wheat is very low, not indeed quite so low as in the previous year, but evidently the result of a plentiful harvest.

There is no record of any local scarcity, though prices come from Cambridgeshire, Oxfordshire, Gloucestershire, Durham, Norfolk, Essex, and Kent. Barley is very cheap, and malt, of which large quantities are sold at Ormesby (510 quarters) probably for exportation, is equally cheap. The price of oats is a little higher, as is shown by that of meal, which is however cheap. Peas and vetches are cheap. I have found no entry of rye or beans.

1442-3. The price of wheat is again low, the information being wide and fairly copious. Barley, of which extensive sales are made from Sutton-at-Hone, is also cheap. Oats rise notably, as does also oatmeal. Rye is cheap. Malt is also low priced. There is only one entry of peas, and none of beans and vetches. As before, the harvest must have been abundant, and prices were uniformly low.

1443-4. The information is fairly full and wide. Wheat prices are still very low, especially in the autumn of 1443. Barley too is cheap, large sales being made at several places at low rates. There are also extensive sales and purchases of malt in Norfolk and Cambridge. The price of oats is also low, and, judging from the price of meal, the quality must have been fair. There is no entry of rye, drage, or beans. Peas fetch a fairly full price, the rate for this article and for vetches being enhanced by the Sutton-at-Hone rates, which are probably purchases for seed.

1444-5. The price of wheat, derived from numerous entries over an extensive area, is very low, and the harvest must have been abundant and of good quality. The Heyford Warren entry is the cheapest of the series, but is paralleled at Yeovil. One quarter at Abingdon is even sold at a shilling. A little is bought at Writtle at 6s. 8d., a large quantity at 5s. 1d. But Writtle is the house of an opulent cadet of the royal family. Barley is also very cheap. Malt is also very low priced, a proof that barley was of good quality. Oats are also cheap, the average being a little raised by the price of the very large quantity purchased for the stables at Writtle; for we may conclude that the consumption of the Duke of Buckingham was of the best quality. A small quantity of beans is bought at Writtle at a rather high price. Peas are at an average. A quarter of seed vetches bought at Sutton is the only entry I find of this article.

1445-6. The information is abundant and varied. The price of wheat rises universally, especially as the year proceeds. But it is plain that locally the wheat harvest was bad, and especially in the south and east. The Battle home farms of Apuldrum and Lullington have a scanty crop, and are valued at the same price. But a sale is

recorded at Boreham at 10s. 1d., at Cambridge at 8s. 10d., at Elham in Kent at 8s., and two at Westfeld at 10s. Barley however remains very cheap, even in some of the places at which wheat was dear, and malt is as cheap as barley, taking into account the cost of manufacture. Oats are only a little dearer, and the price of meal is low. Beans, peas, and vetches are cheap.

1446-7. The wheat harvest of this year, the information for which is of the same character with that of the preceding year, appears to have been similar to that of 1445-6, except that the crop was nowhere very bad and nowhere very abundant. The highest price is at Lullington, and the lowest at Apuldrum in the same county. As the crop was fairly large at the former and scanty at the latter, I conclude that the quality at the latter was very inferior. Barley still remains cheap, though the market rises slightly. Oats too are a little dearer, though oatmeal is cheap. Rye is found in one place. Beans, peas, vetches, and pulse are cheap.

1447-8. The information is rather more copious than usual. Wheat has fallen to the average price, though it is dear at Yeovil, as are all other kinds of grain in this place. Barley is a little dearer, as is also malt, the entries being numerous and the sales large, upwards of 220 quarters of malt being sold at Ormesby. Oats and rye fairly correspond to the prices which might be expected, and oatmeal is cheap. Beans, peas, vetches, and pulse are cheap, the information being unusually abundant.

1448-9. Wheat is a little dearer. The number of localities furnishing information is large, and the range wide. The highest rates come from the south-west, as Yeovil and Budleigh. In this year occurs the first entry from Sion Abbey, founded by Henry VI, near Richmond, and from King's College, founded by the same king at Cambridge. The quantity purchased at Sion is large. The Sussex prices are considerably lower than the average. Barley is slightly lower, the price being very uniform throughout the county. Malt is a little dearer, large purchases being made at Sion. Rye corresponds to wheat. Oats are a little cheaper, a considerable quantity being bought at Sion, Middleham, and Finchale at low prices. Beans and vetches are cheap. The price of oatmeal at Cambridge is low.

1449-50. Wheat is again a little cheaper, the highest prices being those in the south of England, and the price rising towards the end of the year. Barley is abundant and cheap, as is also malt, very large sales being made both of raw and malted grain from the eastern counties. The price of oats falls with that of other kinds of grain.

Beans and peas are cheap. Tares, probably the same as vetches, are very low. Oatmeal is very low at first, but rises, if we may judge from the Cambridge account, later in the year.

1450-1. The information is scanty, but fairly wide. Prices are higher, especially in the south and west. It appears that prices are lower, at any rate in Oxfordshire, at the early part of the year. The highest rates are reached at Hornchurch, Loders, Martock, and Yeovil, at the last of which a considerable quantity is sold. The Lullington sales are close on the average. Barley is not so dear, the price being low in all the localities. One large sale of malt is effected at 3*s.* 6*d.*, and a small purchase is made at 5*s.* Rye fairly corresponds to wheat. Oats are a little dearer, but meal at Cambridge is low priced. Beans, peas, vetches, and pulse are moderately cheap.

1451-2. The information is abundant, derived from the south, the west, the midlands, and the east. Wheat is a good deal dearer in the west and east, and at one or two places in the south, the highest rate being reached at Wiveliscombe, the lowest at Heyford Warren (the November purchase) and at Rushmere. The price of barley and malt, the entries of which are numerous, is also lower. So are oats; oatmeal, except in the case of a small purchase at Bicester, being cheap. Rye fairly corresponds to wheat. Beans are not dear, and peas are very cheap. But the high prices which prevail locally in wheat prevail also in other kinds of corn, except oats, which are cheap at Apuldrum, Wiveliscombe, and Yeovil. Beans are also cheap at the last-named place.

1452-3. Wheat prices are much lower, especially in the east and midland counties. They are still dear in the west, the information being nearly as copious as in the year before, and quite as wide. Barley, of which considerable sales and purchases are recorded, falls a little. Malt too, which is sold in large quantities at Ormesby and bought in large quantities at King's College, Cambridge, and Sion Abbey—in the last-named 260 quarters at a high price—corresponds on the whole to barley. Oats are a little cheaper, and meal does not vary materially from the prices which might be expected. Rye and malted rye are at a price relative to wheat. Beans, peas, vetches, and tares are low priced. The information is full and extensive.

1453-4. The information is extensive, and derived from a number of localities. Wheat is cheap in Cambridge, the average of 27 entries being 4*s.* 5½*d.*, the general average being 5*s.* 1¼*d.* The average of the Sion purchases is also low, 109 quarters at 5*s.* It is dearer in the midland and the north, though the quantities bought at Jarrow and

Wearmouth are small. Barley is dearer, and malt, of which large quantities are bought at Cambridge and Sion, is at a much higher price, the purchases of the latter place being 340 quarters at an average of 6*s.* 4*d.*, while the Cambridge malt is bought for 4*s.* 3½*d.* There is, after several years, another entry of drage. Oats are dearer, and the price of oatmeal is higher than it was in the previous year. Rye fairly corresponds to wheat. Beans and peas, if I can rely on very scanty entries, are dearer, and correspond to the price of oats.

1454-5. The information is extensive and wide. All kinds of grain are cheap. Wheat is at a lower price than at any year in the century, and barley and malt are also very cheap. The Cambridge purchases are obtained at 3*s.* 5*d.* on an average on 257 quarters, those of Sion are at 5*s.* 3½*d.* on over 383 quarters. Oats and oatmeal are similarly cheap. I have found no price of either rye or beans for the year. Peas and vetches are low. In no part of England are there high prices, and the year must have been one of exceptional abundance. The reader will remember that in the summer of 1455 occurred the first battle of St. Alban's, the virtual commencement of the civil war.

1455-6. The evidence, though not so extensive, is sufficient. The price of wheat rises to its average amount. It is, however, dear at Lullington, above the average in eastern England, and below it in the midland district. The Sion purchases are nearly at the general average, being 5*s.* 3½*d.*, a proof that grain was plentiful in London. Barley and malt have risen, but the Sion purchases, 320 quarters, are obtained at a less rate (5*s.*) than in the preceding year. Oats rise slightly in price, as does also meal. Peas are cheap. One lot of seed vetches is high priced. I have no entry of drage or of beans for the year.

1456-7. The entries of this year are very numerous, though the localities are few. They contain entries from King's Hall, Cambridge, which are undated, but continuous from King's College, which are dated from Sept. 30, 1456, to October, 1457, perhaps to November in the same year, and another long series from Fountains Abbey. The average from each of these localities is 4*s.* 10½*d.*, 5*s.* 2*d.*, and 5*s.* 4*d.* It appears that in July and early in September there was a sudden and sharp rise, due probably to anticipations of a defective harvest for the next year. This is particularly marked at Fountains, but is discernible also at Cambridge. The general average is close upon 5*s.* Barley, however, is low, the average at Fountains, in which more than 358 quarters are bought, being 3*s.* 6½*d.*, while elsewhere, especially in

Norfolk, the price is low. King's College buys its malt, 304 quarters, at 2s. 6d. on an average, King's Hall a smaller quantity at 2s. 5½d. Oats are bought abundantly at Fountains, and are slightly dearer. But the price of meal is low. Rye corresponds to the price of wheat. Beans and peas are low priced.

Fine flour, called in the accounts 'simila,' is purchased at King's College on two occasions at an average of 12s. 5d. the quarter. It may be noted here that the price of wheat flour per quarter does not generally (we shall find it recur frequently at later dates) differ from that of wheat. This fact seems to denote that the bushel of flour merely meant the product of a bushel of wheat, in which quality alone was taken into account in price, and not the quantity of the meal.

1457-8. The evidence for this year is more general, but not so exact as that of the preceding year. The price of wheat rises, especially in the midlands and the south-west. It is also rather dear at Cambridge, at which town it will be seen that the price of wheat in grain and as meal closely corresponds, for the average of wheat at Cambridge is 5s. 10¾d., that of wheat meal 6s. 8d. The Fountains Abbey average is much lower, 4s. 5d., and the Heyford price of November is 5s. 8d. It appears that the harvest was deficient, but the prospect of the next being good, prices declined as summer advanced. Rye corresponds to wheat. Barley and malt are still cheap, the purchases and sales being large, and prices very low. Oats and oatmeal rise slightly. Beans, &c. are cheap. By an error, the word 'chete,' which seems to be coarse meal, is printed as though it were a locality. It is sold by King's College constantly, and is most likely the same as fine bran.

1458-9. The price of corn is almost the same as that in the preceding year. The evidence is abundant and exact. Wheat is very cheap in the eastern counties, the average of King's Hall being 4s. 10¾d., of King's College 4s. 4d., while at Ormesby it is even less. But it is dear in the south and west. 8s. at Apuldrum, Coleshull, and Lullington, and once 8s. 8d. at Yeovil. The price at Heyford also indicates that it was above the average in Oxfordshire. Barley is apparently dearer than usual, but as the prices come mainly from the dearer districts, they are not adequately reduced by the eastern rates. Thus barley is only 2s. 5½d. at Ormesby, while at Apuldrum it is 4s. Hence again, the malt sales derived chiefly from the eastern counties give a low rate for this article. The two Cambridge colleges buy their malt at an average of 2s. 5½d., and the Ormesby malt is sold at 2s. 7d. Oats are a little lower, and that almost

universally, the price of meal being also low. Rye is fairly related to wheat. Beans have not been found. Peas and vetches (the latter seed) are low.

1459-60. The price of wheat is a little lower. It is still, however, dear in the midland district, and in the south, 6s. at Apuldrum, and 6s. 8d. at Lullington. But it is cheap at Cambridge, the average of this locality being 4s. 5½d. The Sion purchases of 160 quarters, some of which is seed wheat for the home farm at Isleworth, is 5s. 5d., a little above the average. It is not, however, dear in the west at Yeovil and Loders. Barley is a little lower, and, as before, the price is heightened by the entries from less cheap localities, while, *pari passu*, malt is lowered by the cheap rates of Cambridge, Castre, whence over 300 quarters are sold, and Ormesby; Sion buys its 360 quarters of malt at 4s. 10½d. Oats are rather dearer. There is, indeed, a rather high range supplied from Oxford, but the fact is further illustrated by the price of meal. Rye follows wheat. Beans, peas, and vetches are cheap.

1460-1. The price of wheat rises considerably, and in all districts. A little is sold at Ormesby at a low rate, and King's Hall makes a favourable contract early in the winter. But with these exceptions the price is very generally 8s. The Sion purchases are made on an average at 8s., 5½d., some seed being bought at slightly lower rates. Barley and malt are dearer, but the relative price of both is lowered by the eastern abundance, for in this district there is scarcely a perceptible rise. Sion buys a few quarters of barley at 5s. 6d., and 309 quarters of malt at an average of 7s. 6½d., a very high rate, indicating that there was considerable local scarcity. Oats are rather dearer. Rye rises co-ordinately with wheat. Beans are not found. Peas and tares are very high priced.

1461-2. Wheat is still rising, standing at the same price in most places, but becoming dearer in Cambridge, where the average is 7s. 6½d., nearly the general average, and remaining at nearly the same rate in the midlands. It is, however, cheaper in the south, and, to judge from one entry, in the west. One entry, the price of which is probably the error of a scribe, has been omitted. The evidence is general. The price of barley is almost unchanged, as is also malt, the chief entries of which come from Cambridge. Oats and meal are also dearer. There are no entries of rye and beans, and but scanty information on peas and vetches.

1462-3. The evidence is scanty, but is sufficient to prove that the prices of wheat were very much lower. There is, indeed, only one

locality where it is even moderately high. The Heyford price is nearly as low (3*s.* 1*d.*) as at any time. At Lullington it is only 4*s.* Barley is equally and generally cheap, and malt equally so. Oats and oatmeal are very cheap. Rye is dear, owing to the Finchale entry, in which alone wheat is dear. Beans, peas, and vetches are also cheap.

1463-4. The evidence is sufficiently copious. Wheat falls again considerably, the price being the same as that in 1440-1, these being the lowest of the century as yet. It is cheaper at Heyford than at any period, and there is proof that the harvest must have been uniformly abundant. Very large purchases are derived from Writtle, at 4*s.* 4½*d.* Barley and malt are equally cheap, large quantities of the former being sold from 1*s.* 8*d.* to 2*s.* I have omitted a large entry of malt from Wye. Either the quarter is double or there is an error in the account, as it is an impossible price as it stands. Oats are a little dearer, the price of meal also varying in such a way as to suggest that the price being singularly low in one place and very high in another, the crop was varied in quantity and quality. Beans and peas are at average proportionate rates. I have here again omitted a very suspicious price of peas from Wye.

1464-5. Wheat is a shade dearer, but prices are generally very low, being above the average at Wye only, where, however, the price falls after the account is rendered. Barley and malt are also dearer, though large sales, 298 quarters, are made in malt at Ormesby, of which the average is 3*s.* 7*d.* the quarter. Only two entries have been found of oats, and in each the price is high, but the price of meal has greatly increased. Rye is in proportion to wheat. Beans and pulse are cheap. One entry of peas at Wye is too suspicious for entry in the averages.

1465-6. Wheat is a little dearer, though still very cheap. The Cambridge account is dated, and prices scarcely vary, the average from this place, 4*s.* 5½*d.*, being slightly less than the general average. At Heyford the November rate is 3*s.* Only one entry—from the Howard accounts—is above the average. Barley and malt are also cheap, the Cambridge account of twenty dated entries giving an average of 3*s.* 4¾*d.* Oats and meal are also cheap. Rye corresponds to wheat. Beans and peas are at average prices.

1466-7. The evidence is abundant. Wheat has risen in price, and has reached the average at which it ordinarily stands. Barley and malt are also dearer. Prices are higher at Cambridge, and generally in the east and south than elsewhere. The average of wheat at

King's Hall is 6*s.* 2*d.*, at King's College, where the entries are dated and where the College seems to have bought more advantageously, it is 5*s.* 6½*d.* At Heyford wheat is low. The malt sales of Ormesby are numerous, 324 quarters being sold. Large quantities of barley (108 quarters) are also bought at Finchale. The prices of malt in the eastern counties are singularly uniform, the averages of each locality scarcely varying. The price of oats is higher, but meal is hardly enhanced. Rye follows wheat. Beans, peas, and vetches are low.

1467-8. The evidence is wide and the King's College prices are dated. This College does not appear to have bought so advantageously as its neighbour did this year. Prices are uniform or nearly so at nearly all localities. I have not reckoned the Wearmouth chaldrons in the average. Barley and malt are very little changed, the former being slightly higher, the latter slightly lower. Oats too and meal are almost unaltered. 120 quarters are bought by Finchale at 1*s.* 10*d.*, and 37 at Yeovil at 2*s.* Beans and peas are also unchanged to a material degree. Rye is slightly dearer.

1468-9. The evidence is sufficient, and the King's College accounts are carefully dated. The average of wheat at King's Hall is 6*s.* 2¾*d.*, at King's College 6*s.* 8½*d.* It appears that the price of wheat rose considerably at the beginning of September 1469, but only temporarily, one quarter having been bought at 10*s.* A large amount is recorded as purchased in the Howard accounts, 688 quarters, at an average of 6*s.* 5½*d.*, i.e. about midway to the Cambridge purchases. The Cambridge malt purchases are at low rates, King's Hall obtaining its supply at 2*s.* 7¾*d.*, King's College at 2*s.* 8¼*d.* These facts will account for the relative price of barley and malt in the tables. Oats are cheap. Finchale buys 72 quarters at 1*s.* 6*d.* Beans and peas are cheap. The harvest seems to have been generally good, but prices of wheat are high in the eastern counties.

1469-70. The evidence is fairly sufficient. The Cambridge corn prices are again dated, at King's College, and the price is considerably lower than in the previous year. But western prices are high. A large quantity of wheat is bought in London at 6*s.* 8*d.* But at Budleigh and Loders, in the west, the price is 8*s.* 4*d.* and 8*s.* At Cambridge the price is highest in September, 1470. King's Hall buys at 5*s.* 1*d.*, King's College at 5*s.* 8¼*d.*, on an average. Barley is a little dearer, malt stationary, King's Hall and King's College supplying most of the information, and the former buying at 2*s.* 9¼*d.*, the latter at 2*s.* 8¾*d.* Oats are a little dearer, and the price of meal fluctuates. Rye follows wheat. Beans and peas are cheap.

1470-1. The evidence is scanty, but prices are clearly lower except in the eastern counties. Barley and malt are not dear. The King's College account is lost, but King's Hall buys at 3*s.* 10 $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.*, and Ormesby sells 585 quarters of malt at 3*s.* 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.* 142 quarters are sold also from Hinton at 3*s.* 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.* Oats and oatmeal are cheap. One entry of rye malt from the east puts this article high. I have found no entry of beans, peas, or vetches for this year, beyond one of green peas, on which, with similar entries, I purpose commenting hereafter.

1471-2. The evidence is scanty, but it appears that wheat was at an average, or near an average price. Barley and malt are higher, Ormesby selling 455 quarters of malt at 4*s.* 0 $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.*, and Cambridge buying barley at 3*s.* 8*d.*, and selling malt at 4*s.* 11*d.* Oats are unchanged in any particular degree, but meal appears to be a little dearer. I have found no entry of rye, and only one of beans and peas.

1472-3. The evidence is more abundant. The King's College account is preserved as well as that of King's Hall, and the entries in the former are dated. Prices of wheat are low, and low uniformly. King's Hall buys at an average of 3*s.* 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.*, King's College at an average of 3*s.* 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.* Barley and malt are rather dearer, the price of the latter being very uniform. King's Hall buys malt at 3*s.* 0 $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.*, King's College at 3*s.* 3 $\frac{1}{4}$ *d.* The price of oats and oatmeal is unchanged. Beans and peas are also cheap. I find no entry of rye.

1473-4. The price of wheat is low. The King's College entries are dated, and the average is 3*s.* 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ *d.*, none purchased being at a higher rate than 4*s.* the quarter. The average of the King's Hall purchases is 3*s.* 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.* As these purchases are frequently made in distant localities, especially when the corn is bought in considerable quantities and not in the Cambridge market only, the entries have a higher importance than that of the mere place of purchase. The Heyford price is 3*s.* 6*d.* The dearest market is that in the west. Barley is not so cheap. The localities are only four, Canterbury, Yeovil, Finchale, and Wearmouth, but the quantities purchased are considerable. The two Cambridge colleges alone supply malt prices; the King's Hall malt being bought at 2*s.* 11 $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.*, the King's College at 3*s.* 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.* Oats are dear, except at Finchale, where 106 quarters are bought at 1*s.* 9*d.* Rye is at its natural price, though only one entry is found. Beans and peas are rather dearer than might be expected.

1474-5. The evidence is wider than that of the previous year, but not so useful, since the King's College record is lost. The King's

Hall average is 4*s.* 3½*d.* Barley is represented by Finchale only. Bigg is returned from Wearmouth. Malt at King's Hall is very cheap, and large contracts are made at an average of 2*s.* 8*d.* Oats are also cheap (82 quarters being bought at Finchale), as is proved by the price of meal at Cambridge. Rye is not found. Beans and peas are cheap, if one can judge from a single entry of both.

1475-6. Wheat is dearer, especially at Cambridge, though the price, 5*s.* 6*d.*, is only a fraction higher than the general average. The King's Hall account only is preserved. Barley is cheaper than the year before, and malt in Cambridge and elsewhere in the eastern counties is remarkably low, a large purchase at King's Hall being made at 1*s.* 10¾*d.*, and the average being 2*s.* 2*d.* Oats vary in price, the Finchale purchase being made at 1*s.* 6*d.* Rye corresponds to wheat. Beans and peas are cheap.

1476-7. Wheat, returns of which are derived from King's Hall and King's College entries, the latter of which are dated, is cheaper. The average at the former is 4*s.* 8*d.*, at the latter 5*s.* 3¼*d.*, the price being slightly higher in the winter than it is in the spring and summer. Barley and malt are hardly altered. Oats are at nearly the same price. Beans are also unchanged, but peas in the two quotations given are cheaper.

1477-8. The information, though not extensive, is wide. Wheat is much dearer. It stands at 6*s.* 8*d.* at Heyford, at 7*s.* 4*d.* at Coleshull, the highest price at Cambridge being 6*s.* 11*d.*, and the average 5*s.* 9*d.* It appears to be on the whole cheapest in east England. There is a price of wheaten flour at 8*s.* given from Canterbury. Barley is nearly as cheap as in the previous year, and malt, of which Cambridge alone supplies a price, is 2*s.* 6¼*d.* Cheddar however gives at once a price of drage and drage malt, and of bere malt, distinctions which imply that bigg or bere and drage are not at least identical here; bere malt being quoted at 4*s.*, drage malt at 2*s.* 8*d.* Oats are cheap at Finchale, beans at Cheddar. But a price of beans and peas from Jarrow is too great to furnish the basis of an average.

1478-9. Wheat is still at a high price, and universally so. The average is nearly unaltered. Barley is cheap, but the price of malt is high, indicating that the quality of the grain was low. The only entries of malt are at the two Cambridge Colleges, in each of which the purchases are made at exactly the same average, 4*s.* 3½*d.* Oats are cheap, but meal is higher. Rye is only represented in the west, as also beans. I conclude that the summer of this and of the preceding year was wet, and that though the quantity of corn grown was

not much short, the quality was inferior, and the grain comparatively innutritious. Oats are cheap, as is also oatmeal, the grain being sold at Icklesham and Westfeld by the double quarter or sum.

1479-80. Wheat is cheaper. The Cambridge accounts are lost, but prices are derived from several localities. Barley and malt stand at prices which are generally analogous to those of wheat. Oats are cheap. Rye corresponds to wheat. Beans and peas are scantily represented, and the rates are probably above the general average.

1480-1. The Cambridge account of King's Hall has been found, at which the average is 4*s.* 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.* Prices are higher in the south and Midland counties; the price at Heyford being 7*s.* Barley is cheap at Cambridge, but dear in the north, and the same fact applies to malt. Oats are cheap, a large quantity being bought at Finchale at 1*s.* 6*d.*, and certain purchases being made at London, and from winter to summer at Ruislip near London, at moderate prices. Rye is unchanged. Beans, peas, and vetches are represented, the first falsely, the other two by only one entry each.

1481-2. The information is extensive, and the harvest is decidedly defective. At first prices are low, except in certain localities. The Cambridge accounts include those of both Colleges, but the King's College account is defective, containing no entries before March. At Heyford the price is 8*s.* The highest rate recorded is in the King's Hall account, 12*s.* 4*d.* The average of this account is 8*s.* 10 $\frac{1}{4}$ *d.*, that of King's College 9*s.* 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ *d.* That of Sion, at which 298 quarters are bought, 9*s.* 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.* At Swaffham 12*s.* is reached, and the average is 7*s.* 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ *d.* At Finchale 29 quarters are bought at 10*s.* Barley rises proportionately. Malt is also dear, the Cambridge average being 5*s.* 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.*, and the 480 quarters at Sion standing at an average of 7*s.* 2 $\frac{1}{4}$ *d.* Oats and oatmeal are also dear. Rye is not so dear as might be expected, but the western prices, from which two entries of rye malt come, do not seem to have participated in the general fall. Beans, peas, and tares are also dear. The probable cause of the dearth was wet in the Midland and eastern counties.

1482-3. Prices are still higher, especially in eastern England. The King's Hall average is 10*s.* 2*d.*, the King's College, which went further afield, is 9*s.* 6*d.* Prices fell as the prospects of 1483-4 improved. The highest rate reached is at Wearmouth, 15*s.* Barley and malt are also very dear. The Cambridge averages of King's Hall and King's College are respectively 5*s.* 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.*, and 5*s.* 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.* But some malt is bought at Wearmouth at 11*s.* Oats are by no means so dear, nor is oatmeal. Beans and peas are dear. The two years

are distinctly those of scarcity, especially in the eastern counties, the highest prices being in Durham, which practically drew its supplies from the south-east.

1483-4. The information is very copious. The King's Hall accounts give an average of 6*s.* 2½*d.* But there is also an Oxford account of Magdalen College, in which the entries are put down carefully day by day, as the purchases were made, from October 11, 1483, to August 26, 1484, the only account of what must have been a regular series which has been preserved in the archives of the college. But the muniments of this college have been kept in the most jealous seclusion, and treated with uniform neglect. Had they been preserved with the commonest care, they would have been invaluable. Barley is represented by two entries only, both in Durham, and both implying purchases in Norfolk. Malt is purchased at Cambridge at an average of 4*s.* 9*d.*, and at Oxford at an average of 6*s.* 2½*d.*, the malt entries at Magdalen being nearly as copious as those of wheat. Oats are dear in Wilts and cheap in Durham. Beans and peas, of which copious returns are given at Oxford, are rather cheap. The college buys a quarter of bean malt, an entry which has been recognised before.

1484-5. The price of wheat falls to an average, prices being low in Cambridge, where the average is 3*s.* 9*d.* It is 5*s.* 4*d.* at Heyford, and with this year, as the monks at Bicester commuted their annuity into money at 26*s.* 8*d.*, this most valuable entry, which has been preserved almost uninterruptedly for more than a century, ceases. Barley is at its natural proportion. Malt is only represented by the King's Hall entries. Oats are cheaper, but have not fallen proportionately. Beans and peas are cheap. Rye in one entry is rather dear.

1485-6. Prices are low. The average at King's Hall is 4*s.* 5¼*d.*, a little less than the general average. King's College buys no corn, but wheat flour, the average of which is 5*s.* 4*d.*, the entries extending from December to August. Oats and meal are cheap. Beans and peas are represented in one entry only. Rye has not been found.

1486-7. Prices are a little higher. The average at King's Hall is 4*s.* 7½*d.*, and of flour at King's College 5*s.* 7¾*d.* Barley is bought in Durham at high rates; malt at King's Hall at 2*s.* 5*d.*, at King's College at 2*s.* 7¾*d.* Oats are a trifle dearer, as are also beans and peas. One entry of rye is as high as that of wheat in the same place.

1487-8. The prices of corn are little changed, except by a slight increase. Wheat is represented at King's Hall only by a small

purchase. It is dear at Coleshull and Sion, compared with other places. Wheat meal at King's College is 5*s.* 5½*d.* Barley is low priced in Cambridge, but malt, coming from a wider area, is at a higher though proportionate rate. Oats and meal are cheap. Rye, as in the previous year, is as dear as wheat at Finchale. Beans are not found, and peas only at Cambridge, where they are cheap.

1488-9. The price of wheat is nearly unchanged, and the area of the entries is wide. The average at Cambridge, in this year Peterhouse, is 5*s.* 10½*d.* against the general average 5*s.* 6*d.* Barley is high in Durham, but both it and malt are low in Cambridgeshire, Norfolk, and Kent. Oats are generally dear, but oatmeal does not rise proportionately. One entry of rye is proportionate. Beans and peas are at average prices.

1489-90. The entries are few. Wheat is dearer. Barley and malt are at corresponding rates, but the barley entries are low. The malt is chiefly from Sion. Oats are cheap. Rye is very dear in one place. Beans and peas are proportionate.

1490-1. The entries are few. Wheat is cheap. Barley is dear. Oats are cheaper, especially in Finchale. One entry of pulse, a rare kind of grain at this time, has been found.

1491-2. The entries are more numerous. The price of wheat is considerably above the average at Sion, where 381 quarters are purchased at an average of 8*s.* 2*d.*; and at Norwich, where 215 quarters reach even the higher price of 8*s.* 6*d.* But it is cheap at Cambridge, where the average from all entries is 4*s.* 11¾*d.* It seems, from the contrast between the price of that bought for consumption at Sion and that bought for seed, that the value rose with the summer. Barley is not dear. Malt (521 quarters) is bought at Sion at 5*s.* 1½*d.*, but it is cheap elsewhere, most of the entries coming from the eastern counties. Oats are at about the average price. Oatmeal, from two entries, is 7*s.* 2*d.* Rye corresponds to wheat. Beans, peas, vetches, and tares, are at fair prices.

1492-3. The evidence is not abundant; but prices at Cambridge, London, Wearmouth, and Wymondham, are fairly equal. The Cambridge average is 4*s.* 1½*d.*, the general average 4*s.* 3*d.* Wheat is therefore cheap. Rye is also cheap, to judge from the price of 16 quarters malted. Barley is dear at Wearmouth, cheap at Wymondham. Malt at Cambridge and Sawtry is cheap, at Wymondham dear, the entries at the latter seeming to imply that the quality of the barley was not high. There is only one entry of oats, in which the grain is very cheap. I find no entry of oatmeal, beans, or peas.

1493-4. The evidence is a little more copious. Prices of wheat are uniform and almost stationary at last year's rates. The Cambridge average is 4*s.* 4*d.*, the general 4*s.* 1*d.* It is dearest in the Wardrobe account, cheap in Norfolk and Hants. The price of barley in Hants and Durham is uniform. I find no entry of oats, but oatmeal is very cheap. Rye corresponds to wheat. There is no entry of beans, &c.

1494-5. There is a slight rise in the price of wheat. It is cheaper however at Cambridge than it was in the previous year, 4*s.* 1½*d.*, the general average being 4*s.* 9¾*d.* This year again contains the Sion purchases, nearly 200 quarters, at an average of 4*s.* 8*d.* Barley and malt are cheap; a very large quantity of the latter, 814 quarters, being bought at an average of 3*s.* 9*d.* Oats are cheap. The Sion and Cambridge entries of oatmeal give an average of 7*s.* 1*d.*, and probably the oat crop was light. One entry of beans has been found, also at Sion, the average of which is 2*s.* 9*d.* The year is plainly one of general abundance.

1495-6. Wheat is still cheaper. The Cambridge average is close on 3*s.* 4*d.*, the general average being 4*s.* 0¾*d.* But prices are universally low. Barley is also very cheap, and malt at Cambridge, at which alone entries have been found, is singularly low. Oats and oatmeal are cheap. Two entries of rye give prices which correspond to that of wheat, and beans and peas are cheap.

1496-7. The price of wheat suffers a slight rise. The Cambridge average is 4*s.* 10¾*d.*, the general average being 5*s.* 5½*d.* The price at Sion is 6*s.* 8¾*d.*, that of the Wardrobe 6*s.* 0½*d.* A large quantity is also bought at Romsey in Hants at 4*s.* Barley is cheap, as is also malt, Cambridge prices being very low, and the Sion malt being obtained at an average (399 quarters) of 3*s.* 8¾*d.* Sion also buys, at sixpence a quarter less, a small quantity of drage (here called dregge) malt. Oats and meal are a little dearer, the latter at 6*s.* 11*d.* being returned from Sion only. Beans and peas are cheap.

1497-8. Wheat is a little cheaper. The Cambridge average, 4*s.* 10¼*d.*, hardly varies from that of the preceding year. The Sion purchases (334 quarters) are obtained at 5*s.* 11¼*d.* A little is bought at Wearmouth at 8*s.* Barley is rather dearer, but malt is still cheap, the price at Cambridge being lower than ever, and that at Sion, 576 quarters, being 3*s.* 8*d.*, a little less than in the previous year. Oats are rather dearer, as is also meal. Beans, at a rather low price, have been found at Sion only.

1498-9. Wheat is rather dearer, rising in two places to 6*s.* 8*d.* But it is still cheap at Cambridge, the average being 4*s.* 3¾*d.* The

Wardrobe prices are at about the average. Barley and malt are both considerably dearer, and this in Norfolk and in Sussex, from which the information has mainly been derived. Oats are not dear generally, considerable sales having been made at low prices, but small quantities are bought in Cambridge at the beginning of the year at very high rates. There is no entry of oatmeal or of rye. Beans and peas are rather dearer, especially the latter.

1499-1500. The entries are numerous, being derived from Cambridge, Wilts, Middlesex, London and Durham. Wheat prices are low. The Cambridge average is only 3*s.* 4½*d.* The Sion accounts are given by the several quarters of the year. The average in the first is 4*s.* 2½*d.*, in the second 4*s.* 7¼*d.*, the price being heightened by an abnormally high purchase at 8*s.*, in the third at 4*s.* 6½*d.*, in the fourth at 4*s.* 9½*d.* The price of barley, derived from purchases at Sion and Wearmouth, the latter at 18*s.* the chaldron of 36 bushels, is considerably lower. The price of malt is low at Cambridge. As in the case of wheat, the quarterly purchases are given for Sion, and scarcely vary, being 4*s.* 3½*d.* for the first quarter, 4*s.* 4*d.* for the other three. Oats again are cheaper. Meal, derived from Sion only, is 6*s.* 6¼*d.* a quarter. Beans from two entries are 3*s.* Tares, at Sion, 3*s.* 4¾*d.* There is no entry of field peas.

1500-1. Wheat is considerably dearer, and evidently rises in price as the summer advances, reaching 10*s.* at two places. The Cambridge average is 6*s.* 3¼*d.*, the general, 6*s.* 1½*d.* But barley and malt are not similarly affected, prices remaining low. Oats are low priced, but meal is rather dear. Rye corresponds to wheat. Beans are cheap, though dear in one locality. It is to be observed that barley is low priced in places where wheat is dear.

1501-2. The evidence as to the price of wheat is plentiful and precise. It suffers a considerable rise, reaching an average which has not been attained for twenty years. The dearth is universal, and progresses slowly from the beginning of the agricultural year to its conclusion. The average is 7*s.* 3½*d.* at Cambridge, and 9*s.* 9½*d.* at Sion. The Sion account is again given by quarters, the average for each being 8*s.* 9*d.*, 8*s.* 11½*d.*, 9*s.* 6¾*d.*, 9*s.* 10¼*d.* But barley is by no means equally dear, a large quantity (200 quarters) being sold at Burnham Thorpe at 2*s.*, though it is elsewhere dearer. Malt is relatively dearer than barley, the prices in the Sion quarters of the year being 5*s.* 4¼*d.*, 5*s.* 4*d.*, 5*s.* 1*d.*, and 5*s.* 4*d.* Oats are at variable, but not high prices. Meal is not very dear, 7*s.* 9*d.* at Sion. Rye is not dear. Beans are also not dear. Peas are absent.

1502-3. The evidence is more extensive, being derived from numerous localities. Wheat is slightly cheaper, and is evidently falling. The purchases at King's Hall are effected at an average of 6*s.* 11½*d.*, those at the other Colleges at dearer rates, the whole Cambridge average being 7*s.* 4*d.* against 8*s.* 0¾*d.*, the general average. Only a portion of the Sion purchases are preserved. These are high, being 10*s.*, a price reached in only one other locality, Icklesham. Barley is dearer than in the previous year, but is not at excessive prices. Malt, derived from Cambridge and Norfolk entries only, is much cheaper than in the previous year. Rye corresponds to wheat. Oats are rather dear, and there is no entry of oatmeal. Beans, of which there are regularly dated entries at King's College, Cambridge, from Dec. 1502 to Sept. 1503, are very cheap. There is no entry of peas.

1503-4. The entries from Cambridge are very numerous. In this year King's College purchases all the year through by its three bursars, the first effecting his purchases at 5*s.* 7¾*d.*, the second (chiefly in May and June) at 6*s.* 3¼*d.*, the third, principally in April, at 6*s.* 8*d.* The Cambridge average therefore is nearly identical with the general average derived from Wilts, London, and Norfolk. Prices have fallen considerably. Barley is generally unchanged. But malt, priced at Cambridge, Chesterton, and Norfolk, is low. Oats again are cheaper, as is also rye, which follows wheat. Beans are regularly purchased at King's College from October to August, at prices ranging from 2*s.* 8*d.* to 4*s.* 4*d.*, the purchases being dated. At the same place a single purchase of peas is effected at a price corresponding to that of beans.

1504-5. The price of wheat has fallen considerably, the average at Cambridge being 5*s.* 2¾*d.* against 5*s.* 0¼*d.*, the general average. At Sion, the accounts of which have only partially been preserved, it is 5*s.* As the evidence is taken from a wide area, it will be seen that prices are uniformly low. Barley is as dear as wheat, dearer than malt, even in the locality from which sales of both are effected. Oats are dear. Rye fairly corresponds to wheat. There is no entry of oatmeal, or of beans and peas.

1505-6. The evidence is scanty, but derived from scattered sources. Wheat is still cheaper. It is 5*s.* 7*d.* at Cambridge, which is considerably above the average, 4*s.* 10¼*d.* The produce of Isleworth is that of the Sion home farm. Barley is cheap at Isleworth, but bought at a high price at Wearmouth. Malt, from the eastern counties only, is cheap. Oats are derived from the Isleworth account

only, and are cheap for the neighbourhood of London. Beans and peas are cheap.

1506-7. The evidence derived from Cambridge is copious, and that of King's College is, as before, dated, the purchases being continued from Oct. 1506 to Sept. 1507. Prices are low in November, but during a short part of July and August they are high, probably in consequence of alarm at wet in the early days of the harvest. The King's College purchases are made at an average of 5*s.* 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.*, against a general average of 5*s.* 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.* The Sion purchases, some of which are preserved, are effected at low prices, an average of about 5*s.* Barley from Sussex, Norfolk, and Middlesex is equally low, and malt, from Norfolk only, corresponds to the general average. Oats are uniformly cheap. Beans, peas, and tares are cheap. The price of peas is however unduly heightened by an entry from Stamford.

1507-8. The price of wheat is derived from Cambridge and Isleworth only. But the entries from the two Colleges are numerous, and that from King's College is, as before, carefully dated from Nov. 12 to Sept. 27. The average of the King's College entries is 5*s.* 10*d.*, as compared with the general average, 5*s.* 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.* There are no notable fluctuations in the price, but the highest rate was in February. Barley at Isleworth is very cheap, and malt is equally cheap at Cambridge. Oats are a little dearer, and oatmeal is higher (8*s.* 8*d.*) than the price of the grain should suggest. Beans, from the dated account of Cambridge extending from October to September, are at nearly the prices of the previous year. But peas, of which there is no account except from Isleworth, are very dear, nearly at the price of wheat.

1508-9. Corn is very much cheaper, the price falling greatly as the character of the harvest of 1509 becomes manifest. Prices at Cambridge, from which almost entirely the evidence of the year is derived, are low in the autumn of 1508, and sink in March and April, till in September they reach a rate which has not been seen for many years. The Cambridge average is 3*s.* 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ *d.*, the general average 3*s.* 10 $\frac{1}{4}$ *d.* Barley is also cheap, though both it and malt appear to be slightly dearer than in the preceding year. Oats are a fair price. Beans and peas, of which full prices are given from Cambridge throughout the year, are cheap. Only one entry of rye has been found, but this is misleading, as is also an entry of wheat from the same place, which has been omitted from the averages. Oatmeal is cheap.

1509-10. Wheat is still lower in price. The average at King's

Hall is 2*s.* 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.*, that of King's College 2*s.* 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.*, against the general average, 3*s.*; and throughout the whole year prices are exceedingly low, the average being slightly raised by some seed wheat bought at Sutton-at-Hone. Barley and malt are also cheap. Oats are low priced. Beans, of which again a full account comes from King's College, are very cheap, but peas are dearer, the price at Sutton being high. There are no entries of rye and oatmeal.

These two years are characterised by remarkable plenty. The price of wheat during the year 1509-10 is the cheapest recorded in these volumes, and that of 1508-9 has only been paralleled two or three times in the period since 1401. It will be remembered that 1509 was the year in which Henry the Eighth succeeded his father; and we can well understand how in the midst of general plenty the new reign was hailed, and how satisfied the people were with the fact that concurrently with these prosperous times, the young king began his reign with a thorough change from the mean and covetous administration of his father.

1510-11. The price of wheat is still very low, though it is higher than in the two preceding years. The three Cambridge Colleges supply information; the price at each, King's Hall, Peterhouse, and King's College, is remarkably uniform, the average being 4*s.* 0 $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.*, 4*s.* 1*d.*, and 4*s.* 1*d.*, respectively, the entries of the last-named College being dated from Nov. 30 to Sept. 29. From this record it will be seen that the price, which began at 3*s.* in November, rose to 4*s.* 8*d.* in the following September. There is only one price of barley, that of 22 chaldrons at Finchale, the rate of which is very high. Malt, which is priced at Cambridge, Norfolk, and Oxford, is very cheap. Oats are a little dearer, and the price of beans and peas is heightened by the Finchale entry. Rye is closely related to wheat, and oatmeal is at a fairly high price.

1511-2. Wheat is considerably dearer, rising to a full average. The price is higher in Cambridge than elsewhere, the average being 6*s.* 4*d.* against 5*s.* 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.*, the general average. Barley and malt are not so dear, except as before in Durham. Oats are cheaper, and oatmeal, 6*s.* 4*d.*, is lower both in Cambridge and Oxford. The price of rye is high, the only entry coming from Finchale. Beans and peas are scantily represented, and the price is rather high.

1512-3. The evidence is scanty. The price of wheat is very high, especially in Cambridge, where at one time in the year 12*s.* 8*d.* is paid, the average from King's Hall being 9*s.* 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.*, as against 9*s.* 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ *d.* Barley for the first time has not been found, and malt at

Cambridge only. Nor have I been able to discover any record of the price of oats, beans, and peas.

1513-4. The evidence is again scanty. The Cambridge price of wheat is 5*s.* 5½*d.* against 6*s.* 0½*d.*, the general average. There is one entry of barley from Sutton-at-Hone, where this article is generally cheap. The same locality also supplies a price of peas, but oats and rye have not been found for this year.

1514-5. The entries are still scanty. Wheat is cheap in Cambridge. But the only other entry which I have found, that at Wiveliscombe, raises the average to 5*s.* 4*d.* Barley is very dear in Durham, but malt is cheap at Cambridge. Oats are found at Wiveliscombe only, and are cheap. Oatmeal in London is 8*s.* Rye is not disproportionate to wheat. Peas are very dear in London.

1515-6. The King's College account for this year has been found. Prices are low in the autumn, beginning at 4*s.* 2*d.* to 4*s.* 8*d.* in October, and gradually stiffening to 6*s.* 8*d.* in August. Elsewhere, however, prices are much higher, the Cambridge average being 5*s.* 5½*d.*, and the general 5*s.* 9¾*d.* The evidence too is copious, and derived from scattered sources. The Wardrobe account gives the highest price, and after that Canterbury. A large quantity is bought at Norwich at 8*s.* 6*d.* Barley, derived from three entries only, is cheap. Malt is dear at Cambridge, Norwich, and Sutton-at-Hone, but considerable quantities are sold elsewhere at low rates. Oats are dearer, but not excessively so. There is no price of oatmeal. Rye is cheap at Downham, where it was dear in the previous year. Beans in considerable quantity are bought cheaply in London. Peas, found at Cambridge and Sutton, are at about an average, but the price is heightened by the entry from Sutton, where they and vetches are dear.

1516-7. The King's College account for this year is lost, and the King's Hall entries are few. The price of wheat at Cambridge is 4*s.*, the general average being 5*s.* 3½*d.*, and the entries coming from a wide area. Considerable sales of barley are recorded, this grain standing at a little lower than the general proportion. Malt corresponds to barley. Oats are cheaper, but oatmeal has not been recorded. Rye is cheap. Beans are cheap at the only place where the price is found, but peas are dear at Sutton, though at the same price in Finchale.

1517-8. The evidence of wheat prices is scanty, being derived from three localities only, Cambridge, London, and Wearmouth. But the Cambridge average, 6*s.* 4½*d.*, corresponds closely to the general

average, 6*s.* 5*d.* It appears that wheat was dear at the beginning of the harvest year, and fell greatly towards its conclusion. I have omitted the price of Wearmouth barley from my average, as the rate per chaldron is excessive. Oats, beans, and peas have not been found, and malt from Cambridge only. The price of malt fluctuates largely, the average however corresponding to barley, 3*s.* 11½*d.*

1518-9. The King's College account for this year has been found, as also that of Sion, the former, as usual, being dated. The price of wheat is slightly above the average, large quantities having been purchased at Cambridge in September 1519, probably in anticipation of the next harvest, for the rate at which it stands in October 1518 is only half that at which it is bought in the following summer. The Cambridge average is 5*s.* 5¾*d.*, the Sion 5*s.* 7*d.*, the general average being 5*s.* 11½*d.* Barley is cheaper. Malt, returned from Sion only (594 quarters), being nearly as dear as wheat. Oats again are found at Sion only. Oatmeal is rather dear. Rye corresponds to wheat. Beans and peas are at full prices. I have omitted one entry of peas from Sion, for the price constrains me to believe that it is one of garden peas.

1519-20. The price of wheat is considerably higher. The general average is 7*s.* 2*d.*, that of Sion, 7*s.* 7*d.*, that of Cambridge, 7*s.* 3¼*d.* One parcel is bought at the last-named place at 10*s.* 11*d.*, and 20 quarters at Sion at 10*s.* 4¼*d.* The price it is clear rose greatly with the prospects of the next harvest, which we shall see was scanty. Malt is derived from three sources; Cambridge, where the average is 4*s.* 4¼*d.*, Sion, where it is 6*s.* 7¼*d.*, and Hunstanton, where it is less than half the Sion price. Oats are not very dear. Malt is cheap at Hunstanton, rather dear at Sion. Rye is cheap. Beans, of which only one entry is given, and that a charge for a day's purchase by travellers, are dear. Peas are cheap at Hunstanton, as are also seed vetches. But an entry of peas at Sion is probably again of garden produce.

1520-1. The price of wheat is much dearer, the fullest account being supplied by Sion, where the average is 8*s.* 9¼*d.*, against 9*s.* 4½*d.*, the general average, this being the highest price reached by wheat since 1438. The London market fluctuates between 6*s.* the lowest at Sion, and 13*s.* 3*d.* the highest. The highest Cambridge price is that of September 20, 1520, on which day a contract was made for 10 quarters at 12*s.*, 25 at 10*s.*, and 20 at 7*s.*, the variation on the same day implying that the quality of the grain was generally low. Barley, from the Sion and Hunstanton entries, was at an average of

5*s.* 2*d.* Malt is 5*s.* 1*d.* at Cambridge, 5*s.* 2*d.* at Hunstanton, and 9*s.* 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.* at Sion, at which there are 40 entries, rising from 7*s.* 6*d.* to 10*s.*, and rising steadily throughout the year. Rye is not so dear as wheat. Oats are much dearer, but oatmeal, though at a full price, has not risen so considerably. Beans are not found, and Sion peas are again too dear to be estimated.

1521-2. Wheat has fallen in price, though it is still dear in London, where one price in the Sion account is as high as 13*s.* 4*d.* The average at Sion is 8*s.* 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ *d.*, against 7*s.* 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.*, the general average. It is cheap at Cambridge. Barley is dear at Sion, though not constantly so high as in the previous year. Malt at Sion, from an average of 42 entries, is at 6*s.* 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ *d.*, at Cambridge is at 4*s.* 4 $\frac{1}{4}$ *d.* Oats are also cheaper, as is also meal, the average of which is about 9*s.* 9*d.*, but less than 9*s.* at Sion. Rye, beans, and peas, i.e. field peas, have not been discovered.

1522-3. The average price of wheat is 6*s.* 0 $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.* The Sion entries, unfortunately mutilated, give an average of 6*s.* 3 $\frac{1}{4}$ *d.*, and probably, as the price scarcely varies through the 38 entries which remain, the recovery of what is lost would have made no difference in the result. Barley, derived from four entries, is 3*s.* 11*d.* the quarter. Malt, from 51 entries at Sion and 6 at Walsham, is 4*s.* 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.* The Cambridge malt is bought by contract at 2*s.* 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.*, but I have thought it better not to include it in the averages. Oats are cheaper, especially at Hunstanton, where they are bought at a little over 5*s.* the chaldron. Oatmeal varies from 8*s.* 4*d.* at Sion to 12*s.* in London. Beans are cheap, but Sion peas are too dear to suggest field produce.

1523-4. Information is very scanty. The average price of wheat is 4*s.* 11 $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.* at Cambridge, while the general average is 5*s.* 6*d.* Barley and malt are 3*s.* and 3*s.* 4*d.*, oats 2*s.* 3*d.* Neither rye, beans, nor peas have been found.

1524-5. The King's College and Sion entries, the former, as usual, dated, are full. The average price is 5*s.* 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.*, that of Cambridge being 5*s.* 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.*, and that of Sion 6*s.* 4*d.* The price of Sion wheat scarcely varies throughout the year, but that of Cambridge falls towards September, 1525. Prices have fallen considerably below the average. Barley is 4*s.* at Sion, at which place alone I have found it. Cambridge contracts for its malt at 2*s.* 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.* Sion procures 35 quantities at an average of 4*s.* 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.* Oats are dearer, though meal at 9*s.* 6*d.* does not rise greatly. Beans and peas are cheap. Rye has not been found.

1525-6. Wheat is represented by the Sion series and a purchase

of 16 chaldrons at Finchale. The average in London is 5*s.* 4*d.*, in Durham 5*s.* 6*d.* Prices are therefore low, and for such distant places very uniform. It is probable that the harvest was good and that prices were low in the eastern counties. Finchale buys 22 chaldrons of barley at 4*s.* 3*d.* the quarter, which again corresponds with the malt prices at Sion, where 43 purchases are made at an average of 4*s.* 8½*d.*, the Cambridge contracts being at 3*s.* Oats are rather dear, as is also meal. A purchase of rye is made at Finchale, which gives low prices of wheat, oats, and beans at a very high rate. Beans and peas are cheap.

1526-7. The evidence is not large. The King's Hall account is at an average of 5*s.* 6*d.*, and it appears that the price is steadily growing. The Sion average, for the purchases are given in gross, is 7*s.* 3¼*d.*, the general average being 6*s.* 2½*d.* Barley is only represented by Finchale, and is dear. Malt is found at Cambridge, at which its average is 5*s.* 1*d.*, and at Sion where it is nearly as dear as wheat. Oats are dear both in Oxford and Middlesex, and oatmeal is at a considerably higher price. Beans and peas, returned from Sion only, are dear.

1527-8. The evidence is abundant. Wheat is very dear on the eastern side of England, rising to 18*s.* 3*d.* at Cambridge and 18*s.* 8*d.* at Bardney, at each on one occasion. The evidence from Bardney is very copious, and, though undated, is continuous, the average being 13*s.* 1¼*d.* That of Cambridge is 15*s.* 2*d.* That of Sion is 12*s.* 0¼*d.* But it seems that corn was cheaper in the second half of the year than it was in the first, owing to the foresight of the coming harvest. Barley is cheap at Bardney, dear at Cambridge. Malt is dear at Bardney, Cambridge, and Sion, where the averages are 9*s.* 3*d.*, 9*s.* 4*d.*, and 10*s.* 9*d.*, 450 quarters being bought at Sion. It is cheaper at a Wiltshire estate, the name of which is lost in the roll. But it is even cheaper in the second half of the year. Oats are dear, as is also meal. Beans and peas are at high prices.

1528-9. Wheat is cheaper, though it is still high locally, standing at 15*s.* to 16*s.* at Bardney, the former price being dated on Ascension Day. It is also dear at Cambridge, and generally on the eastern side of England, falling as the summer advances. The high comparative price of barley is to be ascribed to the same cause, for it is plain that prices are generally maintained in the earlier part of the year. Malt is, however, cheaper. Oats are very dear at Bardney, but cheaper at Finchale and Methingham College, where they are not above average prices. Oatmeal appears to be dear, but the entry mixes the price of

oats and meal. Rye is at corresponding prices to wheat. Beans and peas are rather dear.

1529-30. The average price of wheat hardly varies from that of the preceding year. As before, the price is higher in the autumn than it is in the following summer. The average is 8s. 6½*d.* at Cambridge, and 9s. 6*d.* at Sion. The Wardrobe prices are high. I have found no price of barley for this year, but malt does not vary materially (the entries are at Cambridge and Sion) from the prices of the previous year. Oats are rather cheaper, and the price of meal at Sion is unquestionably lower. Rye has not been found. Beans and peas do not materially vary from the prices of the year before.

1530-1. Wheat is a little lower in price. The average of Sion is 7s. 2*d.*, of Durham only 5s. 3*d.*, the sales here being large. I conclude that prices were high in the west and south, and low in the east of England. The highest price registered at Sion is 11s. 4*d.*, and this apparently late in the year. Barley and malt are at corresponding prices, though the rate at which Sion buys its large quantities of the latter article does not vary throughout the whole year, being always 4s. 8*d.* Oats are practically unchanged, and the price of meal is slightly lower. Rye is rather low, the only entries being from Durham. Beans and peas are cheap.

1531-2. Wheat is a little cheaper, but is still dear in Cambridge, the highest price in this locality being 15s., and the average 10s. 2½*d.* It does not appear to be so dear in London, where the Wardrobe price is 7s. 8*d.*, and the charge incurred for Mary Tudor's household is, on an average of the year, 9s. 6*d.* In other places it is much cheaper. Barley and malt, the evidence coming from several and from distant quarters, are both very dear, nearly up to the price of wheat, and this especially in the north, where wheat is cheap. Oats are also dear, but are found only in Mary Tudor's household book.

1532-3. The average is still a little lower. The Cambridge wheat prices are at an average of 7s. 4¼*d.*, the general average being 8s. The Durham entries are at lower rates, a little below 7s., but the quantity bought is not large. The Sion entries are much higher, the wheat bought, over 337 quarters, is at an average 10s. 6*d.* The wheat bought for Elizabeth Tudor's household (the great queen was then an infant, but with a costly establishment) is at 7s. 4¾*d.* Barley is at corresponding prices, but malt is proportionately rather dearer than barley, the Sion average being 8s. 3¾*d.*, and the general being 6s. 10¼*d.* Oats are dearer, and so is oatmeal. Rye is bought at Durham, and is so dear, that one is inclined to suspect a double

quarter. Beans are high, though the price seems to imply that seed was exceptionally dear. The same fact must be stated about tares.

1533-4. Wheat is a little lower. The Cambridge (King's College) accounts are dated from Sept. 30 to Sept. 28, the price falling towards the harvest of 1534. The average is 7*s.* 10½*d.* That of Isleworth, the home farm of Sion, is 7*s.* 2*d.* That of Lewes is 7*s.* 7½*d.* But Wearmouth buys at 5*s.* 10½*d.* Malt and barley are cheaper, the entries coming from Norfolk and Oxfordshire. Oats are dear at Cambridge, and cheap at Isleworth, Lewes, and Hunstanton. Meal is cheap. Rye has not been found. Beans, peas, and vetches are at corresponding prices.

1534-5. Wheat is cheaper again. The Cambridge average is 6*s.* 8*d.* That of Lewes is 7*s.* Of the Wardrobe 7*s.* 4½*d.* Barley is bought largely at Lewes at 4*s.* Malt at Cambridge at 3*s.* 9*d.* There is an entry at Durham of a small quantity at an impossible rate, unless we are to accept the fact as evidence of a local scarcity, so exceptional as to make the entry untrustworthy. I have therefore omitted it from the average. Oats are dear. Rye, bought at Durham, is very dear. I have entered the amount in the tables, but I conclude that the price must represent the double quarter. Beans are dear at Lewes, vetches cheap. There are only two entries of this kind of grain.

1535-6. The evidence is very copious. The anticipations of the previous year are verified by the far higher prices which prevail. Wheat is bought at King's Hall once at 17*s.* 8*d.* At King's College (the entries of which are dated from Oct. 2, 1535 to Sept. 16, 1536) the highest price is on May 20, at 17*s.* 4*d.* The average at King's Hall is 12*s.* 11*d.*, at King's College 13*s.* 10*d.*, at Lewes it is 10*s.* 9*d.*, at Sion, where the coming catastrophe leads to slovenly accounts, it is 10*s.* 7*d.* In another place, the locality of which is lost, it is 16*s.* in June and July. The other entries which depress the general average are probably prices of accident. In short, there is evidence of panic in most of the corporations which supply me with evidence, and the inference of the year is safe only from its magnitude; for at this time, when chaos seemed imminent and was at hand, it is to be expected that accounts would be full of contradictions, and the market be a mere confusion. The general average, 10*s.* 3½*d.*, almost certainly represents the market of the year, though it cannot determine the suffering of the poorer classes, who must have been exposed to the worst effects of fluctuating prices for food, and traditional rates of wages. About this time the Wardrobe account of wheat prices begins

to be wholly untrustworthy, and to suggest that the Crown was beginning to buy at traditional prices only, and so to abuse purveyance, as it is known to have done generally under the early Stuart kings. It always, however, buys or accounts for oats at market rates.

Barley and malt exhibit considerable variations, but are by no means as dear as wheat. The Cambridge average of malt is *6s. 7d.*, that of Sion, all the purchases in which are made during October and November, the account being imperfect, is *6s. 11d.* Oats are dearer, as is also meal. Rye is at a corresponding price to wheat, but is a little cheaper than one might expect. Beans are at a moderate price at Cambridge, dear at Lewes. Peas are at proportionate prices at Cambridge. Vetches appear at Lewes (seed) and are dear.

1536-7. The evidence is copious from the two Cambridge Colleges and Sion. At King's Hall the average is *10s. 6¾d.*, at King's College *10s. 3¼d.*, at Sion *10s. 2¼d.*, the general average being *10s. 7¼d.* The market prices begin with those of the previous year, these rates being maintained, except with a slight decline in May, till September, when it became evident that an abundant harvest was at hand, and the price of wheat falls to the old average. Barley scarcely varies from the price of the previous year. King's Hall buys all its malt at *4s.*, Sion nearly all at *6s.*, the price being *6s. 8d.* for the first six weeks or thereabouts, and being almost uniformly *6s.* for the rest of the year, during which 63 purchases are made. Oats are cheap at Sion and rather dearer at Cambridge, a small purchase being made at a very high rate in Oxford. Oatmeal is much cheaper, and I suspect that the quality was good. Rye is found in one place only, where it corresponds to the average price of wheat. Beans are cheap. Peas and vetches are not found.

1537-8. The evidence is comparatively scanty. The Cambridge average (King's Hall) is low, *4s. 11d.*, the Sion *7s. 0¾d.*, the Wardrobe *9s. 4½d.* Barley is found at Sion only at *5s.*, and the quality must have been high, as the price is in excess of that of malt in the same place. The Cambridge malt is all bought at *3s.*, that of Sion at *4s. 10½d.* 'Sprig,' probably the same as drage, is sold at Chesterton. Oats and oatmeal are cheaper. Rye, found at Sion, corresponds to wheat. Beans are cheap. Peas and vetches have not been found.

1538-9. The price of wheat is found in two localities only: Sion, which appears for the last time in the accounts, where 334 quarters are bought at *7s. 0½d.*, and the Wardrobe account, where it is valued at *6s. 11d.* Barley and malt are found at Sion only, the former at *4s. 7½d.*, the latter (462 quarters) at *5s.* Oats and meal are at

ordinary prices. Rye corresponds to wheat. Beans are dear. Peas and vetches are not found. Prices are declining.

1539-40. Wheat prices are found at King's Hall and in the Wardrobe accounts. Prices have now fallen to the old averages. Barley and malt are considerably dearer. Oats have not changed. Beans are found at Oxford only. Rye, peas, and vetches are not found. It is plain that on the whole the harvest was generally good.

1540-1. Wheat is found at Cambridge and in the Wardrobe account only. Prices are nearly the same as in the previous year. Barley is found at Oxford only, and at the same price as in the last year. Oats are at the average price, or a little dearer, large quantities being purchased for the Queen's stable (Catherine Howard). Beans are unchanged.

1541-2. The accounts of King's Hall and King's College have both been preserved, the purchases of the former averaging 8s. 10d., of the latter 9s. 2½d. Most of the King's College corn is purchased in winter and spring. Barley is a little cheaper. King's Hall buys its malt at 4s. 8d. Oats are a little cheaper. Rye and beans are not found, nor is oatmeal. Peas are dear.

1542-3. The King's Hall account gives an average of 8s. 1d. against a general average of 7s. 11½d. Barley is dear in Oxford, malt cheap at Hickling, and oats appear only in the Wardrobe account. The entry gives a higher average than that of the past year, but is less than the Wardrobe prices in 1541. Beans, found at Oxford, are rather dear. Rye and peas are absent.

1543-4. The King's Hall accounts cease with this year, in which the average price of wheat is high, 10s. 9½d. To judge from flour, it is cheap at Oxford. At Norwich, where large purchases are made, it stands at 9s. 4½d., the general average being 9s. 3½d. Malt is cheap at Oxford. Oats are unchanged. Rye, beans, and peas have not been discovered.

1544-5. The King's College account has been preserved, and the average price of wheat is 10s. 9d., the rate rising with the summer, in anticipation of the next harvest. Neither barley, malt, rye, peas, nor beans have been found. Oats are rather dearer.

1545-6. Wheat during the greater part of the year is at famine prices. The Cambridge account, which has been preserved, quotes the highest price, January 12, at 17s. 4d. But the rate falls as the year goes on, till on September 10 it stands at half the above, 8s. 8d. At Oxford it was 18s. 8d. all through the year. At Bicester, wheat and barley mixed were purchased at 20s. Barley and malt are not

so dear as wheat, though very high. Oats are dearer. Beans and peas (field) have not been found, nor has rye.

1546-7. The entries are very few, but are sufficient to enable us to discover the character of the harvest. The year began under the influence of the previous bad harvest, and the effect of the scarcity. But prices fell by reason of the more abundant crop, and in prospect of a still more abundant crop in expectation. The only entries I have found are from London and St. Ives in Cornwall, and the amount of the Cornish price is almost exactly the same as the Wardrobe average. Towards the end of the year purchases of biscuit are made for the navy at an average of 3*s.* 2*d.* the hundred pounds. A small quantity of barley is bought cheaply at Cambridge, and a similar quantity of malt at Oxford at a very dear rate.

The price of wheat between 1537 and 1549 receives an illustration from the cost to which All Souls', Oxford, was put for bread during this time. With one exception, 1542-3, the college accounts are preserved during this period. Now it is not certain that the same number of persons were weekly resident at All Souls' during this time, but it is improbable that the number greatly varied. It is also to be observed that the accounts of this college were made up from All Souls' day (Nov. 2), so that the financial year begins five weeks later than accounts generally do.

COST OF BREAD AT ALL SOULS'.

	Wheat Averages.					Wheat Averages.			
	£	s.	d.	s. d.		£	s.	d.	s. d.
1537-8 ...	48	14	0	7 1	1544-5 ...	104	15	7	9 0½
1538-9 ...	55	18	0	6 11½	1545-6 ...	109	15	0	15 6¾
1539-40 ...	48	9	6	5 7½	1546-7 ...	46	18	6	8 3½
1540-1 ...	56	15	6	5 8½	1547-8 ...	45	2	0	4 11
1541-2 ...	74	0	3	9 0½	1548-9 ...	57	5	6	8 1¾
1542-3 ...	wanting			7 11½	1549-50 ...	83	8	0	16 4
1543-4 ...	102	18	7	9 3½					

1547-8. The King's College accounts reappear, and continue with only one or two intervals to supply annual information to the end of the period. The price of wheat is very low, lower than in any year since 1510, and, considering the state of the currency, the harvest must have been very abundant. There is very little variation in the price throughout the year, though a slight rise is discoverable after June. The Wardrobe prices are also low. The Cambridge average is 4*s.* 1½*d.* It appears however that corn was generally dearer in

Oxford. Beans and peas are again found at rather high prices. Oats are cheaper.

1548-9. Prices rise considerably. The year begins with the rates of the previous year, but the market stiffens gradually till in March wheat reaches 11s. 8d., the highest price of the year. It falls again in May and July, but rises anew towards the end of September. The Cambridge average is 7s. 7½d. Large purchases are made at full rates for the navy in London, and at low rates; less than 6s. at Portsmouth in the summer, where wheat, malt, flour, and beer corn are also bought, the last we are told being a mixture of wheat and oats. Barley is bought in large quantities at Portsmouth and at low prices. Malt is at a moderate price in Oxford, but is dear in London. Oats are dearer. Rye, beans, and peas have not been found.

1549-50. Prices are very high again. Wheat begins at very high rates, and goes on increasing till it reaches 16s. 2d. at Cambridge in August. Similar prices are paid at Pembroke College, though the dates are not given. It is bought at still higher rates for the navy, the average here being 19s. 4d. Biscuit too is 8s. 4d. the hundred pounds, nearly treble the price of 1546. Barley is bought at high prices for the navy, and malt at proportionate rates, though the average is lowered by a purchase at a comparatively low rate in Oxford. Oats are dear. Beans, peas, and rye have not been found.

1550-1. The evidence is very scanty. The harvest was again bad, and prices were very high. The Cambridge accounts are unfortunately wanting for this year, but the average is, I do not doubt, fairly given. To judge from the price of flour, corn was as dear in Oxford as in London. Barley is not found. Malt is not so dear as might be expected. Oats are very dear. Beans, peas, and rye are absent.

1551-2. The information is derived from King's College, Cambridge, and from the Princess Elizabeth's household book at Hatfield. The average at the former is 23s. 8½d., at the latter 17s. At Cambridge the highest price is realised on Nov. 2, when a purchase is made at 26s. 8d., but, as will be inferred from the average, there is little variation from the high rates which prevailed. At Hatfield, one entry is at the unprecedented amount of 32s., and once more the price is 26s. 8d. But towards the latter part of the account, prices fall to a little over 7s. on two occasions. Barley is again wanting. Malt at Oxford is cheap, and oats at Hatfield are not so dear as might have been expected. Beans, peas, and rye are wanting.

1552-3. Prices fall on an average at Cambridge to less than half the rates of the previous year. They rise again, however, in the summer, probably owing to local scarcity, the highest price being reached on June 30, 14*s.*, while the lowest was in January, 7*s.* The Wardrobe price is much higher than that at Cambridge, and it appears from the price of wheaten flour &c. that corn was as dear in Oxford as it had been in 1550-1. The Cambridge average is 9*s.* 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.* Barley and malt returned from Oxford are not exceptionally high. Oats are dear, as are also beans.

1553-4. Wheat is a little cheaper on the average, but the market fluctuates greatly. The highest prices at King's College are reached in July, when wheat is bought at 13*s.* 6*d.* But Pembroke College buys wheat at 16*s.* Meal is very dear at Oxford. Barley and malt are also dear. Oats are a little lower, but the price at the Wardrobe is unchanged. Beans and peas are not found.

1554-5. The King's College account is the only trustworthy record of wheat prices. Unfortunately the account is, except in one case, undated. The highest price, reached far on in the season, is 32*s.*, a price never paralleled except in one entry at Hatfield in 1551. The price of flour at Oxford is much lower, and it seems that the scarcity at Cambridge was to some extent local. The Wardrobe price is too suspicious for entry, being at an average 9*s.* 3 $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.*, i.e. less than half that at Cambridge. Barley and malt are wanting. Oats are dear. Beans and peas returned from Oxford are relatively cheap, and strengthen the impression that the scarcity was local.

1555-6. Prices rise still higher. One purchase of fifteen quarters is made by Pembroke College at 32*s.* The King's College prices do not fluctuate much, but as the account has only two dates, it is not quite clear when the rise was effected, though, to judge from the character of the harvest in 1556-7, it must have been when the prospects of that year were foreseen. The highest King's College price is 26*s.* 8*d.* It is plain that the scarcity was general, for flour at Oxford is very dear. Barley, found at Oxford only, is nearly as dear as wheat. Oats, at Wardrobe prices, are unchanged. Beans and peas are very dear. Malt has not been found.

1556-7. This year is one of famine. A few small purchases are made in one or two places at low rates, probably by some stroke of good fortune. But the price of wheat at King's College bears evidence of the severity of the crisis. Before Christmas the price was 32*s.* 8*d.* The lowest figure reached in the winter is 25*s.* 4*d.* From March to May the price is 40*s.* It falls slightly after this, and a little is

bought in July at 18s., when perhaps also another quantity was bought, which is entered at 16s. 8d. The College, owing to the generosity of Lord Peters, gets 22 quarters at a nominal price of 6s. The average price of the thirty-six King's College entries is 31s. 3d. The price of meal at Oxford is also high. Barley and malt are very dear. Oats, however, are not represented, but meal is at a moderate price. Beans and peas are dear. An entry in the Norfolk register declares that wheat, barley, and oats reached the rates of 53s., 32s., and 16s. the quarter respectively.

1557-8. A great fall takes place in the price of wheat. The King's College entries begin at rather high rates, but at little more than a third of the rate which prevailed in the previous year. The price gradually sinks till it reaches 6s. 8d. in November, at which it stands with a few fluctuations to August, when it rises slightly. The average is 9s. 2½d. It is cheaper in Oxford, the Magdalen College price being at an average of 7s. 7d. Barley falls, though not so fully, at Cambridge and Oxford. Oats are a little cheaper. Peas are still dear. Beans are not found. In this year the Norfolk register states that wheat, barley, and oats sank to 10s., 6s. 8d., and 4s. 8d. the quarter respectively.

1558-9. Prices are still low. The Cambridge account begins at the prices of the previous harvest. But the rate gradually rises till it reaches 13s. 4d. in June, and 14s. 2d. in September. But barley and malt are very dear. Oats, too, and meal are much enhanced in price, especially in Cambridge. Beans are dearer than wheat in Oxford, where, to judge from the price of meal, corn was dear.

1559-60. Wheat is dearer in Cambridge and Oxford, though prices are, by the new standard of experience, far from excessive. King's College fails this year, but entries are given from Pembroke, Cambridge, and Magdalen, Oxford, the average being 13s. from the former, and 13s. 2½d. from the latter, the general average being 11s. 0¾d. Barley is cheap. Malt is not found. Oats are dear.

1560-1. Prices are rising, though not seriously. Only one entry is found at Cambridge. The College has now adopted a practice of receiving some of its rents in corn at a nominal price, 6s. 8d. The average at Magdalen College is 15s. 5¾d., the general average being 14s. 2¾d. The Magdalen average is heightened by the purchase of one quarter at the exceptional rate of 23s. 4d. Barley and malt, though but little information has been found, correspond to wheat. Oats are dear. Beans have not been found. Peas at Cambridge are cheap.

1561-2. Prices are still rising. At King's College, from which a few entries are derived, the average is lower than the price of the single entry in the previous year, 13*s.* 10 $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.* At Oxford, however, the average is 16*s.* 8*d.* against the general average, 15*s.* 8*d.* A single entry of barley at Oxford, and another of malt at Cambridge, gives low prices for these products. The Derby accounts deal with wheat, barley, and oats, or rather oatmeal, in an unintelligible measure, a quarter of 16 windles, which seems to be equivalent, or nearly equivalent, to a chaldron. On such a calculation the prices by the common quarter would be 17*s.* 4*d.*, 13*s.* 6*d.*, and 4*s.* 9*d.*, prices which closely correspond with some of the averages. The Wardrobe price of oats is high. Beans are dear at Oxford.

1562-3. Prices are falling generally, but wheat is dearer at Cambridge, some purchases of red and white wheat being made at 24*s.*, and the average being 15*s.* 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ *d.* But it is cheap at Oxford, 8*s.* 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.* on an average. Some wheat called grey is sold at a low price at Cambridge. Barley is at a fair price in Oxford. Malt is dear in Cambridge. Oats are at the price which is now become almost steady. Beans are dear. Peas are wanting in the accounts.

1563-4. Prices are much higher, especially in Oxford. The average price of wheat purchased by Magdalen College is 23*s.* 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.*, nearly treble that of the previous year. The Cambridge average is lower. Wheat is also dear at Basingstoke in Hampshire, where it is sold at an average of 25*s.* 9*d.*, the general average being 19*s.* 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.* Four quarters are actually purchased at Magdalen for 50*s.* the quarter, a price wholly unprecedented. Barley at Oxford bears a fair proportion to wheat, and malt at Cambridge corresponds to local prices. Oats are dearer. Beans at Oxford reach a very high price, while peas at Cambridge are comparatively cheap.

1564-5. Wheat has again fallen in price. Some grain is purchased at dear rates by Pembroke College, and the average in this corporation is 15*s.* 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.* King's College buys a considerable quantity at 10*s.* 4*d.* Magdalen College, Oxford, gets supplied at an average of 9*s.* 10 $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.*, the general average being 10*s.* 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.* There is an entry of barley and another of malt at Oxford, the price of the latter being abnormally high. Oats are cheaper. Beans are not found. Peas are cheaper at Cambridge.

1565-6. Wheat is a little cheaper, though prices are rather high at Cambridge, and rise generally towards the end of the year. The Magdalen College average is 10*s.*, prices rising from 6*s.* 8*d.*, at which the first entries are made, to 17*s.* 4*d.* towards the conclusion of

the period. Barley is at corresponding prices in Oxford. Oats are dear. Beans and peas are dear both at Oxford and Cambridge.

1566-7. Prices rise considerably, though unequally. Wheat is cheap at Cambridge, or not materially dearer, the average being 11s. 11½*d.*, though it must be remembered that the practice of receiving rents in wheat, now become traditional at Cambridge, gave the corporation considerable advantages. The average at Magdalen College is high, 19s. 1*d.*, the general average being 16s. 5¼*d.* A very large quantity of wheat, barley, rye, and beans is bought on the Ordnance account. These prices fairly correspond with the general average, and with each other. Oats are dear, but peas, beans, and rye (now appearing again after the lapse of many years), are relative to the rates at which they ordinarily stand to other kinds of grain.

1567-8. The entries of wheat are from the two Cambridge Colleges, Pembroke and King's, the average from them being 12s. 10½*d.*, from Oxford, at Magdalen, where the average is 9s. 0½*d.*, and from four other places. The general average is 11s. 1*d.*, and represents a general and considerable fall as compared with the previous year. Prices are higher in Cambridge than in the midland counties. Barley on the other hand is dear, and so is malt. Oats are only a little cheaper, and peas, of which there are twelve entries from Cambridge, are dear.

1568-9. The price of wheat rises slightly, the entries being numerous. The rate is higher in Cambridge than in Oxford, being 12s. 9¼*d.* in the former, and 7s. 9½*d.* in the latter, against an average generally of 11s. 3½*d.* Barley is again dear, if one can trust the entry of a small parcel from Oxford. Oats are dearer, and peas cheaper than before. There is no price of malt.

1569-70. There is a further slight rise in wheat. It is again dearer at Cambridge, where the average is 12s. 8¼*d.*, than at Oxford, where it is 9s. 0½*d.* The wheat harvest of this year must have been generally like that of the two which preceded it. There is no price of barley, but malt is cheaper in two localities. Oats, derived from the Wardrobe account only, are a little dearer. Peas on the contrary are a little cheaper.

1570-1. Wheat is cheaper again. The Pembroke College average is 13s. 3¾*d.*, the King's College, 12s. 4¼*d.* But the Magdalen College entries average 8s. 8*d.*, the general average being 9s. 10*d.* There is no price of barley, but malt stands at its natural price to wheat. Oats are cheaper, but oatmeal is dear. Peas are dear. There is no entry of beans.

1571-2. The entries are numerous and varied. Wheat rises considerably. The average at King's College is 13s. 9½d., that of Pembroke, 12s. 1½d., of Oxford, 13s. 4½d., so that this year Oxford prices are slightly in excess of those at Cambridge. The general average is 12s. 5½d. Barley and malt are both proportionate, but slightly cheaper. Oats are hardly changed. Peas are a little cheaper. Beans are not found.

1572-3. The evidence of wheat prices is again copious and varied. The average at Cambridge is 17s. 10d., the price being heightened by purchases probably made towards the end of the year, when the maximum recorded, 26s. 10½d., is paid for six quarters. The Oxford average is 12s. 10½d., the general average being 13s. 6¾d. It is probable that the prospects of the coming harvest seriously affected later purchases. Barley in two places is dear. Malt, of which several entries have been found, is nominally cheap. Rye follows wheat. Oats are scarcely changed. Beans are not found. Peas are rather dear.

1573-4. The price of wheat is greatly exalted. The entries, as before, are numerous. Cambridge and eastern England, however, at which the average is 19s. 4¼d., do not appear to have been compelled to such high prices as the rest of the country, particularly midland and south England, where 29s. 4d. is a common price. The general average is 26s. 3¾d., that of Oxford being 24s. 7d. The price of wheat was declared in the Corpus Christi College (Oxford) book to be *inaudita caristia* in 1566, where once in the year it rose to 26s. 8d., and stood all the year through at an average of over 19s. Barley is not at a corresponding price, but malt is as dear as might be expected. Beans and peas do not rise to their proportion, nor does rye. Oats are dearer, at 8s. in Oxford.

1574-5. The price of wheat falls to a little more than half the average of the previous year. Large quantities are bought for military purposes at 16s. The Cambridge average is nearly the same as the general average, 14s. 3¼d. to 14s. 2¾d. Oxford prices are high, the average being 17s. 8d. Barley is at its natural relation to wheat, and malt follows the same rule. Oats are not so cheap as might be expected, and oatmeal is rather dear. Peas and beans are dear.

1575-6. The evidence for the price of wheat is copious. The rate, 15s. 11d., is higher than in the previous year. Cambridge wheat is bought at an average of 14s. 6d., Oxford at 18s. 9¾d. Prices fluctuate greatly in the latter locality, ranging from 13s. 4d. to 29s. 4d. Barley has not been found. Malt follows the course of

upward prices. Oats are dear in Oxford, but at moderate prices in Cambridge and London. Meal is not so dear as in the previous year. Beans have not been found. Peas are a little cheaper at Cambridge.

1576-7. The price of wheat rises greatly. The information is unfortunately not very extensive, though it is copious from Cambridge. Here, however, there is great variety. The King's College purchases are made, all in the market, at an average of 21s. 11¼d., those of Pembroke at 16s. 4¼d., a particular purchase at the latter College being effected at a higher rate than that made by the other College. Barley has not been found. Malt rises with wheat. Oats are not dear, proportionately to wheat, nor are beans and peas.

1577-8. Wheat on the whole is slightly cheaper than it was in the previous year, but in one locality it is high. The Cambridge average at King's College is 17s. 6¼d., and the purchases appear to have generally been made after Lady Day. The Pembroke average is 17s. 3d., the Oxford, 19s. 10d., the entries being numerous. But at Faversham it is 26s. 6½d., the general average being 20s. 2d. Barley has not been found. Malt is fairly proportioned to wheat, the entries containing prices from Oxford, Cambridge, and Faversham. Oats are dear at Cambridge and cheap in London, and meal, to infer from one entry at Oxford, was cheap in that city. Beans and peas are rather cheaper.

1578-9. Wheat prices are rather lower. The King's College average is 13s. 4¼d., the Pembroke, 13s. 11¼d. But the Oxford price, two entries only having been found, is 18s. 8d., and the general average, 17s. 2¼d., is further heightened by similarly full prices at Rotherham and Sheffield Mills, a full account of the takings of which, they being the property of the Earl of Shrewsbury, is in the British Museum, every page of the volume being audited by the Earl. Barley has been found at Cambridge, where the price corresponds to the local value of wheat. Malt follows the general average. Oats are cheap at Cambridge, but meal is very dear at Oxford. Beans and peas are at relative prices. Rye, coming from Yorkshire only, conforms to the local price of wheat.

1579-80. The average price of wheat is hardly changed. The average of the two Cambridge Colleges is 13s. 1¼d. But the general average is heightened by the Yorkshire prices, where rye is similarly affected. Barley has not been found. Malt is at a natural price. Oats are dear at Cambridge; oatmeal cheaper at Oxford. Beans have not been found. Peas are a little dearer.

1580-1. Wheat is dearer. The average at King's College is 18s. $4\frac{1}{2}d.$, at Pembroke, 15s. $2\frac{3}{4}d.$ But the Yorkshire price is close on 22s., the general average being 20s. Barley and malt correspond to wheat. Rye is nearly the price of wheat. Oats are cheaper. Beans and peas are at relative prices. Oatmeal at Oxford is considerably cheaper, and the price of oats was probably low.

1581-2. Wheat is 17s. 6d. at King's College, 14s. $11\frac{3}{4}d.$ at Pembroke. But it is higher in Yorkshire, and the general average, 21s. $5\frac{1}{4}d.$, is slightly in excess of that in the previous year. It is probable that the price fell as the summer advanced. Barley has not been found. Malt is a little cheaper generally, though the Yorkshire prices are unchanged. Oats are rather dearer. Rye is dear, but the entries come from Yorkshire only. Beans and peas are almost unchanged.

1582-3. In this year, the half-yearly accounts of wheat and malt are first found in the College registers. They are evidently local, and not, as the statute prescribes, the market values at the locality in which the rents are received. Cambridge prices are low. Yorkshire prices of wheat, rye, and malt are high, considerably higher than in the previous year. But other wheat prices are close on the general average, 19s. $1\frac{1}{2}d.$, with some slight fluctuations. Barley is found in two localities only, in Lancashire and Oxford. One of these entries is for seed, and the price is high. Malt, like wheat, is found frequently. Oats have not been found, but meal at Oxford is at what are now moderate prices. Beans and peas, the former found in Oxford and Cambridge, the latter at Cambridge only, are practically unchanged, and are at natural or proportionate rates.

I have found it necessary, in dealing with the record of corn prices, to divide my results into two sections, one containing the first hundred and forty years of my enquiry, the other the remaining forty-two. I will not say indeed that had Henry refrained from his selfish and miserable expedient of debasing the currency, prices would have remained stationary, or would have been only slowly augmented, but I am convinced that this plan of his, aggravated as it was by the action of his son's guardians, precipitated the change, and that the honest and effectual action of Elizabeth was unavailing; as she found when the change was once completed, for it is to this result

that the intention of her unpublished proclamation printed in Vol. iii. p. 742, was directed. For, obscure as the laws are which govern the rise or the decline of general prices, there is always every effort made by all parties interested, i.e. by all industrial agents, to keep them up, and the force which assists these efforts is so considerable by its aggregation that nothing but a social convulsion, which every conservative instinct arms itself to resist, will force them down.

I may also observe here, that the results of my figures go to prove that fact or law in statistical averages, which is dominant when these averages are discreetly drawn, that abnormal rates of local cheapness and dearness, when constant causes remain and varying causes are distributed, do not appear in the result, the exceptional facts and exceptional agencies correcting each other. I anticipated indeed before I drew my averages that the results of the first 140 years of the present enquiry would correspond with those which I arrived at for the earlier period, thirteen years ago, but I did not anticipate that the results would have been so exact, and that the remaining causes of slight variation would have been capable of such easy explanation. The seasons in the fifteenth century were indeed singularly propitious, and I am disposed to believe that the gradual rise in the last three decades is quite as much to be ascribed to slightly defective harvests, as it could be to increased demand or to generally stiffening prices.

The average price of wheat during the first 140 years of the present enquiry is 5*s.* 11 $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.* the quarter.

The following years were those of great dearth, the price of wheat rising above 10*s.* the quarter: 1438, 1482, 1527, 1535, 1536.

In three years it rose above 9*s.* the quarter, 1437, 1512, 1520.

In these years it rose above 8*s.*, 1409 (when it was nearly 9*s.*), 1428, 1481, 1501, 1502, 1528, 1529, 1530, 1531.

In the following it was above 7*s.*: 1401, 1408, 1416, 1439, 1460, 1461, 1483, 1519, 1521, 1533, 1537.

In the following it was above 6*s.*: 1402, 1415, 1418, 1420,

1432, 1445, 1450, 1451, 1469, 1477, 1478, 1491, 1500, 1503, 1513, 1515, 1517, 1522, 1526, 1538.

It stood at 3*s.* in 1509.

It was between 3*s.* and 4*s.* in 1405, 1426, 1440, 1442, 1444, 1454, 1463, 1508.

It was at 4*s.* in 1404 and 1510.

It was between 4*s.* and 5*s.* in 1403, 1406, 1407, 1410, 1411, 1412, 1413, 1414, 1419, 1422, 1423, 1424, 1425, 1427, 1431, 1441, 1443, 1456, 1462, 1464, 1465, 1472, 1474, 1485, 1490, 1492, 1493, 1494, 1495, 1499, 1505.

During the other years it stood between 5*s.* and 6*s.*

In the last forty-two years the general average is 13*s.* 10½*d.*

It was above 25*s.* in 1556 and 1573.

It was above 22*s.* in 1555 and 1576.

It was above 20*s.* in 1551 and 1577, and was at 20*s.* in 1580.

It was above 19*s.* in 1563 and 1582.

It was 18*s.* in 1550, and above that price in 1554.

It was above 17*s.* in 1578 and 1579.

It was above 16*s.* in 1549 and 1566.

It was above 15*s.* in 1545, 1561, 1575.

It was above 14*s.* in 1560 and 1574.

The following are years of low prices:

It was below 5*s.* in 1547.

It was below 8*s.* in 1542.

It was below 9*s.* in 1546, 1548, 1557.

It was below 10*s.* in 1541, 1543, 1544, 1558.

It was below 11*s.* in 1552, 1553 (10*s.*), 1562, 1564, 1565.

It was below 12*s.* in 1559, 1567, 1568, 1569.

It was below 13*s.* in 1571.

It stood between 13*s.* and 14*s.* in 1572.

During the first period, the fifteenth century commences with two years above the average. Then follow five years in which the price is considerably below it. Then come two years in which the price is high, followed by five years in which it is again below. Then come two rather dear years, the second, as usual, being worse than the first, a year of moderate prices, and

then a dear year. Then a cheap year, then a year slightly above the average. Then seven cheap years, and two dear years. Two moderately cheap and one dear year. Then five average years, followed by three of great dearth, in which the middle year is the worst and the worst of the century. Then come five cheap years, followed by a slightly dearer year. Four fair years come next, and two rather deficient follow. Then eight cheap years and two dear years; followed by seven cheap. Then comes a dear year, followed again by seven cheap years. Then come two rather dear years, two cheap years, and three very dear years, the middle being again the worst, the interval between these two periods of great scarcity being forty-four years. Then come seven good years, and one rather poor year, followed by nine good years, when three dear years follow. Then come eight cheap years, and two dear, one, the first, being very dear. Then one cheap, one dear, one cheap again, one dear, one cheap again, and three dear, the middle being the dearest. Then come four average or cheap years, to be followed by thirteen years in all of which wheat prices are above the average. Two cheap years conclude the first period.

In the second period, during which the general average is 13s. 10½d., there are first four years a great deal below it, followed by one considerably above it. Then come three cheap years and three dear years, then two cheap and three very dear years, one being the highest of the period. Then come three cheap years, and two dear, one cheap, one dear, two cheap, one dear, five cheap, and one very dear. In none of the subsequent years, from 1574 to 1582 inclusive, does the price of wheat fall below the general average. In point of fact prices were steadily rising, and no recurrence to old money values was possible.

The average price of barley is 3s. 8½d. Evidence is wanting for 1512, 1529, 1543, 1544, in the second of which malt is also wanting, in 1550, 1551, in 1554, when malt is also again wanting, in 1569, 1570, 1575-6-7, in 1579 and 1581. But in all the years except those noted, where the price of barley is absent that of malt is found. The fact is, during considerable parts

of my enquiry, the corporations bought beer from the common brewer, and unfortunately very often buy it without giving any information as to its quality or quantity. Such quantities, however, as are recorded are contained in a separate table, on which I shall make subsequent comment.

The fluctuations in the price of barley closely correspond to those of wheat, though sometimes it is reasonably cheap when wheat is dear, more rarely dear when wheat is cheap. For in the inferior kinds of grain, the cheapness of the principal corn product lowers their value to a greater extent than that to which the principal product is depressed. Thus in 1463, when the average price of wheat is 3*s.* 10½*d.*, barley reaches the lowest quotation recorded, 2*s.* 4½*d.* But it is to be remembered that causes which would lower and heighten wheat prices in any particular season would not necessarily have identical effects on other kinds of grain. It is only when the average is taken over a wide period that disturbing causes correct each other, and a valid and practical inference can be derived.

Between 1541-1582 the average of barley is 8*s.* 5½*d.*

The average price of drage for the first 40 years is 2*s.* 10¾*d.*

The average price of malt (barley) between 1401-1540 is 4*s.* 1*d.* During the first twenty years it is twelve times in excess of this average. In the next twenty, thirteen times, this period including the dear years, 1437-9. During the next twenty, only three times; during the next, twenty-six times; during the next, twenty-four times. Between 1501-1520, four times. Between 1521-40 it was only three times below the average and was seventeen times above it, and twice in the dear years, 1527, 1531, nearly approached the price of wheat.

Between 1541-1582, the average price of malt is 10*s.* 5*d.*, the rise being rather more, as might be expected, than that which is proportionately effected in wheat. Here again the dearest year is 1556, when wheat being at 28*s.* 5½*d.*, malt was bought at 24*s.* But in the other very dear wheat year, 1573, when this grain was 26*s.* 3¾*d.*, malt was bought at 18*s.*

For the first 140 years the average price of oats is 2*s.* 2¼*d.*

Evidence is wanting for 1493, 1512-13, and 1517. This kind of grain sinks below 2s. in 1405-6, 1423-6, 1431, 1434-6, 1440-1, 1443-5, 1447-8, 1451-2, 1454-5, 1457-9, 1462, at which it is at the very low price of 1s. 5½*d.*, 1463, 1465, 1468, 1470-2, 1475-80, 1485-7, 1489-90, 1492, 1494-6 (in 1492 the single entry is at 1s. 4*d.*), 1499-1500, 1503, 1506, 1509-10, 1514, 1516, after which date it sinks only once, 1522, below the average.

Between 1541-1582 the average is 5s. 5½*d.*, but there are no entries in 1556, the famine of Mary's reign, and 1582.

For the first 140 years the average price of rye is 4s. 7¾*d.* The information on this kind of grain is scanty and interrupted, and it almost disappears between 1539 and 1572. Sometimes, and once even on an average, it is dearer than wheat, as in 1462, a very cheap year, in 1486, 1490, 1508, 1525, 1532-1534, when one entry in each year at a great price is derived from Durham. I have not ventured on drawing an average for the latter period. The entries found are few and for the last years almost entirely derived from Yorkshire, where corn of all kinds is dear, though their values are generally proportionate. Had the evidence for rye been as abundant as that for other kinds of grain, I have little doubt that the second rate would have been about 11s. 7*d.* for the whole of the country.

During the first 140 years the average price of beans was 3s. 9¼*d.*, of peas 3s. 10*d.* The evidence is rather broken. For thirty-eight out of these years there is no price of beans, for twenty-two none of peas. During the last forty-two years the average price of beans is 9s. 1½*d.*, that of peas 8s. 8*d.* But though I believe that the conclusion arrived at is correct, I regret that beans fail for twenty-two years, peas for fifteen.

During the first seventy years, in which alone there is sufficient evidence for an average, vetches are at 3s. 7¼*d.*, pulse at 2s. 10¾*d.*

OATMEAL. My accounts have supplied me with prices of oatmeal, with but few intervals or gaps, during the fifteenth century, fourteen years only being defective, and these chiefly

in the earlier part of the period. Between 1501 and 1538 inclusive, evidence is accorded for twenty-three years. But from 1539 to 1569, I have found only three entries, none in the decade 1541-1550, two in that from 1551 to 1560, one in that from 1561 to 1570. During the last twelve years there are eight entries.

I have generally commented on the price of oatmeal as I treated of the harvest of each year, and as suggestive at once of ordinary corn prices, and as indicating the quality of the oats. The entries come, almost without exception, from the records of collegiate and monastic houses, and especially from the several Cambridge Colleges. The purchases are generally of very small quantities, and, as I have suggested in my earlier volumes, it must have been ordinarily used for thickening soup.

Though the information is so scanty for the latter part of the period, the rise in price is almost exactly equivalent during the last forty-two years, for which I have only eleven entries, to that which is seen to be effected in other kinds of corn, i.e. about $2\frac{1}{2}$ times on the average of the first 140 years (i.e. the new prices are as five to two), and thus affords, coordinately with similar evidence, an illustration of the change which was gradually effected in the purchasing power of money after Henry the Eighth had debased the currency, and Elizabeth was wondering when she restored it, that prices were still high and the old relations of money and value were permanently altered.

GARDEN PEAS AND BEANS. This kind of seed, under the names of pottage, green, grey, and white peas, and garden beans, is found frequently, especially in the expenditure of collegiate and monastic houses. Between the years 1403-1538, after which date such entries entirely disappear, there are 61 years in which there are entries of green peas, 56 in which I have found pottage or porridge peas, four in which white peas, evidently garden produce, and five in which grey peas, of a similar character, are entered. Garden beans, always at a very high relative price, even when other legumes

were comparatively cheap, have been found three times, and always at Sion abbey.

During this period the average price of green peas is 5*s.* 11½*d.* the quarter, that of porridge or pottage peas 5*s.* 7½*d.* But in the early period the price of the latter, which I take to be identical with the best white garden peas, is higher than that of green peas; and I conclude that, had the entries of such peas been numerous instead of deficient in the latter part of the period, the price would have remained higher, though not markedly so. In short, garden peas of all kinds were about the price of wheat.

Garden beans have been found in 1448 (when green peas were very cheap, horse beans and field peas were at very low prices, and wheat, as well as all other grain, was below the average), at 9*s.* 9*d.*; in 1459, when prices were of the same character as in 1448, at 7*s.* 4*d.*; and in 1491, when wheat was rather dearer, but field beans and peas and garden peas were cheap at 1*s.* These beans therefore (probably what we know now as Windsor or broad beans) were a rarity and a luxury.

MUSTARD SEED, GARLIC, ONIONS, AND ONION SEED
The price of mustard seed is supplied for 109 years during the period. It fluctuates exceedingly, varying during the fifteenth century between 8*s.* and 8½*d.* the bushel. But the average of the entries during the first 140 years, the data being numerous enough for decennial calculations, is 1*s.* 8*d.* the bushel, for the next forty 2*s.* 11*d.* The price of this condiment does not, as might be expected, suffer so great an exaltation as that of a necessary of life.

I have discovered thirty-five entries of garlic, bought by an indeterminable quantity, the bunch. The latest of these entries is in 1465, and the general average at which the article is purchased is a small fraction above 4*d.*

Onions are sold by the bushel, the rope, and the bunch. I have enumerated all such cases of the former estimate as have come within my view, and collected them in the table given in Vol. iii. p. 205. They are forty-four in all, and range from

1403 to 1537. The highest price for a bushel of onions is 2s. 6d. in 1430, the lowest is 6d. in 1410 and 1474. The average of all the entries is exactly 1s. 1½d.

Onion seed is bought by the pound. Eleven entries have been found, giving an average of nearly 1s. 0¾d.

Only four entries have been found of hempseed by the bushel. These give an average of 1s. 3½d. It appears to have been extensively and compulsorily cultivated, under the penalty of fine in case of neglect.

In 1458, King's College, Cambridge, buys a quarter of a pound of 'cabeche' seed at the enormous rate of 4s. I conclude that this was an experiment, and that the source of the seed was the Low Countries. In 1466, the bailiff of Ormesby buys two bushels of buckwheat for his swans at 3d. the bushel. This grain was probably imported, and was sent in all likelihood at a venture.

Besides the purchase of mustard in seed, for which querns were frequently bought, this condiment was procured by the gallon, apparently ground for consumption. I shall refer to this form of the article when I deal with the vast mass of information which will be referred to under the head of sundries.

The tables of corn prices also contain other entries of the products of corn. Oatmeal has already been commented on, but there are divers other names found, as wheatmeal and flour, the price of which as a rule corresponds to unground corn. But there are some terms employed which are rather puzzling. These are chete, gurgettes (found only once), grudgins, simila, similago (once also), farina, and pollen.

Chete, gurgettes, grudgins, and simila are found at Cambridge and in the King's College accounts only. Similago and pollen are used in Oxford only. The first three of these names appear to mean a coarse meal from which the larger particles of the bran only were taken out. Whatever 'chete' may mean in the earlier accounts, it seems clear that at a later period it was almost identical with grudgins. All these products are

sold at King's College, and are probably derived from the College mill.

Chete is very cheap in the first three entries, standing at about half the average price of wheat. It was at this time, probably, coarse meal from which the finer particles had been bolted, such flour I mean as made the finest or manchet bread. Subsequently it is fully as dear as wheat, and it seems that generally, unless purchased in very small quantities, wheaten flour and meal were treated not as quantities, but as products of quantities, the value given to them being that of the corn from which they were ground.

There are only two years, 1563 and 1568, in which chete and grudgins are found simultaneously. In both these cases, the former is sensibly dearer than the latter, though the difference in price may, after all, be assigned to a fluctuation in the market value of the same commodity, quite as reasonably as to a variety of commodities. It is noteworthy that gurgettes and chete occur in the same year, 1476, and at the same price.

Between 1476 and 1533 there are ten entries of chete, and the average is exactly that of wheat for the whole period, 5*s.* 11½*d.* Between 1560 and 1569, in which the last entry under this name occurs, the average is 20*s.* 0½*d.* Grudgins are found, with two intervals (1569, 1573), from 1563. Between 1563 and 1570 inclusive, the average is 17*s.* 4½*d.* For the last eleven years it is 22*s.* 4½*d.*

Farina is priced in the year 1504 at 6*s.* 8*d.*, in 1556 and 1569 at 26*s.* 8*d.* and 20*s.* It will be remembered that 1556 is the dearest year in the whole period. The price is a little below the wheat average.

Simila is found ten times. Before 1540 the average is 12*s.* 4½*d.*, afterwards it is 12*s.* 8½*d.* But the entries are in this latter period not at all significant.

Similago, in 1557, is priced at 37*s.* 4*d.* This is a cheap year, but the price may be really a record of the great dearth of 1556.

All the entries of pollen are after 1540. They are nine in number, and the average is 21*s.* 6*d.* The dearest year is, as might be expected, 1556; the cheapest, as naturally, is 1557.

There are two entries of blancorn from Wearmouth in 1405 and 1406, where it is bought by the chaldron, and on both occasions with barley. It appears to be a kind of barley.

There are three entries of hulkescorn from Yeovil, where it is plainly a kind of wheat. They are in 1447, 1451, 1452. In each case the wheat is inferior, to judge from the price, to that procured in the same place.

There are twenty-nine entries of hops (Vol. iii. p. 254). They are chiefly returns from Cambridge, though some are found from other places. The first entry (1482) is from Norfolk, in which they are bought at 12*s.* 2*d.* the hundred-weight. There is no other entry till 1510. The price on an average is, for 1511-30, 16*s.*, for 1531-40, 13*s.* 10*d.*, for the next decade, 15*s.* 6*d.*; for the residue between 1566-1582, 33*s.* 10*d.* The rise effected during the last period taken again corresponds to the general inference formed as to general prices in the later, as contrasted with the earlier time. At Harling and Mendham hops are sold in 1372-4 at 4*d.* a pound.

The subjoined tables contain the following:—

I. The first table contains the annual averages of wheat, barley, drage or bigg, oats, rye, beans, peas, vetches, pulse, malt, oatmeal. Under each column, except the last, the first entry denotes the average price of the quarter, the second the number of entries from which the average has been calculated, the third, the number of localities which have supplied the evidence. In the case of oatmeal, derived always from very few places, the price only is given.

II. The second table gives the decennial averages of the above, with the exception of drage, vetches, and pulse. These averages are calculated in two quantities, for the first 140, and for the last 42 years.

III. The third table contains the decennial averages of

green and porridge peas, and mustard seed. They are constructed on the same principle.

The following are the statistics of the first table:—

Evidence of wheat is given in 6245 entries from 1363 localities.

Barley in 1543 entries from 843 localities.

Drage in 101 entries from 85 localities.

Oats in 1776 entries from 905 localities.

Rye in 414 entries from 256 localities.

Beans in 428 entries from 214 localities.

Peas in 822 entries from 398 localities.

Malt in 3236 entries from 538 localities.

AVERAGES OF GRAIN.

I. ANNUAL.

II. DECENNIAL.

TABLE I.
AVERAGES OF GRAIN.

	Wheat.			Barley.			Drage.			Oats.			Rye.		
	s.	d.	ent. loc.	s.	d.	ent. loc.	s.	d.	ent. loc.	s.	d.	ent. loc.	s.	d.	ent. loc.
1401	7	5½	21 13	4	6½	16 12	3	10½	8 5	2	7	16 4	6	5½	4 3
1402	6	8½	40 20	4	4½	26 14	2	8	9 8	2	3	21 15	5	8	9 4
1403	4	11½	32 13	4	2½	6 9	2	8	1 1	2	2½	9 5	3	9½	6 3
1404	4	0	23 13	3	4½	16 9	2	8	3 3	2	2	17 8	2	8½	4 2
1405	3	9½	23 12	2	8½	10 5	2	4	4 4	1	11½	13 7	2	5	3 2
1406	4	4	29 14	2	11	11 7	2	5½	5 4	1	10½	30 15	3	2	4 2
1407	4	6½	29 12	3	7	11 6	2	11½	8 4	2	1½	12 7	3	7	6 3
1408	7	3½	65 13	4	4½	30 7	5	4	2 2	2	10	20 9	4	1½	6 3
1409	8	11½	49 11	5	5	9 6	5	6	2 2	3	2½	14 6	6	4	2 2
1410	4	10½	57 11	4	2	16 9	3	1½	3 3	2	3	19 10	4	1	8 3
1411	4	10	51 13	3	3½	8 7	2	8	2 2	2	1	20 8	2	9	3 2
1412	4	10½	61 15	2	11½	18 11	2	6½	5 4	2	0½	16 11	3	4½	5 3
1413	4	3½	29 14	3	3½	29 13	2	6½	6 5	2	0½	19 10	2	9	4 4
1414	4	3½	38 15	3	8½	24 15	3	0	3 3	2	2½	24 14	2	11	3 3
1415	6	3½	57 13	4	6½	22 12	3	4	5 4	2	10	15 9	4	0½	6 3
1416	7	11½	41 9	4	6	15 8	.....	.....	.....	2	2½	7 6	3	6	2 1
1417	5	3½	40 13	3	8½	14 10	3	0	2 2	2	2	12 9	4	8½	7 3
1418	6	11½	46 9	3	7	10 9	2	8	1 1	2	0½	13 10	3	0½	5 3
1419	4	9½	37 13	4	2½	13 8	3	2	2 1	2	3½	14 11	2	9½	4 2
1420	6	3	52 14	3	4	15 9	2	4	1 1	2	1½	19 10	3	4	3 1
1421	5	2½	23 12	3	4½	15 10	2	4	1 1	2	5½	14 9	3	11	5 4
1422	4	4	22 13	3	8½	20 13	.....	.....	.....	2	2½	19 11	3	0½	8 5
1423	4	5½	30 10	3	5	20 11	.....	.....	.....	1	11½	27 13	3	6	2 2
1424	4	11½	33 14	3	3½	15 12	2	0	1 1	1	11½	25 13	3	10½	3 3
1425	4	0½	30 14	3	1½	21 10	.....	.....	.....	1	10½	22 15	3	0	2 2
1426	3	11½	14 7	3	3½	7 6	.....	.....	.....	1	11½	10 7	3	6	2 2
1427	4	4	32 11	3	1½	20 13	.....	.....	.....	2	2	16 8	2	11	8 6
1428	8	10½	36 16	4	8½	25 12	3	0	1 1	2	8½	18 10	5	5	4 4
1429	7	11	36 11	4	4½	13 9	3	4	1 1	2	6½	13 8	7	4	2 2
1430	5	11½	45 16	3	4½	32 14	.....	.....	.....	2	0½	26 13	4	10	3 2

TABLE I.
AVERAGES OF GRAIN.

Beans.				Peas.				Vetches.				Pulse.				Malt.				Oatmeal.	
s.	d.	ent.	loc.	s.	d.	ent.	loc.	s.	d.	ent.	loc.	s.	d.	ent.	loc.	s.	d.	ent.	loc.	s.	d.
4	6	4	4	4	1½	7	8	4	4	2	1	.....		5	4	13		.....		
3	9½	4	4	3	2	11	7	4	0	1	1	.....		4	9½	22	11	.....		
2	0	1	1	3	1	7	6	.....				2	0	2	2	3	6	2	2	7	3½
3	4	1	1	2	8½	9	5	.....				2	8	1	1	3	9½	6	6	.....
2	5	7	2	2	6½	7	6	.....				3	4	1	1	3	3½	5	5	7	4
3	0	1	1	2	7½	9	7	.....				1	4	3	1	3	6½	4	3	7	0
2	6	1	1	2	9½	6	4	4	0	1	1	2	4	1	1	4	10	9	4	8	0
4	3	3	3	3	8½	6	4	.....				3	6	2	1	5	1½	38	5	11	2
.....				4	8	3	2	.....				4	8	1	1	4	8½	23	2	.....
3	6	2	2	3	1½	9	6	.....				3	4	1	1	4	0½	65	5	7	6
3	1½	4	3	3	0	9	4	2	8	1	1	3	0	1	1	3	11½	12	6	6	3
3	0½	6	4	2	10½	9	6	2	8	2	2	2	8	1	1	4	3½	9	7	7	7
3	7	3	3	2	9	11	6	3	4	1	1	3	0	1	1	4	0	1	1	.....
4	8	1	1	3	9½	11	8	4	8	2	2	.....				5	0½	60	6	8	6½
.....				4	11½	9	5	3	4	1	1	.....				5	1½	39	7	10	5½
.....				3	4	18	7	4	6	1	1	4	0	1	1	5	7½	48	2	9	0½
2	8	1	1	2	9½	10	6	2	8	1	1	2	4	1	1	4	6	26	3	9	3½
3	4	1	1	2	11	15	7	.....				.....				3	3	30	3	7	4
.....				3	6½	9	6	.....				2	4	1	1	4	2½	24	5	8	2
.....				3	3	15	6	4	0	1	1	2	10	2	1	4	1½	58	4	9	10½
3	8	2	2	2	11	7	6	2	8	3	2	2	2	2	1	3	7½	7	5	8	1½
4	0	2	2	3	8	7	6	6	0	1	1	.....				4	7½	4	3	8	0
.....				2	10	5	4	2	8	1	1	2	10	4	2	4	3½	41	5	7	10½
4	0	1	1	3	0½	8	6	2	8	1	1	3	1	3	2	4	6½	24	3	7	8½
.....				2	4½	9	6	2	4	2	2	2	8	1	1	4	5½	24	6	7	4
3	0	2	2	2	11½	5	3	.....				2	3½	3	2	3	6½	12	2	7	6½
4	0	1	1	2	10	19	5	.....				2	4	1	1	3	5	32	5	7	5
4	0	1	1	3	8½	8	5	.....				4	4	1	1	5	5	12	5	8	1½
4	0	1	1	3	11	4	1	4	0	1	1	4	0	1	1	7	2	26	3	6	10½
3	4	4	3	2	8	24	7	3	0	1	1	3	4	1	1	5	6	30	5	7	7½

	Wheat.			Barley.			Drage.			Oats.			Rye.		
	s.	d.	ent. loc.	s.	d.	ent. loc.	s.	d.	ent. loc.	s.	d.	ent. loc.	s.	d.	ent. loc.
1431	4	8	37 12	3	1	12 8	2	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	4 3	1	9 $\frac{1}{2}$	11 8	4	0	2 2
1432	6	11	30 11	3	8 $\frac{1}{2}$	14 9	3	0	2 2	2	5	18 9	4	8	2 2
1433	5	10 $\frac{1}{2}$	29 10	4	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	15 10	3	4	1 1	2	3	9 5	5	4	3 3
1434	5	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	36 8	2	10	20 6	2	6	3 2	1	11 $\frac{1}{2}$	10 4	3	5	3 2
1435	5	6 $\frac{1}{2}$	45 10	2	5	12 7	2	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	3 2	1	8 $\frac{1}{2}$	13 7	3	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	4 3
1436	5	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	55 15	3	0 $\frac{1}{2}$	18 14	2	4	2 2	1	10 $\frac{1}{2}$	32 10	3	11 $\frac{1}{2}$	7 7
1437	9	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	46 12	4	0	14 8	4	0	1 1	2	11 $\frac{1}{2}$	13 7	6	8	7 6
1438	14	7 $\frac{1}{2}$	19 7	6	8 $\frac{1}{2}$	12 8	.....	.....	.....	3	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	8 7	11	6	2 2
1439	7	6 $\frac{1}{2}$	32 9	5	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	7 6	.....	.....	.....	2	3	12 9	4	10 $\frac{1}{2}$	5 5
1440	3	10 $\frac{1}{2}$	20 8	3	0	13 7	2	6	2 2	1	7 $\frac{1}{2}$	11 5	3	0	1 1
1441	4	0 $\frac{1}{2}$	25 10	2	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	8 5	.....	.....	.....	1	10 $\frac{1}{2}$	13 6	.....	.....	.....
1442	3	11 $\frac{1}{2}$	27 11	3	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	9 6	.....	.....	.....	2	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	10 6	2	8	2 2
1443	4	2	34 10	3	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	24 11	.....	.....	.....	1	9	15 10	.....	.....	.....
1444	3	11 $\frac{1}{2}$	43 11	2	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	15 10	.....	.....	.....	1	8 $\frac{1}{2}$	15 10	2	0	1 1
1445	6	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	48 14	2	7 $\frac{1}{2}$	14 9	.....	.....	.....	1	11	19 10	2	10 $\frac{1}{2}$	5 3
1446	5	11 $\frac{1}{2}$	22 14	2	10 $\frac{1}{2}$	19 10	.....	.....	.....	2	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	9 8	4	0	1 1
1447	5	2	38 15	3	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	31 11	.....	.....	.....	1	11	17 9	3	9 $\frac{1}{2}$	3 3
1448	5	7 $\frac{1}{2}$	21 16	3	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	17 11	.....	.....	.....	1	10	30 11	4	0	4 4
1449	5	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	37 12	2	10 $\frac{1}{2}$	24 13	.....	.....	.....	1	8 $\frac{1}{2}$	33 13	4	0	2 2
1450	6	6 $\frac{1}{2}$	16 10	3	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	12 8	.....	.....	.....	2	0	33 11	5	4	3 3
1451	6	6	46 15	3	0	31 12	.....	.....	.....	1	9 $\frac{1}{2}$	24 10	4	11	8 6
1452	5	8 $\frac{1}{2}$	36 14	2	11 $\frac{1}{2}$	28 12	.....	.....	.....	1	8	28 14	4	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	6 4
1453	5	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	46 15	3	6 $\frac{1}{2}$	17 10	2	8	1 1	2	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	26 12	3	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	5 4
1454	3	10 $\frac{1}{2}$	44 13	2	9 $\frac{1}{2}$	34 12	2	0	1 1	1	8 $\frac{1}{2}$	35 12	.....	.....	.....
1455	5	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	36 13	3	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	12 9	.....	.....	.....	1	10	11 9	3	0	2 1
1456	4	11 $\frac{1}{2}$	89 7	2	10 $\frac{1}{2}$	29 4	.....	.....	.....	2	0	35 7	3	4	6 2
1457	5	9 $\frac{1}{2}$	68 15	2	10 $\frac{1}{2}$	24 13	2	2	2 2	1	10 $\frac{1}{2}$	37 13	3	9 $\frac{1}{2}$	12 7
1458	5	9 $\frac{1}{2}$	79 10	3	6	24 8	.....	.....	.....	1	9 $\frac{1}{2}$	23 16	4	0	2 2
1459	5	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	40 12	3	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	15 6	.....	.....	.....	1	10	18 9	3	4	2 2
1460	7	0 $\frac{1}{2}$	16 8	4	0 $\frac{1}{2}$	21 5	.....	.....	.....	2	0 $\frac{1}{2}$	12 6	5	0	1 1
1461	7	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	29 10	4	1	4 3	.....	.....	.....	2	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	16 5	.....	.....	.....
1462	4	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	7 5	3	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	12 5	4	0	1 1	1	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	8 4	4	8	2 2
1463	3	10 $\frac{1}{2}$	23 12	2	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	11 8	2	9	2 1	1	8 $\frac{1}{2}$	16 11	2	10	4 3
1464	4	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	11 6	3	6 $\frac{1}{2}$	3 3	.....	.....	.....	3	4	2 2	3	4	3 3
1465	4	7	29 7	3	0 $\frac{1}{2}$	7 3	.....	.....	.....	1	9	4 3	3	0	2 2
1466	5	4	48 11	3	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	19 8	.....	.....	.....	2	1	20 9	3	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	3 3
1467	5	4	53 10	3	2	13 6	.....	.....	.....	2	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	17 9	4	0	3 3
1468	5	7 $\frac{1}{2}$	59 7	3	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	5 4	.....	.....	.....	1	8 $\frac{1}{2}$	9 4	3	8	2 2

¹ Winter bere.

Beans.	Peas.	Vetches.	Pulse.	Malt.	Oatmeal.
s. d. ent. loc.	s. d. ent. loc.	s. d. ent. loc.	s. d. ent. loc.	s. d. ent. loc.	s. d.
.....	3 0 2 2	2 8 1 1	.....	3 11½ 36 3	7 0
6 8 1 1	4 4 6 6	5 4 2 1	.....	4 3½ 13 2	9 4
4 0 1 1	3 10 3 3	2 8 1 1	.....	4 6½ 24 1	6 8
.....	3 5½ 8 4	.....	.....	3 4½ 53 2	6 6½
4 0 1 1	2 8 2 2	4 0 1 1	2 4 1 1	2 8 13 2	5 8
4 0 1 1	2 11½ 14 7	3 4 1 1	2 9 2 2	3 5½ 46 5	4 10
3 9 5 5	3 1½ 28 4	4 8 1 1	3 0 1 1	5 5½ 44 3	9 10
7 4½ 3 2	7 10½ 4 3	.....	6 8 1 1	6 8½ 9 2	12 2
4 0 1 1	3 0 2 2	.....	.....	7 2 35 4	7 9½
.....	2 6 7 3	.....	.....	2 11½ 13 2	4 8
.....	2 3 8 3	2 8 1 1	.....	2 6 19 3	8 1½
.....	2 8 1 1	.....	.....	3 7½ 14 4	7 8½
.....	3 5½ 7 6	3 8 2 2	.....	3 3½ 47 5	6 0
4 0 1 1	2 10 6 6	4 0 1 1	.....	2 7½ 36 6	6 8½
3 10½ 3 2	2 10½ 4 6	2 8 1 2	.....	2 10½ 22 4	6 6
3 0½ 6 5	2 4 6 3	4 4 4 1	2 4 1 1	3 5½ 7 4	5 4
2 3½ 3 2	2 6½ 7 4	2 4 2 2	2 9½ 9 1	3 7 47 5	5 7½
2 2 2 2	2 6 8 7	.....	.....	3 9½ 15 7	5 4
2 1 4 1	2 4½ 27 9	1 8 1 1	.....	3 6 67 5	5 4
3 11 8 3	3 0 2 2	3 4 1 1	2 8 1 1	4 3 2 2	4 8
3 4 2 2	1 6½ 7 2	.....	.....	3 5½ 33 5	5 4
2 2 2 1	2 4 10 5	2 8 1 1	2 0 1 1	3 2 32 5	5 8½
4 0 1 1	3 1½ 3 3	.....	.....	4 5 28 5	7 10½
.....	2 3½ 6 5	3 4 1 1	.....	3 4½ 36 5	6 0
.....	2 7 4 4	4 0 1 1	.....	4 0½ 12 6	6 6½
3 0 2 2	2 10 3 2	.....	.....	3 1 26 5	5 5
2 11½ 6 5	3 0 3 3	2 8 1 1	2 8 1 1	3 3½ 27 8	6 1½
.....	2 3½ 6 3	3 4 1 1	.....	2 8½ 45 5	5 1
3 0 3 3	3 2½ 3 3	3 4 1 1	2 8 1 1	3 1½ 31 4	6 9½
.....	5 2 2 2	1 6 8 1 1	.....	4 4 8 3	6 8
.....	4 4 2 2	6 0 1 1	.....	4 5½ 16 2	6 10½
3 3 3 2	2 7 3 3	2 8 1 1	.....	2 4 4 2	4 8
3 6 3 2	2 8 1 1	.....	.....	3 0 2 2	8 0½
3 8 3 2	.....	.....	2 8 1 1	4 10½ 9 4	8 2½
4 0 2 2	2 8 1 1	.....	.....	4 4½ 22 3	6 2
3 4 3 3	2 10½ 8 3	3 1 1 1	.....	3 8 33 6	5 6
3 4½ 3 3	3 0 3 3	.....	.....	3 9½ 21 6	5 3½
2 7½ 5 5	2 6 1 1	.....	.....	3 0 35 2	7 0

¹ Tares.

	Wheat.				Barley.				Drage.				Oats.				Rye.			
	s.	d.	ent.	loc.	s.	d.	ent.	loc.	s.	d.	ent.	loc.	s.	d.	ent.	loc.	s.	d.	ent.	loc.
1469	6	5½	50	8	3	6½	5	4	.....	2	1½	6	5	4	2½	3	3			
1470	5	9½	7	4	3	4	9	4	.....	1	9	7	2	5	4	1	1			
1471	5	7½	15	3	3	11½	9	6	.....	1	10½	5	3	.....					
1472	4	0½	31	5	3	5	18	7	.....	1	10½	11	5	.....					
1473	3	10	29	5	3	6½	8	4	.....	2	5	10	5	3	4	1	1			
1474	4	6	25	8	3	2½	3	1	¹ 3 10 1 1	1	5½	4	1	.....					
1475	5	5½	33	6	3	2	6	3	.....	1	11½	5	3	4	0	3	3			
1476	5	1½	48	7	3	2	4	2	.....	1	11½	6	4	3	4	1	1			
1477	6	8	23	4	3	2½	3	2	2 8 1 1	1	8	2	1	.....					
1478	6	7½	23	4	2	9	4	2	.....	1	10	2	2	4	0	2	2			
1479	5	10½	10	9	3	4½	2	2	.....	1	7	12	8	3	4	2	2			
1480	5	10	15	7	3	0	6	3	.....	1	11½	10	4	3	4	2	2			
1481	8	6½	43	9	5	8	3	2	.....	3	3½	6	3	5	0½	6	4			
1482	10	4	41	7	6	2½	5	4	.....	2	4½	17	8	.....					
1483	7	3½	98	5	5	11	2	2	.....	2	4	2	2	.....					
1484	5	3½	18	6	4	1½	3	3	.....	2	2½	9	4	4	8	1	1			
1485	4	6½	9	4	3	5	2	2	.....	1	8	1	1	.....					
1486	5	3½	11	4	4	11	2	2	.....	1	9	6	3	6	8	1	1			
1487	5	5½	11	7	3	0½	11	5	.....	1	9½	3	3	5	4	1	1			
1488	5	6	18	9	4	0½	15	5	.....	2	9½	9	6	4	0	1	1			
1489	5	10½	5	4	3	3	2	2	.....	1	9½	8	5	6	8	1	1			
1490	4	10½	5	4	4	2	2	2	.....	1	8½	4	3	.....					
1491	6	7½	32	7	3	7	14	6	.....	2	0	3	3	4	4	2	2			
1492	4	3	21	4	4	0	2	2	.....	1	4	1	1	2	0	1	1			
1493	4	1	26	6	3	3	6	3	.....	.....				3	4	1	1			
1494	4	9½	20	4	3	0	1	1	.....	1	8½	10	8	.....					
1495	4	0½	27	6	2	11	3	3	.....	1	7½	7	4	3	0	1	1			
1496	5	5½	22	4	3	2	2	2	.....	1	9	17	3	.....					
1497	5	1	24	7	3	7½	2	2	.....	2	0	2	2	.....					
1498	5	5½	20	5	4	5	4	3	.....	2	2½	14	5	.....					
1499	4	9	67	5	3	5½	8	2	.....	1	10½	9	2	.....					
1500	6	1½	35	7	3	8½	15	4	.....	1	11	7	4	4	4½	6	2			
1501	8	5½	89	6	3	0½	18	5	.....	2	1½	10	4	4	8	2	2			
1502	8	0½	39	14	4	0½	20	7	.....	2	4½	10	8	6	8	2	1			
1503	6	3½	58	4	4	0½	8	2	.....	1	11½	6	2	5	3	7	1			
1504	5	0½	16	6	5	0	8	2	.....	2	4	4	2	4	0½	10	1			
1505	4	10½	11	5	4	1½	4	2	.....	2	0½	6	1	.....					
1506	5	4½	65	5	2	10½	4	3	.....	1	10½	13	5	.....					

Beans.	Peas.	Vetches.	Pulse.	Malt.	Oatmeal.
s. d. ent. loc.	s. d. ent. loc.	s. d. ent. loc.	s. d. ent. loc.	s. d. ent. loc.	s. d.
3 6½ 5 4	2 8 1 1	.....	.....	3 0 27 4	6 2½
.....	.....	.....	.....	3 8½ 29 4	5 8
4 0 1 1	4 0 1 1	.....	.....	4 9½ 13 4	9 4
3 4 1 1	3 0 4 3	.....	.....	3 3½ 28 3	6 10
3 4½ 4 4	3 4 3 3	.....	.....	3 1½ 35 2	.....
2 8½ 1 1	2 8½ 1 1	.....	.....	3 0½ 34 3	4 8
3 4 3 2	2 8 3 2	.....	.....	2 4 22 4	.....
3 5 3 2	3 10 2 2	.....	.....	2 4½ 12 1	.....
2 8 1 1	.....	.....	.....	2 6½ 21 1	.....
4 0 1 1	.....	.....	.....	4 3½ 31 2	6 8
4 0 2 2	4 5 1 1	.....	.....	3 6½ 2 2	5 8
3 10½ 6 3	4 11 1 1	2 8 1 1	.....	4 3½ 7 2	.....
5 0 2 2	6 0 2 2	16 0 1 1	.....	5 10½ 19 3	8 8
5 9½ 8 4	8 4 3 2	.....	.....	7 0 27 4	6 8
4 1½ 27 3	4 1 21 3	.....	.....	4 9 78 4	.....
3 8 2 2	2 8 2 2	.....	.....	3 10½ 16 1	7 0
3 4 1 1	3 4 1 1	.....	.....	2 4 20 1	6 8
3 6 1 1	3 6 1 1	.....	.....	3 4 43 2	6 9½
.....	2 0 1 1	.....	.....	3 10½ 8 4	5 2
2 0 4 1	.....	.....	.....	2 10½ 6 2	6 8
3 5 2 2	3 7 1 1	.....	.....	3 6 2 2	6 8
.....	.....	.....	2 4 1 1	4 0 2 2	.....
3 0 1 1	4 4 1 1	3 4 1 1	.....	3 3 18 8	7 2
.....	.....	.....	.....	3 11 13 3	.....
.....	.....	.....	.....	3 4 23 3	4 8
2 9 5 1	.....	.....	.....	3 3 23 2	7 2½
2 4 2 2	2 4 2 2	.....	.....	2 4½ 16 1	5 4
2 10 3 2	2 10½ 2 2	.....	.....	3 0 13 2	6 11
3 2 1 1	.....	.....	.....	2 9½ 19 3	8 0
3 9 3 2	4 9 4 2	.....	.....	4 6½ 22 4	.....
3 0 4 2	.....	3 4½ 4 1	.....	3 7½ 72 2	6 6½
.....	3 9½ 5 3	.....	.....	3 6½ 10 3	8 0
4 0 2 1	.....	.....	.....	4 6 48 3	7 9
2 5½ 11 1	.....	.....	.....	3 7½ 8 4	.....
3 8 17 1	3 11 1 1	.....	.....	3 5 9 3	.....
.....	.....	.....	.....	3 10 9 2	.....
3 0 1 1	3 0 2 2	.....	.....	3 10½ 3 2	.....
3 4 8 1	4 0 3 3	2 8 1 1	.....	3 3½ 5 1	.....

¹ Haras.² Vetches and Tares.³ Tares.

	Wheat.				Barley.				Drage.				Oats.				Rye.			
	s.	d.	ent.	loc.	s.	d.	ent.	loc.	s.	d.	ent.	loc.	s.	d.	ent.	loc.	s.	d.	ent.	loc.
1507	5	6½	61	2	2	9½	5	1	.....	2	1	11	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1508	3	10½	24	2	2	10	3	1	.....	2	1	3	1	.....	5	4	1	1	.....
1509	3	0	38	3	3	2	1	1	.....	1	7½	4	3	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1510	4	0	33	5	4	3	1	1	.....	1	10½	4	3	.....	3	5½	4	3	.....
1511	5	8½	15	4	3	1½	3	3	.....	1	5½	1	1	.....	5	4	1	1	.....
1512	9	1½	11	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1513	6	0½	13	3	5	0	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1514	5	4	10	2	5	10	1	1	.....	1	8	1	1	.....	4	8	2	2	.....
1515	6	9½	65	10	2	10	3	3	.....	2	3	10	7	.....	2	8	1	1	.....
1516	5	3½	12	8	3	4½	10	7	.....	1	10	3	3	.....	3	7½	6	2	.....
1517	6	5	20	3	3	4	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2	8	1	1	.....
1518	5	11½	58	4	3	6	2	2	.....	2	2½	1	1	.....	4	0	3	1	.....
1519	7	2	20	3	3	11½	7	3	.....	2	3½	16	4	.....	3	6½	5	2	.....
1520	9	4½	53	3	5	2	6	2	.....	3	4	21	3	.....	4	11	4	2	.....
1521	7	8½	50	3	5	9½	5	1	.....	2	8	7	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1522	6	0½	43	3	3	11	10	4	.....	2	1½	18	5	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1523	5	6	6	2	3	0	1	1	.....	2	3	2	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1524	5	1½	100	3	4	0	4	1	.....	2	10½	10	3	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1525	5	5	48	2	4	3	1	1	.....	2	4½	14	4	.....	6	10	1	1	.....
1526	6	2½	9	4	6	6	1	1	.....	2	10	8	3	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1527	12	11	44	6	5	7½	8	2	.....	3	9½	7	3	.....	12	0½	6	1	.....
1528	8	10½	41	5	6	7	3	3	.....	3	0	4	3	.....	7	5	8	4	.....
1529	8	10	38	5	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2	4½	5	3	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1530	8	5	42	5	5	0½	2	2	.....	2	10½	4	2	.....	5	10	4	1	.....
1531	8	2½	34	7	7	4	13	9	.....	3	4½	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1532	8	0	26	5	5	5½	4	3	.....	3	2½	2	2	.....	16	0	2	1	.....
1533	7	8	62	5	4	1½	8	2	.....	2	9½	23	4	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1534	7	0	20	3	4	0	5	1	.....	3	8	3	2	.....	16	0	2	1	.....
1535	10	3½	103	11	4	5	15	8	.....	3	4½	9	5	.....	6	6½	4	3	.....
1536	10	7½	100	5	4	1½	4	3	.....	3	10½	12	3	.....	8	0	1	1	.....
1537	7	1	14	3	5	0	1	1	1 3 5 1 1	2	8½	3	2	.....	5	4	1	1	.....
1538	6	11½	3	2	4	7½	1	1	.....	2	9½	3	2	.....	5	5	1	1	.....
1539	5	7½	10	2	5	4	1	1	.....	2	8	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1540	5	8½	6	2	5	4	1	1	.....	3	0½	11	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1541	9	0½	65	2	4	6	2	2	.....	2	10½	9	3	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1542	7	11½	32	3	6	4	2	1	.....	3	0	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1543	9	3½	16	3	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	3	0	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1544	9	0½	26	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	3	4	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....

¹ Sprig.

Beans.	Peas.	Vetches.	Pulse.	Malt.	Oatmeal.
<i>s. d. ent. loc.</i>	<i>s. d. ent. loc.</i>	<i>s. d. ent. loc.</i>	<i>s. d. ent. loc.</i>	<i>s. d. ent. loc.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>
3 3½ 12 I	5 4 2 I	.....	.....	2 10 8 I	8 8
2 7½ 27 I	2 7½ 23 I	.....	.....	3 2½ 5 2	6 0
2 5½ 8 I	3 11 4 2	.....	.....	3 1½ 8 4	.....
5 3½ 1 I	3 7½ 4 3	.....	.....	2 5½ 14 4	7 0
4 0 1 I	4 3 3 2	.....	.....	3 3½ 6 3	6 5
.....	.....	.....	.....	4 3½ 9 1	.....
.....	6 1 1 I	.....	.....	.....	.....
.....	7 6 1 I	.....	.....	2 11½ 6 1	8 0
4 0 1 I	4 2 9 2	5 0 1 I	.....	3 7½ 23 9	.....
3 8 1 I	5 2 3 2	16 8 1 I	.....	3 10½ 22 5	.....
.....	.....	.....	.....	3 11½ 16 1	.....
4 4½ 1 I	4 5½ 4 I	.....	.....	5 6½ 1 I	9 5½
7 4 1 I	3 10 2 I	4 0 1 I	.....	4 8 34 3	10 4
.....	.....	.....	.....	6 5½ 47 3	11 5½
.....	.....	.....	.....	5 7 51 2	9 9½
3 8 2 I	.....	.....	.....	4 3½ 57 2	10 2
.....	.....	.....	.....	3 4 2 2	.....
3 1½ 8 I	3 3 6 I	.....	.....	4 8½ 35 1	9 6
3 10 3 3	2 10 1 I	.....	.....	4 8½ 43 1	10 5
6 8 1 I	7 6 1 I	.....	.....	5 11½ 5 2	11 6
7 0 4 I	7 6 1 I	.....	.....	9 2½ 20 4	13 7½
5 10½ 2 2	6 0 3 3	.....	.....	5 8 5 5	.....
5 4 1 I	7 1½ 1 I	.....	.....	5 10½ 19 2	10 4
4 4 2 I	3 0 1 I	.....	.....	5 5 35 3	9 0
.....	.....	.....	.....	8 1 22 4	.....
6 4½ 3 2	9 4 1 I	17 4 1 I	.....	6 10½ 22 4	12 0
5 4 3 I	4 7 2 I	3 4 1 I	.....	5 5½ 5 2	8 0
8 0 1 I	.....	4 10½ 1 I	.....	3 9 5 1	.....
8 0 5 2	5 4 1 I	7 4 1 I	.....	6 0 24 8	13 4
3 9 8 3	.....	.....	.....	5 5 65 3	9 0
3 11 2 2	.....	.....	.....	3 8½ 3 3	9 8
6 8 1 I	.....	.....	.....	5 0 1 I	9 10
5 0 1 I	.....	.....	.....	5 2 3 2	.....
5 4 1 I	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
.....	5 0 4 I	.....	.....	4 10 2 2	.....
5 8 1 I	.....	.....	.....	4 4½ 1 I	.....
.....	.....	.....	.....	4 8 4 1	.....
.....

¹ Tares.

	Wheat.				Barley.				Drage.				Oats.				Rye.			
	s.	d.	est.	loc.	s.	d.	est.	loc.	s.	d.	est.	loc.	s.	d.	est.	loc.	s.	d.	est.	loc.
1545	15	6½	25	3	9	0	1	1	.....	4	8	2	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1546	8	3½	3	2	4	0	1	1	.....	4	2	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1547	4	11	23	2	3	4	1	1	.....	3	1	3	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1548	8	1½	39	3	3	11½	3	1	.....	3	6½	4	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1549	16	4	29	2	11	4	2	1	.....	6	0	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1550	18	0	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	6	8	2	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1551	20	4	59	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	4	0	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1552	10	6½	26	2	8	0	1	1	.....	6	8	2	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1553	10	0	34	3	10	0	1	1	.....	5	4	2	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1554	18	8½	38	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	6	0	2	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1555	22	0½	32	1	21	4	1	1	.....	6	0	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1556	28	5½	42	3	15	5	2	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1557	8	4½	37	6	6	6	2	2	.....	5	8	2	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1558	9	3½	36	1	11	4	1	1	.....	5	5½	6	3	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1559	11	0½	11	5	6	8	1	1	.....	5	7½	2	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1560	14	2½	13	5	9	0	3	1	.....	6	6	3	3	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1561	15	8	36	3	6	10½	1	1	.....	6	2½	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1562	10	11½	21	4	8	5½	3	1	.....	6	4½	3	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1563	19	9½	24	4	11	6½	3	1	.....	7	0	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1564	10	10½	24	3	7	0	1	1	.....	5	11½	2	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1565	10	7	28	4	8	1	6	1	.....	6	9½	2	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1566	16	5½	28	5	7	10	2	2	.....	6	4½	2	2	.....	.....	.....	13	4	1	.....
1567	11	1	34	6	10	9½	7	6	.....	5	10½	2	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1568	11	3½	45	4	11	0	1	1	.....	6	6½	2	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1569	11	9½	47	5	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	6	2½	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1570	9	10	47	5	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	5	5	2	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1571	12	5½	31	8	8	0	1	1	.....	5	7	2	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1572	13	6½	54	10	9	4	2	1	.....	5	5½	1	1	.....	.....	.....	12	0	1	.....
1573	26	3½	37	14	11	8	3	2	.....	7	0	2	2	.....	.....	.....	18	0	1	.....
1574	14	2½	34	6	8	9½	4	2	.....	5	8½	3	3	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1575	15	11	39	9	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	6	5	4	3	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1576	12	2½	26	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	5	6½	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1577	22	2	58	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	6	8	3	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1578	17	4½	37	5	8	0	1	1	.....	4	3½	2	2	.....	.....	.....	17	8	1	.....
1579	17	0½	12	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	6	7½	2	2	.....	.....	.....	19	6½	1	.....
1580	22	0	28	2	14	2½	3	1	.....	5	0	2	1	.....	.....	.....	18	2½	1	.....
1581	21	2½	19	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	6	4½	3	2	.....	.....	.....	20	0	1	.....
1582	19	1½	38	13	13	0	4	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	22	0	1	.....

Beans.	Peas.	Vetches.	Pulse.	Malt.	Oatmeal.
s. d. ent. loc.	s. d. ent. loc.	s. d. ent. loc.	s. d. ent. loc.	s. d. ent. loc.	s. d.
.....	.....	.....	.....	10 0 1 1	.....
.....	.....	.....	.....	10 8 1 1	.....
6 0 1 1	5 0 1 1	.....	.....	5 4 1 1	.....
.....	.....	.....	.....	6 10 4 3	.....
.....	.....	.....	.....	9 4 3 2	.....
.....	.....	.....	.....	10 8 1 1	.....
.....	.....	.....	.....	5 4 1 1	.....
12 8 2 1	.....	.....	.....	8 0 1 1	.....
.....	.....	.....	.....	9 4 2 2	.....
6 8 5 1	6 8 2 1	.....	.....	.....	.....
18 0 2 1	16 6½ 9 2	.....	.....	.....	.....
18 3½ 4 1	16 7 3 1	.....	.....	24 0 1 1	13 4
.....	9 4 1 1	.....	.....	.....	.....
10 0 1 1	.....	.....	.....	11 4 1 1	17 4
9 0 1 1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
.....	6 8 1 1	.....	.....	9 6 1 1	.....
13 0½ 4 1	.....	.....	.....	8 0 1 1	.....
16 0 1 1	.....	.....	.....	13 0 1 1	.....
16 0 1 1	9 4 7 1	.....	.....	10 8 1 1	.....
.....	7 10½ 7 1	.....	.....	13 4 1 1	.....
10 11½ 5 1	9 3½ 13 2	.....	.....	.....	.....
10 0 1 1	9 1 8 1	.....	.....	11 8 2 2	.....
.....	12 2½ 12 1	.....	.....	10 0 1 1	.....
.....	9 9 8 1	.....	.....	.....	.....
.....	8 7½ 6 1	.....	.....	9 8 3 2	.....
.....	8 8 5 1	.....	.....	7 2½ 3 1	24 4½
.....	7 4½ 4 1	.....	.....	8 0 1 1	.....
.....	10 5½ 3 1	.....	.....	8 4 16 2	.....
10 10 4 1	15 9 5 2	.....	.....	18 0 2 2	.....
15 0 2 1	12 1½ 10 2	.....	.....	10 0 1 0	18 8
.....	10 9½ 9 1	.....	.....	10 10½ 4 2	18 8
13 1½ 3 1	11 0½ 8 1	.....	.....	14 7½ 5 1	.....
11 0 2 2	10 5½ 11 1	.....	.....	15 0 13 3	18 8
9 0 2 1	10 0 6 1	.....	.....	13 0 20 2	37 4
.....	11 0½ 11 1	.....	.....	12 5 18 3	26 3
12 1 10 1	11 0 7 1	.....	.....	14 4½ 6 2	19 4
12 8 4 1	10 8 5 1	.....	.....	13 2½ 6 2	24 0
12 1½ 6 1	12 0 2 1	.....	.....	12 3½ 11 16	21 4

TABLE II.—DECENNIAL AVERAGES FROM 1401—1582.

	Wheat.	Barley.	Oats.	Rye.	Beans.	Peas.	Malt.	Oatmeal.	Mustard- seed bushel.	Green Peas.	Porridge Peas.
	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
1401—1410	5 8½	3 11½	2 4	4 2½	3 3	3 3½	4 3½	8 0½	1 11	7 2½	5 4
1411—1420	5 6½	3 8½	2 2½	3 3½	3 4½	3 3½	4 5	8 6	2 2	5 8½	6 3
1421—1430	5 4½	3 7	2 2	4 1½	3 9	3 2½	4 7½	7 7½	1 0½	.....	6 5½
1431—1440	6 11	3 10	2 2½	5 1	4 9½	3 8	4 5½	8 5½	1 7½	5 4½	6 6½
1441—1450	5 3½	2 11	1 10½	3 0	3 0½	2 8½	3 4½	6 1½	1 7½	4 1½	4 4
1451—1460	5 6½	3 2½	1 10½	3 10½	3 1	2 10	3 10	6 2	1 6	4 0½	4 3½
1461—1470	5 4½	3 3½	2 0½	3 8½	3 4	2 11	3 7½	6 4½	2 2½	5 2	5 0
1471—1480	5 4½	3 3½	1 10½	3 6½	3 5½	3 5½	3 4½	6 7½	1 1½	3 4	5 3½
1481—1490	6 3½	4 5½	2 2	5 4½	3 10	4 2½	4 1½	6 9½	1 10½	6 2½	6 9½
1491—1500	5 0½	3 6½	1 10	3 5	2 11½	3 7½	3 4½	6 10½	0 11½	4 8½	4 4
1501—1510	5 5½	3 7½	2 0½	4 10½	3 4½	3 9½	3 5	7 4½	1 9	4 11	.....
1511—1520	6 8½	4 0½	2 2	4 2	4 9½	5 0½	4 3½	9 1½	1 10	9 4	5 4
1521—1530	7 6	4 9	2 8½	6 5	4 11½	5 4½	5 5½	10 6½	1 11	8 6	.....
1531—1540	7 8½	4 11½	3 1½	9 4½	4 8½	6 5	4 6	10 3½	1 9½	8 6½	7 6½
1541—1550	10 8	6 2½	4 0½	.....	5 10	5 0	7 6½	.....	2 2½	.....	.....
1551—1560	15 3½	10 0½	5 8½	.....	12 5½	11 1½	11 3	15 4	2 4½	.....	.....
1561—1570	12 10½	8 11½	6 3½	.....	11 2½	9 4½	10 4½	24 4½	3 4½	.....	.....
1571—1582 (12 years)	16 8	10 5	5 10½	18 2	12 0	11 6½	12 6½	23 0½	3 8½	.....	.....
Average.											
1401—1540	5 11½	3 8½	2 2½	4 7½	3 9½	3 10	4 1	7 9½	1 8	5 11½	5 7½
1540—1582	13 10½	8 5½	5 5½	.....	9 1½	8 8	10 5	20 10½	2 11	.....	.....

TABLE III.—HOPS. (The cwt.)

	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>		<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>		<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>		<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
1482	12	2	1527	14	4	1543	12	6½	1580	42	0
1510	13	5	1528	10	10	1548	17	5	1581	48	6
1511	28	0	1529	10	0	1549	21	8	1582	37	0
1514	8	4	1533	10	0	1566	20	0	First period		
1516	8	9	1537	23	4	1574	20	0	14 0½		
1517	15	10	1538	12	0	1577	34	9	Second period		
1518	14	2	1541	11	8	1578	27	9½	26 8½		
1519	15	5	1542	13	8	1579	40	6½			

CHAPTER IX.

HAY AND STRAW.

THE information which my accounts supply me for these articles of agricultural produce is, especially for the former, copious and fairly continuous, for I have failed to find entries for only eight of the 182 years, and in many of the years which give returns there are dated purchases of hay.

In calculating the averages, which will be found, as far as the general inference goes, to tally closely with those of corn, both as to the decennial periods and the contrast established above between the first hundred-and-forty and the last forty-two years, I have necessarily taken the load only, described in my accounts as *carectata*, *plaustrata*, and *bigata*, as well as later on by the English word 'load.' At Oxford and in the earlier part of the period the word *arconius* is obviously the same as the more general synonyms. The load was doubtlessly a weight, and in all probability was the same as the modern load of old hay, 19½ cwts. or a fother¹.

Most of the entries are of the consumption of the Colleges in Oxford and Cambridge, especially in the latter. These corporations were constantly engaged in the survey of their estates, and in the collection of their rents and dues. That their Terriers were carefully copied, preserved, and compared with the land which they described, is well known, and was to be expected. They had to know the lands they owned, in order to distrain for rent on them; and as there was hardly an estate from which fee farm rents, annuities, pensions, and

¹ It was sometimes bought by the fother: e. g. at Wearmouth in 1480.

similar interests were not created, they had to be acquainted with their liabilities as well as with their rights, to demand proof of the former, and to defend the latter. Much of a fellow's time was taken up with the secular business of his College, and he constantly went on progress, to inspect the estates and report thereon.

An opulent College therefore kept a considerable stud. We shall find hereafter, when we come to deal with stock, that by far the largest amount of information derived as to the value of saddle or riding horses comes from the record of purchases by Colleges for the bursars' journey. The two fellows who generally travelled in attendance on the head of their College, when the latter went on the great audit, were sent to report on, and certify to the receipt of moneys from the College tenants. The head of the College was naturally provided with a better stud, more handsome and costly saddles and other harness, often indeed being further set off by trappings. The Provost of King's College, Cambridge, had a house in Blackfriars, near what is now the approach to the bridge, and constantly resided in London on the business of the College or for his pleasure, as became the great head of an opulent College.

During the fifteenth century, when the land hunger was keen, much common pasture was enclosed and appropriated to several owners. Hence the importance of the hay crop, and a notable change in the production and sale of hay. In my former volumes, though I had considerable information as to the expenditure of corporations and wealthy persons, I found and could record only a few examples of the purchase and sale of hay. But in these volumes the record is copious; still more full, copious, and regular as the time goes on. The price indeed is very fluctuating, purchases being made at very various rates in the same year and by the same persons, as might be expected in so bulky an article, especially as we may anticipate that a dry spring would greatly exalt the price, and put the buyer at the mercy of the seller.

It should be observed here, that the computation of the several years for which evidence is given of the price of hay and straw follows the rule which was adopted with regard to corn, i.e. the account is taken from Michaelmas to Michaelmas. As a consequence, the record is generally of the hay crop for the next year after that to which the entry is assigned. It would have induced complete confusion on my accounts had I adopted any other method. The most important, or at least the most essential, part of my enquiry is into the price of wheat and other grain, and the necessity which I was under of beginning every agricultural year with the harvest of the year has compelled me to extend the system to other kinds of produce.

The record of hay prices will not be found to throw so much light on the seasons as the register of corn prices does. The drought which shortened the hay crop was advantageous to the wheat harvest, and unless it was excessive to most other kinds of grain. If the hay was plentiful, it would be cheap, and if it took much wet, it might not be much lowered in price, unless there was sound old hay in the market, or some of those who had gathered their crop were able to offer their better supply at exceptional rates. Later on, indeed, there is some correspondence between high prices for hay and analogous prices for corn.

Again, the hay which was gathered by the agriculturist of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries was nothing but the produce of natural pasture. Our forefathers knew nothing of artificial grasses, which were brought into England generally as late as the time at which the Hanoverian succession took effect. They had no winter roots, for these were not introduced till the time of the early Stuarts, and were very slowly cultivated. The demand for hay was therefore great, especially in dry summers and hard winters. My reader will find that hay, particularly in the sixteenth century, is relatively speaking dear.

The practice of soiling horses in spring and winter pastures

was familiar, and common. But it was also customary for corporations to hire pastures, and either feed the growing grass, or mow the crop for home supply. Thus Corpus Christi College in Oxford constantly rents the mead at Magdalen, and supplies its stables with hay from the produce.

The average price of a load of hay corresponds very closely in the decennial, and more markedly in the general averages, with that of a quarter of barley, becoming, as I have said, relatively rather dearer towards the conclusion of the period. This is not indeed a high price, especially to modern experience; but they who can remember the country prices of hay, before railways and other earlier modes of communication had so cheapened transit as to efface much of the difference between town and country prices, will call to mind how cheap hay used to be in moderately abundant seasons. Thus in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, hay is constantly double the country price in London, and is considerably higher in places like Hornchurch and Sion, which were affected by the London markets, than it is at Oxford or Cambridge, though the former of these was an opulent and populous town. Thus in 1448, the Hornchurch bailiff bought hay and sent it to London for the use of the Warden of New College, then as frequently residing in the city. In 1463, when hay was 2*s.* 4*d.* the load at Oxford, it was bought at 6*s.* 1*d.* in Southwark.

It is not always possible to discover whether the cost of hay includes the carriage of it to market. Sometimes it does not, and the fact is noted. Sometimes it does, and the sign, used constantly in the evidence to denote the fact, is recorded. But in the long run, and over averages, these particular obscurities are reciprocally corrected, and though the general result may imply a lower price than that actually paid by the consumer, the ratio of prices is as accurate as if the fact had been invariably recorded and the cost included.

Exceptionally dear years then, as 1418, 1447, 1459, 1469, 1480, 1498, 1517, 1536, and 1540, are probably to be explained

as caused by dry summers or severe winters. Unfortunately the records which have supplied me with evidence rarely comment on the seasons. A great frost prevailed in the winter of 1516, and a drought in the summer of 1517, but I have no entry of hay during the year 1516-17, and the only other occasion on which drought is named is 1414, when the dryness led to a great consumption of iron. But in this year hay was at a moderate price.

In the years 1407 and 1408, the bailiff of Hornchurch, on which manor New College was still carrying on agriculture with the College capital, records the sale of two tasses of háy to the king's provisors. If this hay was bought at a fair market price, the tass of hay probably contained about eight loads. The same word is used at Drayton in 1424, a rather dear year, and probably contained a similar quantity, and in 1530 at Bardney, where it is sold at 46s. 8d. The arconius of the former place (1421) must have been a larger rick. The mullon at Christchurch (1418) is perhaps the same as a load, for 1418 is one of those dear years to which I have referred above. The porcio of Hoxon in 1414 must have been a large rick, as it is stated to have contained thirty cart-loads. The truss is rarely used as a measure of hay, though it is found, e.g. 1414 at Oxford. But the trossus of Didesham cannot mean a truss.

Several pastures were rented at high rates. For twenty years the meadows at Stert are rented at from 7s. to 5s. the acre, for ten more at from 6s. 6d. to 5s., one acre being let at the highest rate, five others at from 6s. to 5s. 6d., and ten at 5s. These are the highest prices which I have found for meadow land. Six acres of grass are let at Worcester at 2s. 2½d. in 1450, ten acres at Stonor in 1524 at 3s. 4d., and four at 2s. 6d., and ten acres at Peshull in 1526 at 3s. 4d., four at 2s. 6d., and five at 4s. This gives an average of a little more than 3s. 9d. the acre over the whole. This is a much lower average than that derived (Vol. i, p. 249) for the Cherwell meadows in the fourteenth century. In 1568,

grass, with the cost of cutting and carrying, is sold at the high rate of 32*s.* 5*d.* the acre. But it must be remembered that the alluvial soil of the Cherwell near Oxford is of singular fertility and value, though in later days the quality of the soil near this river is injured, as that of much other similar land is, by the silting of the river-bed, the injudicious penning back of the water, and the fraudulent acts of mill-owners, who furtively raise their weirs. •

As might be anticipated, the price of straw is less suggestive than that of hay. It is ordinarily used for thatch and litter, and is of very various quality. Though it is frequently sold by the load, it is also purchased by the thrave, garb, bundle, truss, sarcina, burden, the horse-load, and even by the hundred and thousand. Of the various kinds of straw, barley was the cheapest, being often not more than half the price of wheat and oat straw and bean and pea haulm, probably because, being more brittle, it was less enduring. Of course straw is relatively much dearer in London. The truss of straw appears to have been large, for only a few went to the load. Straw is occasionally employed for feeding cattle in winter, as in 1424.

There are a few entries of litter, stubble, and thatch, and particularly from Hickling in Norfolk of armfuls (*brachiatæ*) of reeds reckoned by the hundred.

TABLE I.

HAY AND STRAW.

	Hay load.	Straw load.		Hay load.	Straw load.		Hay load.	Straw load.
	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>		<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>		<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>
1402	3 4	1 0	1435	3 1½	1 0	1468	5 4	.....
1403	2 8	1 0	1436	3 1½	1 0	1469	6 3	1 10
1404	4 8½	1 0	1437	4 1½	.....	1470	4 3½	.....
1405	4 5	1 0	1438	4 2½	1 5½	1471	3 0½	.....
1406	2 11	1 1½	1439	.....	.....	1472	4 1½	1 2
1407	.....	1 0	1440	2 7	0 8	1473	2 8½	.....
1408	3 6	1 0½	1441	3 8½	1 3	1474	2 10½	.....
1409	2 11½	1 0	1442	4 2	.....	1475	3 4½	.....
1410	2 9	1 0	1443	5 8	.....	1476	3 2	.....
1411	3 2½	1 0	1444	2 11½	0 10	1477	4 8	.....
1412	3 4	1 0	1445	3 6	1 2½	1478	4 10	.....
1413	2 6	.....	1446	3 6½	1 0½	1479	3 1	1 0
1414	3 5½	1 0	1447	5 0½	1 1½	1480	6 0	.....
1415	4 8	1 10	1448	4 4	0 11	1481	3 4½	1 6
1416	3 8	1 3½	1449	3 4½	1 3	1482	4 4½	3 0
1417	2 8	1 1½	1450	4 5	1 0	1483	3 6	1 6
1418	6 1½	1 4	1451	3 4½	1 0½	1484	2 2	2 6
1419	4 0	1 6	1452	4 8½	1 4	1485	2 3½	1 3
1420	3 4½	0 10	1453	4 0½	1 0	1486	.....	.....
1421	.....	1 0½	1454	5 1	.....	1487	1 10	1 0
1422	4 0	1 1½	1455	.....	.....	1488	3 5½	1 6
1423	3 8	0 8	1456	4 4½	1 4	1489	4 3½	1 7
1424	3 4	1 7½	1457	3 9½	1 0	1490	3 2½	1 3½
1425	3 4½	0 11½	1458	2 7½	0 11	1491	2 10½	.....
1426	2 8½	1 0½	1459	6 6	1 0	1492	2 4	.....
1427	3 3	0 10½	1460	4 8	.....	1493	3 0	.....
1428	4 0½	1 1	1461	3 9	.....	1494	3 6½	2 6½
1429	3 4	1 0	1462	4 1	.....	1495	3 11½	2 4
1430	3 10½	0 8	1463	3 10½	1 4	1496	4 7½	1 9
1431	3 10	1 2	1464	3 0½	.....	1497	4 10½	2 0½
1432	3 2½	1 4	1465	3 0	.....	1498	6 3½	2 1½
1433	3 8	1 6½	1466	3 7	.....	1499	2 10½	1 5½
1434	3 4	1 2	1467	4 10	.....	1500	3 2	1 3

HAY AND STRAW. AVERAGES.

301

	Hay load.	Straw load.		Hay load.	Straw load.		Hay load.	Straw load.
	s. d.	s. d.		s. d.	s. d.		s. d.	s. d.
1501	3 2½	1 0	1529	3 ¾	1 0½	1556	.....	4 0
1502	3 4½	1 5½	1530	4 5½	1 9	1557	7 9½	3 8½
1503	5 0	3 4	1531	4 1	1 2	1558	6 3½	2 11½
1504	4 1½	2 10	1532	3 6½	.....	1559	10 10½	5 0
1505	.....	1 5	1533	4 10½	1 10½	1560	9 9	4 4
1506	3 3½	2 2	1534	3 11½	2 0½	1561	13 2½	4 1
1507	3 4½	1 5½	1535	3 3	2 8	1562	10 9	6 9½
1508	2 1½	1 9½	1536	5 9	2 0	1563	12 10½	6 1
1509	3 1½	1 6½	1537	2 8	1 10	1564	10 3½	4 11½
1510	2 11½	1 4	1538	3 3	2 0½	1565	12 2	5 9
1511	5 8½	1 3	1539	3 6½	.....	1566	10 9½	4 11
1512	2 11½	1 8	1540	5 11	2 3½	1567	14 0½	5 6
1513	2 10	1 4½	1541	5 1½	1 11	1568	14 2	5 6
1514	2 8	1 3	1542	4 8½	2 1	1569	9 3½	3 10½
1515	3 4½	1 6	1543	4 3½	2 1	1570	11 10	4 4
1516	.....	1 11	1544	4 7½	1 10	1571	9 11½	4 5½
1517	5 1½	2 0	1545	3 9½	2 2	1572	11 7½	4 9½
1518	4 5½	2 8½	1546	3 11½	2 4	1573	10 1½	4 11
1519	5 11	1 5½	1547	4 5	1 10½	1574	11 11	4 6
1520	3 1½	1 4	1548	8 1½	2 9½	1575	13 11½	4 5½
1521	2 10	1 4	1549	7 4½	3 1½	1576	12 6	4 5½
1522	3 1½	1 4	1550	9 2	3 7	1577	11 5	4 6½
1523	3 6	1 0	1551	4 0	4 1½	1578	11 5	4 1
1524	3 1	1 6½	1552	10 5	3 8	1579	11 5	4 7½
1525	3 11	1 1½	1553	10 0	4 3½	1580	10 0	5 9
1526	3 7	1 11½	1554	15 2	5 1	1581	12 8	5 0
1527	4 9½	3 3	1555	13 7	4 4½	1582	13 4	4 5
1528	3 0	.....					

TABLE II.
DECENNIAL AVERAGES.

	Hay.	Straw.		Hay.	Straw.
	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>		<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>
1401—1410	3 5	1 0 $\frac{1}{2}$	1511—1520	3 5	1 7 $\frac{1}{2}$
1411—1420	3 8 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 2 $\frac{1}{2}$	1521—1530	3 7	1 7
1421—1430	3 6 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 0 $\frac{3}{4}$	1531—1540	4 1	2 0
1431—1440	3 5 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 2	1541—1550	5 7	2 4 $\frac{1}{2}$
1441—1450	4 0 $\frac{3}{4}$	1 1	1551—1560	8 9 $\frac{1}{2}$	4 2
1451—1460	4 4	1 1	1561—1570	11 11 $\frac{1}{2}$	5 2
1461—1470	4 6	1 7	1571—1582	11 8 $\frac{1}{2}$	4 8
1471—1480	3 9 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 1	(12 years)		
1481—1490	3 2	1 6 $\frac{1}{2}$	First 140 years	3 8 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 5
1491—1500	3 6 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 11 $\frac{1}{2}$	Last 42 years	9 6	4 1
1501—1510	3 4 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 10			

CHAPTER X.

WOOL AND HIDES.

I HAVE commented more than once in the preceding pages, and in my first volume, on the importance of English wool, both as a matter of commerce, finance, and diplomacy, on the singular position which it occupied in the economy of medieval Europe, and on the numerous varieties of quality which were recognised, as we should say in modern times, by local brands. The latter fact is curiously illustrated from a petition presented by the Commons in 1454, in which no less than forty-four qualities of English wool are designated and priced, the prayer of the petition being that these several qualities should not be exported except at the prices assigned to each in the schedule annexed to the petition. The schedule is printed in Vol. iii, p. 704. It appears that the price of wool was very low at this time, and that the Commons were convinced that to stint the supply to the foreign merchant would raise the price. They probably had in view the encouragement of English weaving, for it does not appear that beyond the light customs exacted on exports and imports, customs more nearly analogous to harbour and police dues than to imposts levied for the sake of revenue, any duties were put upon English cloths on their exportation, while heavy export duties were habitually imposed on wool, and, as I have said, were unquestionably borne by the foreign consumers.

Similar but far lighter dues were imposed on exported hides. That the trade in this raw material was more precarious than that in wool might be anticipated, and is illustrated by

the far greater tenderness with which the last of hides is visited by export duties, when financial emergencies occur, and must be met, than the sack of wool is. But it is also plain from the very various prices at which cattle are bought, that the value of the hide differed as greatly as the value which the ox, steer, or whatever other name is applied to the animal, was found to bear in the market, to say nothing of the fact that our ancestors flayed and sold the skins of cattle that perished of the various kinds of murrain which Walter de Henley in the thirteenth and Fitzherbert in the sixteenth centuries describe.

The highest-priced wool in the schedule referred to above is that obtained from the immediate neighbourhood of Leominster. This is valued at £13 the sack, or 20s. the tod, a price which I have never seen in any part of the thirteenth, fourteenth, or fifteenth centuries, though it is found after the great exaltation of prices in the sixteenth. Nor is any produce, as estimated by the Commons in 1454, at anything near the value of this particular brand. The nearest to it is that from the soke of Leominster, by which I presume is meant the district lying near the most favoured locality, and from the march of Shropshire, which is valued at £9 5s. 4d. Then comes the Cotswold wool, of which I have several entries from one estate lying at the foot of those hills which are so famous in the history of sheep-farming, worth £8 6s. 8d. The higher lands of Lindsey in Lincolnshire yield a wool which is worth £5 13s. 4d. The produce of lower Lindsey, the best of Herefordshire, and a district described as young Cotswold, but which may mean Hogg wool from the locality, are valued at £5 6s. 8d. Certain parts of Lincoln and Notts, a district called Cley, Banstead Down (Surrey), and Gloucestershire produce an article worth £5, i.e. a little over 7s. 8d. the tod. All the other qualities are below this value.

The cheapest wool in the schedule is that grown in Sussex, which is said to be worth 50s. the sack, or a fraction over 3s. 10d. the tod. Suffolk is only a little better, 4s. the tod.

Next in the scale of low prices come Kent, Surrey, Middlesex, and Yorkshire wools (one district of Kent and one in Yorkshire are excepted, the produce of which is of a greater value), the tod of which is worth rather more than 4*s.* 7*d.* The other varieties rise in value thus, 5*s.* 1½*d.*, 5*s.* 4*d.*, 6*s.*, 6*s.* 1¾*d.*, 6*s.* 8*d.*, 7*s.* 2*d.*, the tod. I have reduced the rate per sack of thirteen tod to that of the latter quantity, because I have taken the tod in my estimates and averages. The schedule gives no value for the produce of the northern counties of Durham, Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmorland, nor for that of Lancashire and Cheshire, Devon and Cornwall. Some of my entries, and three series in particular of considerable extent, are derived from Durham, and not a few from counties not scheduled. Sheep-breeding is not carried on extensively in Norfolk, and I have no doubt that the Suffolk price is intended to apply to such parts of the northern county as produced wool. But it is not easy to arrive at average values of a commodity which varied in value between the highest or lowest by nearly six times.

The interpretation of the entries which I have been able to secure, unfortunately very much fewer than those I had the fortune to light on for my earlier period, is made more difficult by many special circumstances. It is true that sheep-farming was continued by the wealthier landowners long after they had abandoned ordinary agriculture to tenant-farmers, either on a stock and land lease or on an ordinary tenancy for a short time, and that in the sixteenth century sheep-breeding became so profitable a calling that the legislature strove to repress it by putting a limit on the number of the flocks possessed by such breeders. But these great proprietors seldom allowed their bailiffs and head shepherds to deal in the produce, but either contracted or bargained immediately with the merchant exporter, or traded in their produce at some convenient market.¹ Thus I have examined in the Record

¹ In an interesting paper on Amy Robsart's life and death, published by Canon Jackson in the *Wiltshire Archaeological Magazine*, a letter of Amy's is seen in facsimile, in which she bids her bailiff get 5*s.* the stone for the wool on her Norfolk estate.

Office a very continuous series of accounts supplied by an extensive sheep farm at Coleshull in Gloucestershire, and in the Cotswold district. But I have rarely come across an extensive sale of the produce. If I had frequently found such an entry as I discovered under the year 1421, when the bailiff records the sale of seven sacks of this produce at Alvescot, a village near the estate, at £8 10s. the sack—a little in excess of the value put on Cotswold wool in the schedule, and I may add in a generally cheap year—I should have been able with little difficulty to have constructed a table of averages which would have been quite satisfactory, and have even been able to parcel out the produce into various districts under various values. A similarly large sale of wool is made at Heylisdon in 1427, at Canons Ashby in 1440, at Fountains Abbey in 1457 and 1458, at Netley Abbey in 1437 (where the price is a great deal below the Hampshire average in the schedule, wool being in all places exceedingly cheap about this time), at Stoke in 1482, at Norwich in 1491, at Osney in 1510–11, at North Elmham in 1515, at Ixworth in 1516, at Durham in 1531–2, in various Lancashire towns and villages in 1536, at Lincoln in 1545, and in the Cotswold district to an enormous amount in 1560.

Again, it is often the practice, both in small and large sales, for the vendor to deal by the fleece. These sales may very likely mean contracts, in which the buyer speculated on the produce, taking his risks into account in estimating the quantity of the produce. Scab was the terror of the sheep farmer, and the peril of his calling. Against it the shepherd was always to have his tar-box ready. In anticipation of his needs, the sheep-master purchased large quantities of this medicament, and of grease or lard with which to mix it. When this pest broke out among sheep, and could not be arrested, when the animal's coat became foul, and his skin sore, and maggots bred in the sores, not only was he out of condition, and therefore would grow a poor fleece, but the wool became ragged, or, as the accounts call it, refuse. The price of a fleece therefore, from

the same estate, varies through other causes than those through which the price of wool does, and except the evidence be employed cautiously, it is apt to mislead¹.

It is not again always clear what the character of the wool was, apart from the locality from which it was derived. It might have been a secondary or accidental product in one case, and an end of husbandry in another. Thus when it comes among the general produce of a farm (and nearly all the entries in the first volumes, as well as the greater part in these, is of such a character), it falls under the second head, and is satisfactory as evidence. But it is not equally clear what the quality of the article is when it is an outcome of a monastery such as Sion, or a College like King's in Cambridge, or Magdalen in Oxford. It might be the shearings of sheep killed at all times of the year, or a clip taken of stock kept for the consumption of the establishment, and maintained for a time on the home farm. Still it will be found that most of these entries fairly agree, all things considered, with the schedule to which I have called attention at the commencement of this chapter.

Woolfells are as much an article of foreign trade and export duties as wool was. They were made up it appears into packs of 240, having been doubtlessly cleaned and dressed before packing. They are dealt with very extensively. But here we are met with new difficulties. Was the fell that of a healthy sheep, killed in the ordinary course when in condition, and set aside for trading in? Or was it that of a sheep which was slaughtered because it was rotten, or scabbed, and therefore in poor condition and worse coat? Or again, at what time of the year was it killed? If after shearing time, the fell was of little value, if full of wool, of considerable. When the sales of woolfells proceed from a religious house or college, they are described as shearling, morling, winter, and wool or

¹ Very heavy sales of fleeces, generally by the hundred, occur at Spitling in 1442, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9. Sometimes the account gives the number of fleeces as well as the weight of the product. This important evidence will be commented on below.

May fells, the last-named being by far the most valuable, and the price rising in the same year, according to the quality and fleece of the sheepskin, from 2s. to 6s. the dozen. As might be expected, the best quality of the sheep is found in the May purchases. A wether or mutton in Easter or May, apart from the value of his fell, was worth twice as much as the same animal in November. The cause of this variation is to be found in the scantiness and cost of good winter provender. During winter time the animal was half-starved, or maintained in condition at disproportionate cost.

These difficulties arising from variations in the value of the best local produce, from the comparative scantiness of information, from the different way in which the produce, when grown designedly for sale, is estimated, either by weight or by tale, and that which is derived from the doubt as to whether the article was a first or a bye product, are enhanced by a further difficulty, which is not indeed so serious and perpetual as it was in the earlier volumes, but still remains as a hindrance to satisfactory results, the variety of weight in a unit which goes by the same name, the *petra* or stone. The legislature over and over again defined that the sack should be the unit, that it should consist of 13 tod, 26 stone and 52 clove, and that no other weight should be employed. But local custom and tradition was, as it has remained even up to our own day, too strong for the will of the legislature; and puzzling local measures, the key to which must be sought after, but may generally be found, render the estimate of prices laborious and sometimes doubtful.

In the early part of the fifteenth century, the principal information as to the price of wool is derived from three New College estates, two of which are in Wilts, the third in Bucks. At the first two of these, Alton Barnes and Stert, the weight taken is the pond, or *pondus*, which we learn indirectly to have been three-fourths of the tod, or 21 lbs. At the third estate, the tod is used. The College appears to have abandoned sheep-farming, at least through the hands of

their bailiff, in 1433 on the Alton Barnes estate, and in 1428 on the other two. At Hornchurch, the same society deals in fleeces, though sometimes it gives the weight of the fleeces in stones. Essex wool in the schedule is low priced, but the Hornchurch stone is a great deal less than the twenty-sixth part of the average sack. But it corresponds almost exactly to the Essex value by the clove of 7 lbs., and was doubtlessly such a weight.

The pond of Alton Barnes and Stert is found at Bromham, Farley, Chitterne, Milbourne, and Bedwin, which are all in the same county, and also at Cheddar in Somerset. Wilts wool is of medium quality, being rated in the schedule at 7*s.* 2*d.* the tod.

At Sutton-at-Hone, the petra is 8 lbs., at Bodynton it is 12 lbs. At most other places it seems to be identical with the clove, which is nearly always used for lambs' wool. Lambs' wool is always cheaper than sheep's wool. Black and grey wool are cheaper than white, but seldom occur.

I shall now proceed, as in my previous volumes, to comment on the price of wool in such years as it may seem expedient to do so, and to interpret, to the best of my power, the evidence which I have been able to collect for these purposes.

1401. The information is almost entirely derived from the New College estates. The Alton Barnes tod is at 7*s.* 9½*d.*, that of Stert at 6*s.* 10¾*d.*, that of Weedon at 8*s.* This is of good quality, for broken wool is sold at 2*s.* 4*d.* and 3*s.* 6*d.* in the same year, and in the same county. Lambs' wool is sold at 4*s.* 8*d.* the tod at Alton Barnes and Stert, and at 5*s.* 10*d.* in Heghtredebury. The Hornchurch fleeces are at 4*s.* and 3*s.* the dozen. Woolfells sell at 1*s.* 6*d.* the dozen at Hornchurch, 2*s.* 6*d.* at Stert, 4*s.* at Weedon and Alton, the difference being due to the condition of the fleece. The price is a little above the schedule rate.

1402. Wool is rising in price. It is over 8*s.* 4*d.* the tod at Alton Barnes, and exactly 8*s.* 4*d.* at Stert and Weedon. At Bernewell, which appears to be in Northants, it is 9*s.* 4*d.*, at Warburton, in Sussex, 11*s.* 4*d.* Two entries from Kington, a place in Wilts, give an average of 9*s.* 1*d.* Lambs' wool is unchanged at Alton Barnes,

4*s.* 8*d.*, but is 5*s.* 10*d.* at Stert. Fleeces are sold at Horncastle and Ellsworth at from 5*s.* to 4*s.* the dozen; woolfells at 6*s.*, 4*s.* 6*d.*, 3*s.*, and 2*s.* 6*d.* Lambfells are 6*d.* the dozen.

1403. Wool is still rising. It is 8*s.* 10½*d.* at Alton Barnes and Stert, 9*s.* at Weedon. Lambs' wool is 5*s.* 8*d.* at Alton, and 5*s.* 10*d.* at Stert. Fleeces at Hornchurch, taking a halfpenny for the lamb fleeces, are at 4*s.* 9*d.* the dozen clips; woolfells range from 4*s.* 6*d.* the dozen to 2*s.* At Alton Barnes all the woolfells are sold at 4*s.* the dozen.

1404. The price of wool slightly increases at Alton Barnes, where it is 9*s.*, but is unchanged at Stert, and a little less, 8*s.* 8*d.*, at Weedon. Lambs' wool is found at Stert only, and at the previous year's prices. The Hornchurch fleeces are much lower, at about 3*s.* 9*d.* the dozen. Woolfells are lower, ranging from 4*s.* to 3*s.* and 2*s.* the dozen.

1405. The Alton Barnes account for this year is lost. The price of wool at Stert and Weedon is quite unchanged. Lambs' wool at Stert is much dearer, being sold at 7*s.* the tod. The Hornchurch fleeces are much dearer, 5*s.* 6*d.* the dozen. But woolfells are cheaper, from 3*s.* to 2*s.* the dozen. Lamb-skins are dearer, at 1*s.* the dozen.

1406. The price of wool rises considerably. At Alton Barnes it is 9*s.* 9*d.*, at Stert 9*s.* 1*d.*, at Weedon 9*s.* 4*d.* Lambs' wool is 7*s.* at the first two places. The Hornchurch fleeces seem to fetch about 5*s.* 4*d.* the dozen clips; those of Froyle, in Hampshire, 4*s.* Woolfells range from 4*s.* 6*d.* the dozen to 2*s.*; those of Alton are at 4*s.*

1407. There is a further rise in prices. Wool is 10*s.* 6*d.* at Alton Barnes, 10*s.* 8*d.* at Stert, 11*s.* at Weedon. Lambs' wool is 8*s.* 2*d.* at Stert, 7*s.* 5*d.* at Alton Barnes, and 7*s.* at Hegtredbury. Fleeces are 5*s.* the dozen clips at Hornchurch, 4*s.* at Froyle. The price of woolfells ranges from 4*s.* to 3*s.* 6*d.* the dozen.

1408. Wool falls in price. It is 9*s.* 9½*d.* at Alton, 8*s.* 10½*d.* at Stert, and 9*s.* 4*d.* at Weedon. Lambs' wool is sold at 7*s.* by the Stert bailiff, and at 8*s.* at Alton Barnes. The Hornchurch bailiff gets 5*s.* for his sheep, and 1*s.* 9*d.* for his lamb-clips. Woolfells are dearer, from 4*s.* 9*d.* to 4*s.* 6*d.* and 3*s.* the dozen.

1409. Wool is cheaper at Alton Barnes, 9*s.* 4*d.*, the same price at Stert, but as dear as in 1407 at Weedon, being 11*s.* At Multon Hall, in Norfolk, it is at 8*s.* 2½*d.*, for here the *petra* certainly means 14 lbs. Lambs' wool is 7*s.* at Alton and Stert. The Hornchurch fleeces are a little lower, for sheep 4*s.* 6*d.*, and for lamb clips 1*s.* 6*d.* The Multon Hall clips are few, five being sold at 4*d.*, another at 7*d.*,

another at 6*d.* Woolfells range from 4*s.* 6*d.* to 3*s.* the dozen, the latter as usual being the skins of ewes and hoggs.

1410. Wool is a little dearer at Alton Barnes and Stert, being 9*s.* 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.* It is cheaper at Weedon, 9*s.* 4*d.* At Bromham it is 8*s.* 10*d.*, some broken wool being also sold here at 6*s.* 6*d.* Lambs' wool is 5*s.* 10*d.* at Alton and Stert, 4*s.* 8*d.* at Bromham. The Hornchurch sheep and lamb clips are sold at 5*s.* and 1*s.* 6*d.* the dozen. Woolfells range from 4*s.* 6*d.* to 4*s.* for wethers, to 3*s.* for ewes and hoggs, and 6*d.* for lambs.

1411. Wool has fallen to 8*s.* 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.* at Alton, to 8*s.* 10 $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.* at Stert, and to 8*s.* at Weedon. Lambs' wool is 5*s.* at Alton, and 5*s.* 10*d.* at Stert. The Hornchurch fleeces are sold, a few at 5*s.* 6*d.*, and a large quantity at 4*s.* 6*d.*; lamb-fleeces remaining as before. Those of Wye go for about 3*s.* 8*d.* Woolfells range from 4*s.* to 3*s.* and 2*s.* the dozen. Lambfells are at 6*d.*

1412. Wool is a little higher again. It is 8*s.* 10 $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.* at both Alton Barnes and Stert, 9*s.* 9*d.* at Weedon. Three entries at Bromham give 9*s.* 4*d.*, 8*s.*, and 5*s.* 10*d.*, the last being probably lambs' wool, as the quantity is small, and this is the price of lambs' wool at Alton and Stert. A considerable entry from Coldingham, a place which I cannot identify under this name, gives a sale at 13*s.* 8*d.* the stone. Here the petra must be the tod, though with this explanation the price is exceedingly high. Fleeces are sold at Hornchurch and Takly at 4*s.* 6*d.*, at Farly at 3*s.* 2*d.*, which seems to imply that the Wilts fleece was good but light. We are told that in the first place they were reckoned at twenty-one to the score, probably a temporary bargain. Lamb fleeces are at 1*s.* Woolfells range through 4*s.*, 3*s.* 9*d.*, and 3*s.* the dozen. Lambfells are at 6*d.*

1413. Prices are unchanged at Alton, are a little lower at Stert, 8*s.* 8*d.*, and a good deal lower at Weedon, 8*s.* 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.* But at Bromham the tod is 9*s.* 6*d.* Lambs' wool is 5*s.* at Alton, 5*s.* 10*d.* at Bromham, and 4*s.* 8*d.* at Stert. The Hornchurch fleeces are at 4*s.* and 2*s.* 6*d.*, the quality having apparently fallen off. Lamb clips are at 1*s.* Woolfells range from 4*s.* to 3*s.*, 2*s.* 9*d.*, and 2*s.* the dozen. A small quantity of wool is sold at Stert at 9*s.* 4*d.*

1414. There are no sales of sheep's wool at Alton and Stert this year. Prices were plainly falling, and perhaps the College bursar had the stock removed to some market of his own choosing, in hopes of a better price. But at Bromham, which belonged to Battle Abbey, wool is sold at 8*s.* 10 $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.*, and at Weedon at 8*s.* 8*d.* The Alton Barnes bailiff sells his lambs' wool at 5*s.* The Stert official makes a

better bargain at 5*s.* 4*d.* The fleeces at Hornchurch and Froyle are sold at 4*s.* the dozen. Woolfells range from 4*s.* to 3*s.* 6*d.*, 3*s.*, and 2*s.* Lambfells are at 6*d.* the dozen.

1415. The price of wool is lower: 8*s.* 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.* at Alton, 8*s.* at Stert, 7*s.* 4*d.* at Weedon and Bromham. At Codynton, which I have placed doubtfully in Notts, the price is 7*s.* 8*d.* Lambs' wool was sold at 5*s.* 4*d.* in Alton, and at 4*s.* 8*d.* in Stert. The Hornchurch fleeces seem to have been sold cheaply at about 3*s.* 4*d.* the dozen. Woolfells range from 4*s.* for wethers to 3*s.* for rams, ewes, and hoggs. A few at Bromham sell at 2*s.* 6*d.* the dozen.

1416. The price of wool is still falling. It is at 8*s.* at Alton Barnes, 7*s.* 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.* at Stert, and 6*s.* 8*d.* at Weedon. The price of lambs' wool is 4*s.* 8*d.* at Alton and Stert. The Hornchurch fleeces are at 3*s.*, those of Froyle at 4*s.* the dozen. Woolfells range from 4*s.* the dozen to 3*s.* and 2*s.* A small quantity of wool is sold at Stert at 7*s.* the tod.

1417. Wool has fallen to a very low price. It is 6*s.* 8*d.* at Alton Barnes, and 6*s.* 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.* at Bromham. No sale is made at Stert, the bailiff, as is plain from next year's sale, having reserved his clip for a better market. The Weedon price is 6*s.* 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.* Lambs' wool at Alton is unchanged. The Hornchurch fleeces are sold at 4*s.* Woolfells range from 4*s.* to 3*s.* and 2*s.* It seems that prices fell owing to an abundant supply.

1418. The price of wool is unchanged. That at Alton is the same as in the previous year. The Stert yield is sold at exactly the same price as that at Alton, and that at Weedon is 6*s.* 6*d.* A small quantity is sold at Bromham at 7*s.* Lambs' wool is sold at Stert only, and in three small lots, at 4*s.* 1*d.*, 5*s.* 10*d.*, and at 4*s.* 8*d.* respectively. The Hornchurch fleeces are also cheap, 3*s.* the dozen. Woolfells, as usual, are at 4*s.* and 3*s.*

1419. There are no sales at Alton Barnes this year of sheep's wool. The sale at Stert is small, and at the price of the year before. Some wool is sold at Fenny Sutton at 5*s.* 10*d.* Weedon is wanting for this year. Lambs' wool is sold at Alton at 4*s.* 1*d.*, and at Stert at 3*s.* 6*d.* The Hornchurch fleeces are sold at 2*s.* 4*d.* the dozen. Woolfells are unchanged at 4*s.* and 3*s.*

1420. Wool prices rise. At Alton and Stert the tod is sold at 8*s.* Lambs' wool is cheap, 3*s.* 6*d.* at Alton, but at 5*s.* 10*d.* at Stert. The only fleeces are those from Froyle, at 3*s.* the dozen. Woolfells are again unchanged at 4*s.*, and 3*s.* for wethers and hoggs.

1421. The price is falling again at Alton and Stert, where it is at

6*s.* 1¼*d.* At Weedon it is at 6*s.* 9*d.* At Hornchurch, where the petra is plainly a clove, it is 6*s.* But there is in the same year a large entry from the Cotswold district at 13*s.* 1*d.*, the broken wool from the same region selling for 4*s.* 8*d.* This, I am persuaded, is an upset price, obtained under favourable terms, and probably registered in the shepherd's account as a personal triumph and proof of his skill. Still, as was stated before, it does not materially differ from the scheduled price of Cotswold wool. The fleeces this year seem to have been very heavy and very cheap. At Bromham they are about 2*s.* 10*d.* the dozen. At Hornchurch they appear to weigh 1 lb. 11 oz. avoirdupois, an amount which is not exceptional, but high. Lambs' fleeces are at 6*d.* the dozen. Woolfells are at the usual prices, from 4*s.* 6*d.* the dozen to 3*s.* Lambs' wool is at 3*s.* 6*d.* on the Stert estate, and at exactly the same rate in Alton.

1422. Wool has become cheaper again, being in Alton Barnes and Stert at the same price at which it stood in 1417-18, 6*s.* 8*d.* This is also the price at Weedon. An entry from Cherdstocke, i. e. Chardstock in Dorset, gives 7 petrae at 6*s.* 8*d.*, and one other at 6*s.* Four pounds sold at the rate of 6*s.* 8*d.* the tod prove that here we have a petra, which is the tod. Lambs' wool is worth 3*s.* 6*d.* at Alton, Stert, and Chardstock. The fleeces at Apuldrum are at about 2*s.* 7½*d.* the dozen, those from Bromham at a little less than 3*s.* 8*d.* Woolfells range from 4*s.* to 3*s.* 6*d.*, 3*s.*, and 2*s.* the dozen.

1423. Wool is a little dearer. It stands at 7*s.* 8*d.* the tod in Alton Barnes and Stert, and at 8*s.* in Weedon. There are entries at Ormesby of a large wool sale at 1*s.* 10*d.* the petra, which must be the clove here, and implies a tod of 7*s.* 4*d.* Lambs' wool is at 4*s.* 8*d.* in Alton and Stert, and at 5*s.* 4*d.* in Ormesby. There is no entry of fleeces. Woolfells range from 4*s.* to 3*s.*

1424. The price is considerably higher. The Alton and Stert sales are at 8*s.* 8*d.*, those of Weedon at 7*s.* A large sale is made from Bicester Abbey at 9*s.* 6*d.*, which is designated as 'pure,' probably picked. Lambs' wool is 7*s.* at Alton, 5*s.* 10*d.* at Stert. The only place in which fleeces are found is Apuldrum, where they are a fraction over 3*s.* the dozen. Woolfells vary from 4*s.* the dozen to 3*s.* 6½*d.*, 3*s.*, and 2*s.* 6*d.* Lambfells are at 6*d.*

1425. The price falls again considerably. Wool at Alton Barnes is at 7*s.* 4*d.*, at Stert it is down to 6*s.* 8*d.*, which is also the price at Weedon. Lambs' wool is 4*s.* 8*d.* at Alton, 4*s.* 5½*d.* at Stert. The Apuldrum fleeces are at 2*s.* 8*d.* the dozen. Woolfells range from 4*s.* 6*d.* to 4*s.* and 3*s.* the dozen.

1426. No sheep's wool is sold this year at Alton or Stert. But it seems clear that one of the entries in the bailiff's account of the former place is either a deferred item, or a late sale. If we take the earlier, it is at a rate of 7*s.* 1½*d.*, if the latter at 6*s.* 8*d.* The Weedon rate is 6*s.* 8*d.* Lambs' wool is sold at Alton at 4*s.* 1*d.*, and this seems to suggest that the lower price should be taken. There are three large entries of fleeces. That at Hornchurch is 3*s.* 6*d.* the dozen. That at Foulness is a fraction over 4*s.* The woolfells at Coleshull are at a little less than 3*s.* 6*d.* In other places they are at 4*s.* and 3*s.* the dozen.

1427. I have already referred to the Alton Barnes sale of this year. That of Weedon is 6*s.* But there is a small sale at Alton at 7*s.* 7*d.* A large quantity is also sold from Heylisdon, a place which I have doubtfully assigned to Yorkshire. Here the *petra*, as we learn under 1445, is 8 lbs. The interpretation of these quantities, 313 '*petræ*' by the 8 lb. measure, gives for the three qualities exactly 7*s.*, 6*s.* 8*d.*, and 5*s.* 4*d.* Lambs' wool is sold at Alton and Stert at 3*s.* 6*d.* the tod. The Hornchurch fleeces are at 3*s.* 6*d.* the dozen. Woolfells are unchanged at 4*s.* to 3*s.*, the latter as usual being rams', ewes', and hoggs' fells.

1428. The Alton Barnes wool is sold at a great deal higher price, 8*s.* 5½*d.* That of Stert is, at the date of 1425, the last year in which this place supplies a wool price, 6*s.* 8*d.* These are the only sales by weight, except that of lambs' wool at Alton, which is at 4*s.* 8*d.* A few fleeces are sold at Hornchurch at 3*s.* the dozen. Woolfells are at 4*s.*, 3*s.*, and 2*s.* A very large sale of these articles at Coleshull is at a small fraction above 3*s.* The lamb-skins at this latter place are sold at so low a rate, that they suggest a very low quality.

1429. Alton Barnes alone supplies a wool price; it is at 8*s.* 8*d.* the tod. Lambs' wool from the same place is at 4*s.* 9*d.* The Hornchurch fleeces are at 3*s.* the dozen. Woolfells are at 4*s.* and 3*s.*

1430. The Alton Barnes wool is the only entry whose weight and price are given. It is at 7*s.* 8*d.* Lambs' wool, from the same place, is at 4*s.* 1*d.* At Apuldrum a price of fleeces is given, but sheep and lamb are mixed. The rate is apparently 2*s.* 6*d.* the dozen, the ordinary price of a Sussex fleece. Woolfells are at the ordinary rates, from 4*s.* to 3*s.* the dozen.

1431. The Alton Barnes tod is at 7*s.* 9½*d.*, and the lambs' wool at 5*s.* 3*d.* This is the only entry by weight. I cannot venture on disintegrating the price of fleeces at Apuldrum. On any ordinary interpretation the price would be high. Some woolfells from Coles-

hull are sold at 6*s.* the dozen. But the rest are, as usual, at 4*s.* and 3*s.* for wethers, ewes, and rams, 6*d.* for lambs, the dozen.

1432. The price at Alton Barnes this year, the last in which this estate supplies an entry by weight, is 8*s.* Lambs' wool at the same place is 5*s.* 10*d.* The abbey of Bicester gives an entry of several tod at 8*s.* 10*d.* There is an entry from Heveningland of 109 petrae at 2*s.* 10*d.*, and we are told that the fleeces were 740. Here it seems from the evidence of other places in Norfolk, that the stone was 14 lbs., and the rate to be 5*s.* 8*d.* the tod. Suffolk wool is one of the lowest priced in the schedule of 1454. There is also an entry from Jarrow at 2*s.* 4*d.* the stone. I am constrained to believe that this is also at 14 lbs. the stone, and that the tod is therefore 4*s.* 8*d.* It is probable that northern wool bore a very low price, lower indeed than most of those in the schedule. But the Heveningland fleece is a little over 2 lbs. in weight, and over 5*s.* the dozen. Those of Apuldrum appear to be worth only about 1*s.* 6*d.* Woolfells of all kinds are at 3*s.*

1433. The only price by weight which I have found is that at Jarrow. This, on the average reckoning, is at 4*s.* 10*d.* the tod, and implies a slightly raised general price. The Heveningland fleeces are at 4*s.* 5½*d.* the dozen. The woolfells of Coleshull are at 3*s.* 10½*d.* Those of Alton Barnes, a few residuary sales, at 3*s.*

1434. There are two entries by weight. Heveningland is at 6*s.*, Jarrow at 4*s.* 8*d.* Fleeces from Caldecotes are at 4*s.*, from Ormesby at 2*s.* the dozen. The former fleeces are sold in two lots, and are probably two years' stock.

1435. In this year Caldecotes wool is weighted at 5*s.* 2*d.* the tod. Jarrow again at 4*s.* 8*d.* If my estimate be right it makes the former worth in fleeces 3*s.* 6*d.* a dozen.

1436. The price of wool, to judge from Chitterne Milbourn in Wilts, is high in the best districts. Here it is at 10*s.* 10¾*d.* the tod. At Heveningland it is at 6*s.*, in Jarrow at 4*s.* The fleece at Apuldrum is at 2*s.* 7*d.* the dozen, at Caldecotes at 5*s.*, at Spote 3*s.* 7¾*d.* Lamb fleeces at Caldecotes are at 1*s.* 2¾*d.* Woolfells are 4*s.* and 2*s.* 6*d.* at Coleshull, 3*s.* at Waltham, and 2*s.* 10*d.* at Chitterne.

1437. Wool at Heveningland is at 4*s.* 8*d.*, at Jarrow 4*s.* Fleeces at Spote are worth 3*s.* 2½*d.* the dozen. Woolfells are at 3*s.* The year must have been cheap.

1438. The Jarrow price is unchanged. Fleeces at Caldecotes are at 4*s.* Woolfells at Coleshull are 3*s.* 6*d.* the dozen.

1439. Prices are higher. There is a considerable sale at Bicester

at 8*s.* 10*d.* the tod, the rate of Oxfordshire wool in the schedule being 7*s.* 10*d.* Two entries from the county of Durham are at 5*s.* 9*d.* and 4*s.* 8*d.* Lambs' wool at Apuldrum is at 4*s.* 8*d.* The Apuldrum fleeces are at 3*s.* 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.* The Coleshull woolfells at 5*s.* 6*d.*, and those of Bicester at 1*s.* 8*d.*; the latter were probably shearlings.

1440. There is a large sale of wool at Canons Ashby, in Northants; the rate is 7*s.* 10 $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.* The Jarrow price is 5*s.* 4*d.* The Sutton-at-Hone (Kent) price is too low for a common stone. Under the year 1448 I find that the stone of this place, perhaps for Kent generally, was 8 lbs. The rate therefore by the tod was 5*s.* 10*d.* The Apuldrum fleeces are at 2*s.* 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.* the dozen, lamb fleeces at 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.* The Coleshull woolfells are at 3*s.* Prices are lower.

1441. Prices appear to be higher. The Jarrow tod is at 6*s.*, that of Sutton-at-Hone is 5*s.* 10*d.* The Sion fleeces, this place appearing for the first time, are at 4*s.* the dozen. Woolfells at Coleshull are at 4*s.*, at Sutton 2*s.* The Sion entries give the three rates of these articles at 3*s.*, 4*s.*, and 1*s.* 8*d.*, the prices varying according to the distance from shearing at the time when the sheep was killed.

1442. The Durham rate indicates that prices are a little lower, 5*s.* 7*d.* There is a new source of information from Spitling in Norfolk (?). Here we find refuse wool priced at 6*s.*, the quantity of fleeces being given at 24*s.* 3*d.* the hundred. But as the best wool is at 43*s.* the hundred, it follows that such wool must have been at 10*s.* 7*d.* the tod. The Apuldrum fleeces are at 2*s.* 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.* the dozen, lamb at 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.* Those of Spitling are at 4*s.* 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.* The Sion woolfells are at 4*s.*, 3*s.*, 1*s.* 10*d.*, and 1*s.* 8*d.*

1443. Apuldrum sheep's wool is at 5*s.* 10*d.*, lambs' wool at 4*s.*; Ormsby at 6*s.* and 5*s.* The Spitling refuse is at 6*s.*, and by the process employed above the best is 10*s.* 2*d.* The Daventry entry is difficult, the question being whether the lapis is a stone or a clove. Looking at the Ormsby entry, I incline to the former, and thereupon set it at 8*s.* the tod, especially as the place is in Northants, where the schedule valuation is high. The Spitling fleeces are about 4*s.* the dozen. The Sion woolfells are at 4*s.* and 1*s.* 10*d.* Those of Writtle are exceedingly high; the best are 7*s.* Those from Michaelmas to Lent are 4*s.* 8*d.*, while the shearlings are 2*s.* 10*d.*

1444. The price of wool is declining, and entering on a period of depression, as is manifest even from the scanty and difficult material with which I am dealing. I am persuaded however that the cause is plenty, and that the general geniality of the seasons was felt in the sheep-master's craft, as well as in that of the common farmer. The

price of wool is now generally and continuously declining. The Apuldrum tod is at 5*s.* 4*d.*, lambs' wool at 4*s.* The Spitling entry does not distinguish good from refuse, but putting fleeces at 40*s.* the hundred, sells at 3*s.* and 2*s.* 8*d.* the stone, while locks, the poorest produce, are sold at 1*s.* 6*d.* The price of this wool I conclude was 6*s.* the tod, and even 5*s.* 4*d.* The Spitling fleece is about 3*s.* 11*d.* the dozen. Woolfells vary from 5*s.* the dozen to 4*s.* or 3*s.*

1445. The price of wool is lower. The Apuldrum tod is at 4*s.* 8*d.*, lambs' wool at 3*s.* 8*d.* The Finchale tod is at 5*s.* 8*d.* That of Hemingford, in Hunts, at 6*s.* That of Heylison is at 7*s.* The Spitling tod is at 5*s.* 8*d.* and 5*s.*; the lambs' wool from this place being almost without a price, for it is sold at from 10*d.* to 8*d.* the stone. The Apuldrum fleece weighs only 14.1 oz.; the Spitling fleece 1 lb. 2.8 oz. Woolfells vary from 3*s.* 6*d.* to 3*s.*, 1*s.* 3*d.*, and 1*s.* the dozen.

1446. I have found only two prices of wool. That of Apuldrum is, as before, at 4*s.* 8*d.*; that of Spitling at 5*s.* 4*d.* The Apuldrum fleece weighs 12.54 oz. Lambs' wool at Apuldrum is at 3*s.* 4*d.* Fleeces at Spitling are from 4*s.* to 3*s.* the dozen, at Waltham 3*s.* Woolfells at Coleshull are from 4*s.* to 2*s.* 6*d.*; at Sion a considerable number are sold at 2*s.* 6*d.*

1447. The price is still lower. Apuldrum wool is at 4*s.* 4*d.*; lambs' wool at the same place selling for 2*s.* 8*d.* The Finchale wool goes at 4*s.* 9*d.* A large quantity is sold at Spitling at 3*s.* 8*d.*, and another large quantity at 5*s.* Many fleeces are sold at Spitling at 3*s.* the dozen, viz. 3800, while a few (200) go at 2*s.* 6*d.* A note in the account informs us that each petra contained 18½ fleeces, which makes the fleece a little over 12 oz. The Coleshull woolfells, probably of low quality, go for 2*s.* 10*d.* the dozen.

1448. The evidence is more copious. Prices are scarcely changed. The Apuldrum tod is 4*s.* 8*d.* Lambs' wool is at 2*s.* 8*d.* Six stone are sold of black wool at Finchale at 5*s.* the tod. A large amount is sold from Sion at 4*s.* Three sales are made at Selborne, in Hants, for 6*s.*, 6*s.* 8*d.*, and 6*s.* 8*d.*, and some black wool also at 6*s.* 8*d.*, and a quantity from Sutton-at-Hone (Kent) at 6*s.* 2*d.* A little lambs' wool is sold at Selborne at 3*s.* 8*d.* The Apuldrum fleeces weigh 14.1 oz. The Coleshull woolfells sell at 2*s.* 8¾*d.* and 2*s.* 5*d.* Others at Sutton at 2*s.*

1449. Prices are still lower. The Finchale tod is at 4*s.* 663 stone at Spitling are at the same price, 4*s.* the tod. The Sutton sale is at 3*s.* 6¼*d.* The Wearmouth petra, almost certainly the clove, is at

10*d.*, which gives 3*s.* 4*d.* the tod. The Spitting fleeces are of very various weight. The Coleshull woolfells are at 2*s.* 8½*d.* the dozen. Those of Sion are from 4*s.* to 3*s.*, 2*s.*, and 1*s.* 10*d.*; lamb-skins, 1*s.* Some woolfells are sold from Sutton at 2*s.*

1450. A new weight called 'wyghte' is found at Brixton Deverell, in Wilts. This is undoubtedly the local pond of other places in the same county. This gives 5*s.* 10½*d.* the tod. The Finchale petra gives a tod of 3*s.* 8*d.* The Wearmouth stone is 1*s.* 4½*d.*, which, if it means a clove, is 5*s.* 6*d.* The Sion woolfells are from 4*s.* to 2*s.* 6*d.* and 2*s.*; lamb-skins 1*s.* the dozen.

1451. The Apuldrum tod is at 3*s.* 4*d.*, and remains at this price till 1457. The tod of lambs' wool from the same place is only 2*s.* The Bicester tod, a considerable sale being made here, is at 7*s.*, a little less than the Oxfordshire estimate in the schedule. 52 clove are sold at Selborne at 5*s.* the tod; and one at 6*s.* Here lambs' wool is at 3*s.* 4*d.* At Wiveliscombe some broken wool is sold at a low price, and some lambs' wool at 3*s.* 6*d.* The Apuldrum fleece weighs 13.9 oz.; the lamb fleece 3.54 oz.; the Wiveliscombe nearly 6 oz. There are some sales of woolfells, but they are unimportant.

1452. The Apuldrum tod of sheep's wool is 3*s.* 4*d.*, of lambs' wool 2*s.* That of Spitting is 4*s.*; that of Jarrow and Wearmouth, where the petra seems now to be the legal weight, 3*s.* 4*d.* A few woolfells are sold at Alton Barnes at 2*s.* The Sion skins are at 4*s.*, 3*s.*, 2*s.*, and 1*s.* 10*d.* the dozen. The Apuldrum fleece weighs 13.4 oz.; the lamb fleece 4.28 oz.

1453. The Apuldrum tod, sheep and lamb, is unchanged. There is an entry from Hodynton, which appears to be Heddington in Wilts. Fortunately the entry gives the number of fleeces to the 'petra.' To take it at 14 lbs. would make the fleece impossibly light. The weight is no doubt the local pond, and the price by the tod will be 6*s.* 8*d.* A large sale is made at Sion at 5*s.* 2*d.* the tod, and 692 fleeces are sold at 2*s.* 6*d.* the dozen. The Hodynton fleece is a little in excess of 10 oz. Woolfells are sold at Coleshull at 3*s.* the dozen; in Sion at 3*s.*, 2*s.*, 1*s.* 6*d.*, and 10*d.* Lamb-skins at 1*s.* The Apuldrum fleece is 14 oz.; the lamb-fleece nearly 5.18 oz.

1454. The Apuldrum sheep's wool is still at 3*s.* 4*d.*; lambs' wool at 2*s.* 4*d.* The Jarrow tod is at 3*s.* 4*d.* also. Woolfells at Coleshull are at 3*s.* 6*d.* the dozen. At Cambridge sheep-skins are sold at 1*s.* 8*d.*; lamb at 1*s.* 160 fleeces are sold at Beddington (Surrey) at 2*s.* 6*d.* the dozen. If we take the fleece to weigh at an average 2

little less than 14 oz., such a value would give 4*s.* 8*d.* the tod, a little in excess of the price named for Surrey wool in the schedule.

1455. Apuldrum and Jarrow wool are unchanged. The Coleshull woollfells are at 2*s.* the dozen. The Apuldrum fleece weighs 15.56 oz.; the lamb-fleece a little over 4 oz.

1456. Wool is sold at Bicester at 6*s.* 2*d.* the tod; in Jarrow at 4*s.* The Coleshull woollfells are at 3*s.*; Cambridge skins at 2*s.* 8*d.*, 1*s.* 10*d.*, and 1*s.* Lamb-skins are at 1*s.* the dozen. The Apuldrum wool was not sold.

1457. The old wool at Apuldrum is sold at the old price, 3*s.* 4*d.*; lamb at 2*s.* The fleece weighs a small fraction over 14 oz.; the lambs' wool a little over 7.8 oz. The Finchale tod is at the same price. Fountains Abbey sells its best wool at 4*s.* 5*d.* the tod, its next quality at 4*s.*, and its black at 1*s.* 10*d.* Locks from the same place go at 1*s.* 6½*d.* Jarrow sells its wool at 3*s.* 8*d.* Netley Abbey, in Hants, makes large sales, 42 tod at 5*s.* 1½*d.*, 32 tod at 5*s.*, and 20 at 5*s.* 6*d.* Coleshull sells woollfells at 3*s.* the dozen; Cambridge at 3*s.* 4*d.*, 2*s.* 8*d.*, and 1*s.* 10*d.* Lamb-skins are at 1*s.*

1458. The Apuldrum tod is at 4*s.* Lambs' wool at 2*s.* 4*d.* Finchale at 3*s.* 4*d.* Jarrow at 4*s.* Fountains Abbey best wool is at 6*s.* 1½*d.*; middling at 3*s.* 4*d.*; black at 3*s.* 2½*d.*; grey at 3*s.* 9*d.*; locks at 1*s.* 8*d.*; refuse at 2*s.* 2*d.* Ormesby wool is at 4*s.*, the scheduled price of Suffolk wool, this place being in Norfolk. Fleeces at Cambridge are at 3*s.*; sheep-skins at 3*s.* 4*d.* and 1*s.* 10*d.*; lamb at 1*s.* Coleshull woollfells are at 2*s.* 2½*d.* the dozen.

1459. The Apuldrum tod is at 4*s.* Lambs' wool at 2*s.* 8*d.* At Castre and Finchale the tod is at 3*s.* 4*d.* The Sion skins are at 3*s.*, 2*s.* 2½*d.*, and 2*s.* Lamb-skins are at 1*s.* The Apuldrum fleece is a little over 13 oz.; the lamb-fleece a little over 10 oz.

1460. The Finchale fleece is at 3*s.* 4*d.*; the Jarrow at 3*s.* 8*d.* A considerable sale is made by Sion Abbey at 7*s.* Skins are sold at 3*s.*, 2*s.*, 1*s.* 10*d.*, and 1*s.* 6*d.* the dozen. Lamb-fleeces are at 1*s.* The Sion fleece weighs nearly 2 lbs. 11 oz.

1461. There is very little information. The Finchale tod is at 4*s.*, and 25 lamb-fleeces are sold at Apuldrum at 2*s.* the dozen.

1462. The Finchale tod is at the same price. Wool is sold at 6*s.* the tod at Roydon (Norfolk), and lambs' wool at 5*s.*

1463. There is a very decided rise. Apuldrum wool is at 6*s.* 8*d.*; lambs' wool at 5*s.* Bromham is at 8*s.*; lambs' wool at 5*s.* 10*d.* Finchale is at 4*s.* 8*d.* Wye at 8*s.* 8*d.* The Apuldrum fleece weighs 16 oz.; the lambs' fleece 7 oz. The Wye fleeces weigh 13 oz.

There is a large sale of fleeces at Writtle at 3*s.* the dozen, and of skins from 6*s.* and 5*s.* 6*d.* to 3*s.* 4*d.* and 2*s.* 6*d.*

1464. The rise is maintained. Finchale wool is at 4*s.* 8*d.*; Jarrow at 5*s.* the tod. If the Wye fleeces are the same weight as in the previous year, the tod was worth 9*s.* 6*d.* here. As fleeces they are at 3*s.* 2½*d.* the dozen. In the previous year they were worth 3*s.* 1½*d.* the dozen.

1465. Only one entry is given, from Jarrow at 4*s.* 10*d.*

1466. Finchale wool is at 4*s.* 8*d.*; Jarrow at 5*s.* A small entry of lambs' wool at Wye gives 2*s.* 4*d.*, a very low price. Fleeces are sold at the latter place at 3*s.* 7*d.* and 3*s.* 9½*d.* the dozen. Lamb-fleeces are reckoned at 9·8 oz. Woolfells are at 5*s.* the dozen at Coleshull, and Cambridge skins are from 8*s.* to 7*s.*, 3*s.*, and 2*s.* 8*d.* the dozen, according to the goodness of the fleece. The year is certainly a dear one; and if the Wye fleeces reached a pound, or nearly a pound, in weight, the tod would be from 10*s.* to 11*s.*

1467. Two entries of wool from Cambridge give the tod at 4*s.* 10*d.* and 5*s.* 1½*d.* The Finchale wool is at 4*s.* 8*d.* Hungerford and Kingstone Lacy, the former in Berks and Wilts, give a tod of 6*s.* 8*d.* Stoke are of 9*s.* Cambridge woolfells are from 7*s.* to 4*s.* and 3*s.* the dozen. Lamb-skins at 1*s.*

1468. The Cambridge tod is 4*s.*; the Finchale 4*s.* 8*d.* Heytesbury, in Wilts, makes a large sale at 4*s.* 7½*d.* the tod. Prices are low. The Cambridge woolfells range from 5*s.* to 3*s.*, 3*s.* 4*d.*, and 2*s.* 3*d.* the dozen.

1469. The Cambridge tod is 6*s.*; the Finchale is 4*s.*; the Jarrow 3*s.* 4*d.* The woolfells at the first-named place are at 6*s.* (a very few) to 2*s.* 8*d.* and 2*s.* the dozen.

1470. Finchale and Jarrow are each at 4*s.*

1471. Finchale is at 4*s.*; Jarrow at 4*s.* 6½*d.*

1472. Finchale is at 4*s.*; Jarrow at 5*s.* A large sale is made at Waddon (Bucks) at 6*s.* 8*d.*, where lambs' wool is sold at 4*s.* 6*d.* The Cambridge woolfells are at 4*s.* to 2*s.* 4*d.* the dozen; lamb fells at 1*s.* 9*d.* At Norwich they are at 2*s.* 8*d.*

1473. Finchale is at 4*s.*, Jarrow at 5*s.* A sale at Warwick is made at 6*s.* 8*d.* Woolfells and sheep-skins range at Cambridge from 5*s.* to 4*s.* 6*d.*, 4*s.*, 2*s.* 8*d.*, and 2*s.* 4*d.* Lamb-skins are at 1*s.* 1*d.* Prices are apparently unchanged.

1474. The information is slight. The Finchale tod is at 4*s.*, and some woolfells are sold at Coleshull at 3*s.* 8½*d.* the dozen.

1475. Finchale wool is still at 4*s.*, and Jarrow at the same price. A tod is sold at Quainton (Bucks) at the high price of 13*s.* 4*d.*

1476. Finchale wool is unchanged. A considerable sale is again made from Quainton at 13s. 4d. Woolfells are sold at Cambridge from 4s. 8½d. to 3s. 11d. the dozen, and at Osney from 4s. to 3s.

1477. Wool is sold at Cheddar at 10s. 8d. the tod, but is unchanged at Finchale. Woolfells at Coleshull sell at 3s. 5½d. the dozen.

1478. The wool at Finchale is unchanged. Woolfells sell at Cambridge at 3s. Sheep-skins at from 4s. 8d. to 3s. 8d. and 2s. 2½d. the dozen. My accounts are in many cases meagre, but they are unbroken hitherto. I have found no price for 1479.

1480. Finchale supplies the only entry at 3s. 8d. Prices are lower.

1481. Again Finchale is the only evidence, where the price is 4s. 4d. At Thornewton, probably in Yorkshire, some woolfells are sold at 3s. the dozen, and some others at 2s. 3½d.

1482. Finchale wool is higher, 5s. the tod. A large sale of Lord Howard's wool is given in packs, bundles, and pounds; the tod is at 11s. 8d., if we are to take the pound as the ordinary avoirdupois. On consideration, this seems to me to be the true interpretation.

1483. The Finchale wool is at 5s. 2d. Fleeces at Oxford go from 4s. to 2s. 8d. and 2s. If the best fleece here weighed a pound, this will give 9s. 4d. the tod for Oxford wool, a probable estimate.

1484. The Finchale entry is at 5s. 4d., and in 1485 at 5s., at which figure it stands in 1486; that of Wearmouth in 1487 being 4s. A little broken wool at Coleshull goes, in 1486, at 4s. 1d. the tod, and according to analogy good wool would be about 9s.

1488. The Finchale entry is 4s. 4d. A considerable sale at Fotheringay gives 2s. 4d. the petra. Fotheringay is in Northants. 4s. 8d. the tod is very low for this district, and I think that the petra is a clove here, and the price should be 9s. 4d. Wearmouth wool is very cheap, if the petra be of 14 lbs., only 2s. 8d. The woolfells of Fotheringay are at 3s. 5½d. the dozen. Those of Cambridge range from 6s. (a few) to sheep-skins at 4s., 2s. 4d., and 2s.

1489. The Finchale tod is 5s., the Jarrow 4s. 6½d. Some woolfells at Cambridge are sold at 7s. 3¼d. the dozen. The sheep-skins, as before, are at 4s. and 2s.

1490. Finchale and Wearmouth are at 4s. and 3s.

1491. A large sale of wool at Norwich gives 4s. 8d. the tod.

1492. At Wearmouth and Wymondham (Norfolk) the price is 4s.

1493. Two considerable sales are quoted by the tod in Oxford at 9s.; in St. Denis (Hants) at 7s. In the schedule these two districts are rated at the same value.

1494. Only Wearmouth is quoted, at 4s.

1495. There are two large sales at Oxford, both at 8*s.* Finchale wool reappears at 4*s.* 8*d.*; Wymondham at 4*s.*

1496. Oxford wool is again at 8*s.* The Wardrobe fleeces are high. The Crown bought the best, and these fleeces suggest a price of at least 10*s.* There is no evidence for 1497.

1498. Oxford alone supplies a price, a considerable sale at 8*s.*

1499. Jarrow wool is at 4*s.* Sion at 5*s.* 10*d.* Middlesex wool in the schedule is one of the cheapest. The woolfells in this place range from 6*s.* to 4*s.* and 2*s.*

1500. Farley, in Wilts, alone supplies evidence. Here is the old pond, the tod being 9*s.* 0 $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.*, and broken wool just half the price.

1501. Oxford sells a considerable quantity at 8*s.* 4*d.* Burnham Thorpe (Norfolk) also a large amount at 3*s.* 8*d.*, the price of the tod at Sion. An unknown locality gives a price of 5*s.* 10*d.* for a small quantity. The woolfells at Sion are as in 1499.

1502. The pond at Bedwin gives a tod of 6*s.* 8*d.*, the sale being large. A small quantity is sold at 7*s.* The Cambridge, Sion and Wearmouth stone give 4*s.* the tod, but some is sold in the latter place at 3*s.* 10*d.* The woolfells at Sion are at the old prices; the Cambridge are from 4*s.* to 3*s.* 4*d.* and 2*s.*

1503. Jarrow and Wearmouth give evidence, the former at 4*s.*, the latter at 4*s.* and 3*s.* 6*d.* Cambridge woolfells are from 4*s.* to 2*s.*

1504. Sion alone sells wool at 4*s.*, and woolfells, &c. at the old prices.

1505. Sion 4*s.*, Isleworth 4*s.*, Jarrow 3*s.* 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.*, and Wymondham 3*s.* 4*d.*, give evidence of wool prices. The Sion sheep-skins are as before.

1506. Findon gives a tod at 6*s.* 8*d.* The price at Jarrow is 3*s.*, and several sales from Sion are at 4*s.* The Cambridge woolfells are 6*s.*, 5*s.*, and 2*s.*

1507. Sion is still at 4*s.*; Cambridge at 4*s.* 8*d.*; Jarrow at 4*s.* 1*d.* The Cambridge skins are unchanged.

1508. The Cambridge tod is now 6*s.* 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.* Woolfells, &c. are from 7*s.* 4*d.* to 4*s.* 4*d.*, 2*s.*, and 1*s.* 10*d.*

1509. The Sutton-at-Hone tod is at 8*s.* 2*d.* Woolfells here are only 2*s.*, probably from sheep dying of disease.

1510. The Cambridge tod is at 6*s.* 4*d.* The Finchale is at 4*s.* The Norfolk price is 6*s.* 8*d.* Osney, near Oxford, sells a large quantity at 10*s.* 3*d.*, 'refuse' at 9*s.* 2*d.*, and a small quantity at 8*s.* The Cambridge woolfells are from 7*s.* 4*d.* to 4*s.*, 3*s.* 4*d.*, and 2*s.* Osney woolfells are at 6*s.*

1511. Finchale wool is at 4*s.*; but Osney is 11*s.* 4*d.*; 'refuse' at 7*s.* 2*d.* Woolfells at Osney are 6*s.* the dozen. There is an entry of a large sale of fleeces from Norwich in this year, which, if the fleece weighed a pound, would give 7*s.* the tod. There is no evidence for 1512.

1513. For seven consecutive years Downham supplies a price of tithe wool. There are several places of the name in the Eastern counties; this is probably in Cambridge. In this year wool is valued at 5*s.* 4*d.* the tod. At Sutton it is 7*s.* 11*d.*; woolfells being at 2*s.* 9*d.* the dozen.

1514. The Downham tod is 6*s.* 8*d.*

1515. The Downham tod is 6*s.* 8*d.* A large sale at North Elmham gives 5*s.* 4*d.* Sutton-at-Hone (the entry should be corrected to 2*s.* 10*d.*) is at 9*s.* 11*d.* Woolfells at this place are at 4*s.* the dozen.

1516. Downham wool is at 8*s.*; Ixworth (Suffolk) at 8*s.*, where the pack again appears of 17 stones. Sutton-at-Hone 9*s.* 11*d.*, woolfells being at 3*s.*; Finchale 4*s.* 8*d.*

1517. The Downham tod is 8*s.* The Wearmouth 6*s.* and 6*s.* 10*d.*, these prices being very high for Durham.

1518. The Downham tod is 7*s.* 6*d.* The Jarrow is 3*s.* 6½*d.*

1519. The Downham tod is 7*s.* The Hunstanton tod 7*s.* 8*d.*; a few woolfells at low rates, 2*s.* the dozen, come from the latter place.

1520. The Downham tod is 6*s.* 4*d.* The Hunstanton 6*s.*

1521. The Jarrow tod is 4*s.* 3½*d.* A number of fleeces are sold at St. Osyth (Essex) at 4*d.*, which at a pound weight would give 9*s.* 4*d.* the tod. Woolfells and skins are sold here at 5*s.* and 2*s.* 9*d.* the dozen. There is no evidence for three years.

1525. Finchale wool is sold at 4*s.* 5½*d.* One fleece at Bradstone (Devon) at 6*d.*

1526. The Wearmouth wool is sold at 4*s.* 4*d.* and 4*s.* 2*d.*

1527. Wool is sold at Bardney (Lincoln) at 7*s.* 10*d.* in considerable quantity, and, as we are told, to a Halifax weaver. Woolfells at the same monastery sell at 5*s.* the dozen. At Mettingham College wool is sold at 7*s.* 1*d.*; sheep-skins at 4*s.* 3½*d.* The Wardrobe sheep-skins are from 8*s.* to 4*s.* 6*d.* and 3*s.* 4*d.* the dozen.

1528. Bardney wool is at 7*s.* 4*d.* The pond of Bedwin is at 6*s.* 8*d.* the tod. The same price is registered at Swyn (Lincoln). That of Finchale is at 5*s.* 4*d.* Three woolfells are sold at Nottingham at a very high price, over 7*d.* each. There is no entry for 1529.

1530. Only woolfells from St. Osyth, and shearling and lamb

skins from the same place, are found. The woolfells are sold at exactly 5*s.* the dozen, and imply a price like that of 1521.

1531. There is one price from Durham at 2*s.* 8*d.* the stone, i. e. 5*s.* 4*d.* the tod. The entry states that 97 fleeces made fifteen stone, which gives, at 14 lb. to the stone, the high weight of 2 lb. 2·8 oz. the fleece. But there is reason to believe that the low-priced coarse fleeces were heavy.

1532. The Durham tod is 6*s.* The Hunstanton 7*s.* Locks are sold at Durham at 2*s.* 4*d.*

1533. The Durham tod is 6*s.* and 6*s.* 8*d.*, locks being 2*s.* 8*d.* The Hunstanton tod is 7*s.* 8*d.* The Isleworth 6*s.* 4*d.* Woolfells are 3*s.* 4*d.* the dozen at Lines, and skins 1*s.* 8*d.*

1534. The only entry is from Durham at 6*s.*

1535. There is an entry of 2 packs from St. Osyth's. Taking the pack, as it is at Ixworth in 1516, at 17 stones, this gives a tod of 8*s.* 2½*d.* On analysing the pack, it would contain 209 fleeces at 4*d.*; this amount corresponding to those valued at 4*d.* in 1521.

1536. A large collection of tithe wool prices was found under this year for several towns and townships in Lancashire, as well as one from Jarrow. These vary from 8*s.* 2*d.* at Blackburn to 7*s.* 7*d.* at Penhull, most of them (nine) being at 8*s.* The Jarrow tod is 6*s.* 8*d.*

Hitherto, I have found evidence for most years, though with a few interruptions. For the next 46 years I have only nine entries.

1545. A large sale is made at Lincoln at a little over 15*s.* the tod, and a smaller sale at Wilton, in Wilts. Here again we have the pond, but we are puzzled by its being called 'fifteen weight.' Taking it at the familiar Wiltshire measure, it gives 21*s.* 4*d.* the tod; if it be supposed to mean a 15 lb. stone, it will give 32*s.* 7*d.* the tod, a very improbable price.

1547. A small quantity is sold at Oxford at 9*s.* 4*d.* the tod.

1551. A considerable sale is made from the household of the Princess Elizabeth at 20*s.* She was living at Hatfield, Essex. The woolfells range from 24*s.* to 19*s.*, 11*s.*, and 10*s.* 5*d.* the dozen. Shorn skins are from 10*s.* to 4*s.* 1545 and 1551 were dear years; 1547 a singularly cheap year.

1558. Wool is sold at Oxford at 9*s.*, and woolfells at 10*s.* the dozen. This is a cheap year.

1559. A considerable sale is effected at Oxford at 15*s.* 8*d.* the tod.

1560. I have found the register of an enormous sale of Cotswold wool under this year; 144 tod at 20*s.*, and 16,000 sacks at 16*s.* the tod.

1570, 1575. Sales are made at Oxford at 16s. and 20s. the tod.

1577. A sale is made at Hunstanton at 14s.

1578, 1579. Woolfells are sold in London at 20s. the dozen in the former, and sheep-skins at the same price in the latter. These rates give an average of three times the fullest price in the earlier period.

HIDES. Ox, cow, and horse hides are entered in 116 years out of the 182, but, as usual, more sparsely at the conclusion of the period. The reason is chiefly to be found in the fact that the record of private and corporate expenditure gets to be scantier, while, in that which has been preserved, it becomes a growing custom to buy meat by the stone of 14 lbs., and thereupon not to purchase live animals. By far the largest number of hides are described as ox, no less than 4091 such entries having been recorded. Calf-skins are sold generally by the dozen, to the amount of 3003; cow-hides, 322; those of boviculi, 348; boveti, 119; bullocks, 45; heifers, 78; stotts, 13; steers, 186; bulls, 6; juvenci, 3. Horse-hides tanned white are bought to the number of 30; 89 tanned hides are purchased, and five times backs are bought by the diker, and always at the same price, 40s.

Beef, generally ox beef, is the diet of the whole year, veal of the spring. Horse-hides are employed for common harness, and tanned backs for the soles of shoes. Once I have found an entry of pig-skins at 8*d.* each. There is no information as to whether they were used, as now, in saddlery.

As the ox varied greatly in size and quality, so the hide very greatly varied in value. In the table therefore which follows on this chapter I have given the maximum price reached in each year. High prices come from the records of wealthy consumers, such as the Duke of Buckingham, in 1443-4 at 3*s.*, or from exceptionally large animals, as in 1468, when two hides are sold in Cambridge at 3*s.* 4*d.*; in 1506-7-8, at the same place, in 1516 at Sutton-at-Hone, in 1521-5-6-9-30 at wealthy abbeys or at noblemen's houses. Or again, a hide might be bought for a smith's bellows, when the best quality

would be the cheapest. Cow-hides are cheaper than ox-hides, as are generally all hides going by any other name than that of ox, and the few bull-hides are no dearer than cow-hides. Some of the hides are expressly stated to be the produce of diseased animals, and perhaps some that are not named are of this kind.

Calf-skins are sold at very various prices, as might be expected, in the earlier part of the period, varying from 1*s.* a dozen to 5*s.* Nor do they rise in price at the later part of the time as much as might be expected.

The price of hides, however, rises notably. The average in the earlier period is 2*s.* 5*d.*, in the later period, 8*s.*, more than three times the amount at which they used to be sold. But while I make no doubt that there was a very solid rise during the latter epoch, amounting to more than three times, I must allow that my entries are few, that they are in great degree metropolitan prices, where the highest value was naturally got for the best article, and that they are purchases generally for the public service, where the best goods would be wanted and the highest rate paid.

To return to the price of wool. The records which have come into my hands rarely supply information as to the more valuable and highly-priced kinds. Such indeed must have been the quality at Coldingham in 1412, and from the Cotswolds in 1421, and with the two entries from Quainton in 1475-6. The best class of wool which comes within my range is that from Wilts, Oxford, Hants, and Bucks. But by far the largest number of entries, beginning in 1432, come from Durham, the four monasteries of Finchale, Yarrow, Wearmouth, and Durham, the worth of which seems to have been so low that the framers of the schedule in 1454 did not condescend to notice the produce. But on the whole, it could not have been worth less than the lowest-priced article, that from Sussex, of which a good many entries in the middle of the fifteenth century have come into my hands. These entries confirm substantially the estimate laid before Parliament, and suggest that

where a north of England or Sussex wool is priced, an Oxford, Hampshire, Wilts, or Berkshire produce would have been nearly double the price. Again, Norfolk wool is notably higher than north-country wool, but not much higher, as the schedule indicates.

The average prices of northern wool for the ten decades after 1431, are 4*s.* 6*d.*, 4*s.* 11½*d.*, 3*s.* 6*d.*, 4*s.* 5*d.*, 4*s.* 1¼*d.*, 4*s.* 7¾*d.*, 4*s.* 2*d.*, 3*s.* 8½*d.*, 4*s.* 8¼*d.*, 4*s.* 7*d.*, and 6*s.* the tod, in which it will be observed that the rate falls twice only under the lowest in the schedule. The averages of medium good wool for the first three decades are 9*s.* 0½*d.* and 9*s.* 4½*d.*, 7*s.* 9½*d.* and 7*s.* 9¼*d.*, 7*s.* 4½*d.* and 6*s.* 9¾*d.*, the first of these pairs being from Wilts, the second from Bucks. I do not doubt that the trade estimate is so accurate that, whenever an entry from any well-defined district is made in any year, it would be feasible to construct a table of hypothetical prices for the other districts, which would be found, if entries were hereafter discovered, to correspond to the facts. Thus I have no doubt that when, as in 1441, north-country wool was 6*s.* the tod, Oxford and Wilts were at 11*s.* or thereabouts, and when, as in 1457, it falls to 3*s.* 6*d.*, I am not far from such a reckoning when I find that the Hampshire produce of Netley was at 5*s.* 2½*d.*; and that during the decade 1451-60, when northern wool was at an average of 3*s.* 6*d.*, the produce of the district, which is rated at nearly double the lowest estimate, stood at 5*s.* 11¾*d.* The decade during which these averages are taken was one of continuously depressed wool prices; and it is not surprising that the Commons, according to their lights, strove to limit the exportation, and as they knew that the foreigner paid the exchequer the export duty without loss to the producer, believed that he might be made to keep up the market price of the article at the staple, by stinting supply. The proportion again which I have indicated between the cheapest wool and the Wilts produce, as nearly double in the latter case, is illustrated by the scanty, but fortunately continuous, facts for the first thirty years, as compared with the northern prices for the last hundred. The

average of the century after 1431 is 4*s.* 11*d.*, for the northern prices, of the first three decades in Wilts is 8*s.* 0½*d.*, close to the proportion to which I have called attention in 1451-60.

I do not feel myself justified in drawing general averages from such scanty materials as are found in the third volume. But I am pretty confident that, till the great rise occurred after

	Wool, tod.	Woolfells, doz.	Fleeces, doz.	Ox-hides, highest prices.
	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>
1401-1410	9 2½	3 9½	4 8½	1 10½
1411-1420	7 8½	3 3	4 0½	1 6
1421-1430	7 5½	3 3½	3 2½	1 8
1431-1440	5 9	3 4	3 7½	1 6½
1441-1450	4 10½	3 1½	3 3½	2 3½
1451-1460	4 3½	2 9½	2 8	2 4
1461-1470	4 11½	5 7	3 3	2 6
1471-1480	5 4	3 9½	4 0	2 3½
1481-1490	4 8½	3 9	2 10½	2 3
1491-1500	6 0½	6 0	7 0	1 5½
1501-1510	4 5½	4 10½	2 6	3 2½
1511-1520	6 7½	3 6½	3 0	2 7½
1521-1530	5 4½	5 6	5 0	3 5
1531-1540	6 8½	.....	3 4	4 10
1541-1550	20 8	8 0	.....	5 10½
1551-1560	15 8	16 3	.....	5 8½
1561-1570	16 0	.....	.....	8 4
1571-1582	17 0	20 0	.....	12 1
First 140 years	6 2½	4 1½	3 7½	2 5
Last 42 years	17 4	14 9	.....	8 0

the issue of the base money, average good English wool stood at much the price at which I was able to estimate it in my first volume, 8*s.* 7*d.* the tod. But though my information is too deficient for an average, I shall be able to obtain all or nearly all that could have been inferred from a plentiful record of prices obtained for the raw material, when I come to deal with

the price of cloth, of which I have abundant, exact, and almost unbroken evidence, especially in the latter part of the period¹.

The table opposite contains decimal averages of the price of wool by the tod of 28lbs., of woolfells by the dozen, of fleeces by the dozen, and the highest price of ox-hides. The annual entries will be found below, at the conclusion of the chapter which treats of sundry kinds of agricultural produce.

¹ The average price of the seven entries in the later period is 15s. 5½d. But I can derive no inference from these figures. Two of the years are cheap, in which all agricultural produce is low. The price of wool in England depended on foreign demand, especially in Flanders, and the Low Countries were now suffering from the wars of religion. Their trade was being destroyed and their industry paralysed, and many of them were being forced into exile. It is impossible to doubt that the foreign market of English wool was powerfully affected by the events which occurred during the last half of the sixteenth century.

CHAPTER XI.

THE PRICE OF LIVE STOCK.

IN so far as agricultural operations are concerned, there is no change during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries from the treatment and breeding of animals in the thirteenth and fourteenth. The facts which are contained in these volumes are, as I have often stated, rather those of consumption than of production, and of consumption by fairly opulent corporations. In the earlier part of the period farm accounts are indeed intermixed with monastic and college accounts; in the latter the record is almost entirely of consumption. The stock is, therefore, lean and fattened in the earlier part, of animals ready for the table in the latter. The principal objects of the farmer's care and art are corn and wool, the former for domestic use, the latter for foreign trade. Pigs and poultry were universally reared, and formed the staple meat diet of our ancestors, the latter being cheap and abundant, and, as in earlier times, being constantly paid as rent for holdings. I have not, indeed, during the later part of my period, found continuous prices of pigs, but there are only a few interruptions to a regular series of the price of boars, fatted for great feasts. Capons and geese are common. Ducks are seldom found. Swans and cygnets are occasionally entered in the accounts. Pigeons are frequent, especially in the eastern counties, and rabbits, especially towards the termination of the period, are frequently quoted. Some entries of the price of winged game are also found, though it is probable that game was seldom bought and sold.

In constructing the table at the conclusion of this chapter, I have thought it best to take the highest prices of the year. The reason will be obvious to my reader. I shall in this way be best able to contrast averages before and after the fall in the value of money.

CATTLE. Various names are given to cattle. Besides the common names of oxen, cows, bulls, and calves, we read of steers, boveti and bovetæ, boviculi, buculi, annales or yearlings, juveni and juvenulæ, stirks, stirketts, stots (a name used also for common cart-horses), animalia, twynters, bullocks, heifers, kyes or kine, whyes. Sometimes the steers are described as northern, and heifers are also called Hetfers and Hechfarres. Oxen are further described as intended for draught or ploughing. Cows are bought and sold either dry or barren, in calf, with calf, or in milk, and sometimes the age of the calf is given. Bulls, as in the earlier period, are always cheap. They are bought either for breeding or for the table, at least it seems that some considerable purchases at abbeys and colleges must be for the latter end, if we can interpret the seventy-one tauri bought at Osney in 1510 to be bulls. Setting these aside, among which some are bought at 26s. 8d., the highest priced bulls which I have found in the first 140 years of this enquiry are, one in 1401 at 12s. 2d., in 1521 at 15s., in 1528 at 13s. 4d., in 1536 at 18s., and in 1538 at 13s. 4d. In 1572 a bull is bought at 40s., in 1582 two at 39s. and 37s. 8d. As a rule, however, 10s. is the maximum price of the animal, though it is frequently as low as 6s. 8d., and occasionally is much cheaper. Only 128 have been found in the first 140 years, and three only in the last forty-two. We may infer then that no attempt was made to effect a selection of breeds in cattle, and that the maintenance of a bull being a personal loss to the owner of the animal, the keep of a bull was sometimes, as we know it to have been, the obligation on a landowner, sometimes a common charge on the whole parish.

Cows are dearer than bulls, though not much dearer, while oxen, especially if in condition, are double the price of

cows. Sometimes the accounts, as is the case with those of the Battle Abbey home farms, give the price of oxen, described as fat or in good condition, a distinction being also drawn between stall-fed and grass-fed animals. It will be seen that, as in other articles, there is a well-marked depression in the price of the best cow during the thirty years 1471-1500; that the price rapidly rises in the sixteenth century; and that, though the average is 20s. 7d. for the first 140 years, it is half as much again, or nearly so, in the twenty years 1520-40, while an excessive exaltation, due in the main to the fact that the purchases are of first-class animals in the last forty-two years, occurs between 1541-1582. The result is that the price of the best ox is 70s. 7½d. during the latter part of the period, an exaltation which is to be recognised also in the case of the best mutton and the best boar.

The accounts give information during the latter part of the period as to the weight of the ox. One bought in 1546 weighed 3 cwts. 3 qrs. 6 lbs., and is valued at 8s. 2d. the cwt. Twenty-nine oxen and steers are bought in 1547 for the navy at an average of a little over 307 lbs. each, while 142 oxen weigh nearly four cwts. each. The meat is priced throughout at 9s. 4d. the cwt. or 1d. the lb. In the next year 483 oxen are bought in London, the beef of which is valued at 8s. 8d. the cwt., the average weight being 3 cwts. 3 qrs. 20½ lbs. These are fairly representative weights, and fully support the conjecture made in vol. i. p. 328. Now at this time prices had risen notably, i. e. oxen were double the average at which they had stood between 1401 and 1540, and we may therefore conclude that beef, which stood at about a penny the pound in the decade 1541-1550, was not more than a half-penny during the whole of the previous period. During the last twenty years of the enquiry, entries of meat by the stone of 14 lbs. are frequent. The following are the prices of beef by the stone between 1562 and 1582 inclusive:—

	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>		<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>		<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>		<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
1562	1	6	1568	2	0	1574	1	7½	1580	1	8
1563	1	5½	1569	1	5½	1575	1	7½	1581	1	6½
1564	1	5	1570	1	5	1576	1	8	1582	1	7
1565	1	6	1571	1	5½	1577	1	8			
1566	.....		1572	1	5	1578	1	8			
1567	.....		1573	1	8½	1579	1	7½	Average	1	7

The average price of this beef is nearly 12*s.* 8*d.* the cwt. It is noteworthy that the year 1568, in which the price of beef rises greatly above the average, is not a dear year for wheat. The price of meat must therefore be explained either by generally spread cattle disease, or by a scarcity of pasture. All these prices of beef are supplied from King's College, Cambridge, and occasionally, as in 1565, for most of the year, and in 1575, for one quarter, this College having for the rest of the years entered into contracts with its tenants for a supply of meat at old or nominal prices, as it had done also with wheat, and with mutton very frequently.

I have already commented on the advice given by Fitzherbert as to the comparative advantage of oxen and horses in husbandry. The reasoning of this author in the sixteenth is very like that of Walter de Henley (vol. i. p. 328) in the thirteenth, is indeed so clear as to justify the impression that the later author was conversant with the work of the former, and that, as I have frequently alleged, agriculture during the later part of this enquiry had not progressed materially from the condition in which it stood during the period comprised in my first volume. .

Cows are occasionally at full prices. One is bought at Brightwalton, in 1401, for 20*s.* 6*d.*, another at Bromham, in 1402, for 14*s.* 3*d.*, another in 1403, at Alton Barnes, for 15*s.*, another at Hegtredbury, in 1407, at 14*s.*, two at Takley, in 1409, for 13*s.* 4*d.* each, one at Jarrow, in 1413, at the same price, three at Hornchurch, in 1417, at 13*s.*, five at Finchale, in 1446, at 18*s.*, one in 1484, at Banwell, for 13*s.* 4*d.*, one at

Battle, in 1498, for 13s. 1d., two in 1531, among many others at Durham, at 13s., when some oxen are double this price. After 1540, one is bought in 1546, at Edingworth, for 18s., when an ox is bought at 36s.; one in 1552, for 41s., at Churchill, when an ox is purchased at 66s. 8d.; one in 1555, at Oxford, for 20s., when an ox is bought at 40s.; one at Oxford, in 1556, at 33s. 6d., and two at 43s. 11½d., when the highest priced ox is 56s. 8d. at the same place; one in 1558, at Oxford, for 37s. 8d.; one at Oxford, in 1560, for 13s. 4d., and in 1561, three at 41s. 8d., 38s., and 40s.; another in 1563, at Oxford, for 25s., four in 1565, at 32s. 6d., when in the same place five oxen are bought for the Queen at 120s. In 1582 six cows are bought at Gawthorp, at prices varying from 24s. 0½d. to 32s. 6d. But generally both early and late cows are very cheap, at 10s. and less, up to 1540, and at corresponding prices afterwards.

It is not easy to interpret to any practical purpose the various other kinds of horned cattle which come under the head oxen, etc., by various names. Calves are of course much cheaper in the early summer than they are in the autumn when they are described as weaned, or in one place wenard. But I find that taking as before the highest price at which calves are sold, the average for the first 140 years is 2s. 3d., for the last forty-two 8s. 3d., a rise which is even greater than that in the case of oxen, where it is rather less than three and a half times, the rise in the price of calves being much more than three and a half, and nearly approaching four times.

The custom commented on in the first volume, p. 330, of letting out cows for the year ceases before the close of the fourteenth century. Cows, as well as other cattle and animals, are still rented in the fifteenth century, but only as the rest of the live and dead stock in the land and stock lease. But that which is true of other agriculture is true of dairy farming. Unfortunately, as we shall find below, the prices of butter and cheese are very interrupted. Most of the monasteries and colleges kept their own cows, made and consumed their own produce.

HORSES. In the early part of this period there are numerous entries of horses employed in agricultural operations. Some of these are designated as *affri*, a term frequently employed at an earlier period to denote a small common animal, which can still be found in out-of-the-way country places. It is probable that *jumentum* is a synonym of this kind of horse, and perhaps *stot*, when it means a horse. The last entry of an *affer* is in 1419, but *stots* are found to the close of the fifteenth century, and cart-horses through nearly the whole period. The price of these animals does not vary greatly from that noted in the first two volumes, till after 1540, when the entries, though rare, give proportionate prices.

But the information about saddle-horses is very full. Some of the Colleges of Oxford and Cambridge, and the monastic orders, had large and often scattered estates, which it was the custom to visit periodically. Hence a stable of riding-horses was part of every considerable establishment, and horses were bought and sold by the fellows of colleges and the monks in considerable numbers. Besides these, there are purchases made on behalf of the crown, and by opulent persons such as the Duke of Buckingham and Sir John Howard, sometimes at very high prices. The table given below gives the highest price of each horse bought in the year. Thus a palfrey is bought at York, in 1402, for £5, another is claimed at the same place as a mortuary, and valued at £6 13s. 4d. Two are bought at Yarmouth for Fastolfe, in 1435, and are probably war-horses, at £11 2s. 6d. One is bought for the king's use in 1519, for £5, and three others in 1522, 1523, and 1524, for the same personage at the same price. One is bought for the king at £6 13s. 4d. in 1534, another for the king in 1537, for £6, and another in 1539 at the same rate. After this date the price of horses for the saddle rises rapidly in value, never falling at the maximum of the year below £5, but reaching £9 10s. in 1562, 1568, and 1571, £10 in 1574, £10 1s. in 1578, and reaching £12, the highest price recorded, in 1576, though even here it is only slightly in excess of that given by

Fastolfe in 1435. Were these excessive prices omitted, it would be found that in the earlier period, the price of a good saddle-horse ranged from 35*s.* to 45*s.*, and was afterwards doubled or increased by one and a half times over the original rate, conformed in short to the general rise in prices which is witnessed in the last forty years of the present period.

It does not appear that in the earlier period horses were castrated, nor is there any evidence of the practice till the year 1436, when a gelding is bought at Heveningland, and in 1489, two geldings are bought at Cambridge. Subsequently the entry is very common, and at last the fact that the horse is entire is noticed.

The use to which the horse is to be put is sometimes designated. Thus in 1500, certain horses, bought for the king's use, are described as for the king's carriage, his litter, for carrying his jewels, his mails or trunks, &c. The colours are given in each case, probably that they might be known as well as retained for particular service. So again horses are entered as purchased for abbot or prior, for warden, provost, or master, for bursar or bailiff, as sumpter or cattie, or for a lady, e.g. 1463.

The pace of the horse is also often given, *deambulans*, which probably means cantering (1449), *ambling*, *emissarius*, trotting, *volutans*, *gradarius*, which seems to denote a good walker, *sur-rusor* and *tallitarius*, which I presume to be also cantering. Late in the period (1577 and 1578), I find horses described as nags.

The colours are also denoted, the following being given, white, grey, bay, bright bay (*badius* seems to be the Latin equivalent of these colours), *pewes*, black, sorrel or *soreld*, iron grey, *griseus*, i. e. I suppose also grey, black and white, *lyart*, *lyard* brown and *lyard capell*, *coloris domici* (whatever that may mean), and *coloris greci*, dapple grey, sorrel bay, bay and white, roan, bay with stars in his forehead, black with bald face, and coal black.

Names are occasionally given, as in 1454, and prices of brood mares, colts, and fillies are found. It appears that there

were at least four kinds of horses in common or frequent use; the very cheap and poor sort, employed for the meanest husbandry and carriage, plough and cart-horses engaged in the heavier work of agriculture, hacks used for riding and sumpter purposes, and animals employed for war and the convenience of great personages. The highest prices given in the subjoined tables are almost always of the last two kinds, and the full prices of each kind stated generally for the first 140 years would be 10s., 20s., 40s., and 80s., exceptional sums being given for animals of great strength and courage.

SHEEP. These are distinguished as before by various names. There are hurtards or rams, the former name ('the butter') implying that the sheep was horned, muttons, or wethers, sometimes spelled weders or wedres, hoggs, hoggerels, hoggasts, or hoggasters, ewes, jercions, which are to ewes what hoggs are to muttons, bidentes, verveces, probably wethers, oves, dynmouths, arietes (at Swyn and Durham), gymmers (Durham), and lambs. Sometimes ewes and lambs are sold together, occasionally sheep are distinguished as wool-sheep and shearlings, once wethers are described as fat and ley.

I have given a table of the highest price of muttons or wethers. The early years of the period contain chiefly records of farm sales and purchases, and occasionally of sheep for the table. But most of the entries are of sheep cast out of the flock and sold, under the name of kebb stock, a word which now seems wholly lost, crones, rigones, and poke sheep. As the later part of my enquiries deals almost entirely with animals purchased for immediate consumption, it was necessary in order to obviate a totally false inference to adopt this course instead of drawing an average from actual sales. Nor have I thought it necessary on the present occasion to give, or rather to attempt to give, averages of the price of ewes, hoggs, and lambs. I should have failed to supply instances in the later years of the two former, and unless one could be sure of the lamb's age, there would be no solid inference to be drawn from the price of the latter.

In my first volume (p. 333) I stated that the price of rams in the fourteenth century was occasionally very high, and I inferred that there must consequently have been an attempt to improve the local breeds of sheep. The deficiency of similar evidence in these volumes has not induced me to alter this opinion, and I am further convinced, from the schedule of wool prices in Vol. iii, p. 704, that in the fifteenth century the qualities were pretty well taken to be settled. With one exception, 1405, when a ram was bought at 2s. 4d., no price of this animal exceeds that of the best mutton in the year.

The average of the best mutton for the 140 years ending with 1540 is 2s. 2½d. Had it not been for the exaltation in price in the twenty years 1521-1540, the average, 2s. 0½d., would not have differed materially from that of the 140 years preceding, which was 1s. 10¾d. The price of mutton did not vary notably from that of corn, though a slightly higher rise was effected. The high prices of 1441-50 may be explained, or at any rate read with the notes in Vol. iii, p. 678, where the allowances made to the tenant of New College at Alton Barnes are recounted, under the years 1447, 1448. It must be allowed, however, that the highest priced mutton in the years 1443, 1444, 1449, is at the unparalleled rates of 4s., 3s. 3½d., and 4s. 2d., respectively. One of these is a sale at Easter, when mutton would naturally be very dear; another is the purchase of 300 at Writtle at this rate, on behalf of the Duke of Buckingham; and the third is a sale of a single animal at the same place (Candlesby) which gives so high a price in 1443, where indeed five more are sold at 3s. 2d., and one at 3s.

The price of muttons rises considerably and regularly after 1540, the rates in the three decades and the last twelve years being on an average 4s. 11¼d., 6s. 2½d., 6s. 6¼d., and 7s. 8¼d. This is an almost proportionate rise to that which is effected in the price of ewes, though it is a little in excess of that which is exhibited in the latter, being within a fraction of three times, while the rise in ewes is a little less than two and a-half times. It will however be remembered that the price of

muttons or wethers, during the last forty-two years at least, is entirely that of consumption by opulent corporations and by the Crown, and that as the highest price is taken, this being of the sheep in May or a little later, i.e. just before shearing time, the price includes that of the woolfell which was afterwards sold. I do not find that mutton was often bought by the stone as beef was, though King's College, Cambridge, sometimes made bargains for the supply of sheep at factitious prices, apparently with the view of indirectly raising the rent of its land.

The entries of the price of ewes are broken. In the first 140 years ewes are represented sufficiently for the purpose of deriving an average from the highest price, this process neutralising the inference which would be drawn from a general average, in which animals sold out of the flock as unserviceable were included. But the entries are very few for the last 42 years. The result is 1*s.* 5½*d.* in the first part of the period, 3*s.* 8*d.* in the second. The latter price does not differ widely from the averages derived from muttons or wethers. Hoggs are even less fully represented than ewes, but the two averages do not present any marked variations from those of other animals. Lambs are more plentiful. But in the latter part of the period such lambs as were bought were invariably procured for the table, and generally purchased at or about Easter or Pentecost, were no doubt early droppings, which had been specially fattened for the market, and were therefore dear.

SWINE. These were the most important articles of flesh food to the medieval peasant, as they are indeed to his descendant in our own day. I have not been able to procure as full and precise information about this animal in the present as I did in the previous volumes; but in one particular, the price of boars, I am able to supply much fuller and more regular evidence, chiefly from the consumption of the Oxford and Cambridge Colleges. Boars appear to have been bought for the Christmas feast, and to judge from the price, must have been fattened with care and cost. I have found them without a break till 1483. Another gap occurs in 1493. Information

is wanting for 1513, 1514, 1534, 1540. During the last 42 years, fourteen years are without information also. But the entries are amply sufficient for the purposes of an inference. The average during the 140 years is 8s. 6½d., for the last 42, 23s. 7½d., a rise which corresponds to that in other analogous agricultural products. These boars were almost certainly, as in the earlier period, fattened on barley or bere. Towards the latter part of the period, the price is frequently the same for some years together, and seems to imply that the purchaser bargained that the food consumed by the animal should amount to a certain quantity, or contracted at a maximum price at the time when the boar was in request.

Besides boars, we find porci, which were, I conclude, as in the earlier period, store or lean pigs; hogs or hoggets, porculi and porcelli. The former of these in the early years mean lean store pigs, but in course of time the terms are not accurately distinguished, and are used indifferently for sucking-pigs, sows, and bacons, the latter meaning sometimes the animal killed, salted, and smoked, sometimes an ordinary hog in condition for ordinary consumption. Hogs are generally cheaper than porci or porkers. Sometimes sucking-pigs are called porcellini, and occasionally in the later period, when accounts are kept in English, the generic name of swine is given to all kinds, e.g. Vol. iii, p. 173, col. 2. The term 'shots' is also found, and in the later years 'pig' always means the sucking-pig.

Sows are not frequently found, except in the earlier period. They are dearer than bacon-hogs as a rule. Occasionally they are sold with the litter, especially in the earlier years. Thus in 1402 a sow and ten pigs is sold for 7s.; in 1410 a sow with seven for 10s. 6d.; in 1413 two, each with three, for 5s. and 2s. 6d., one with eleven at 15s., and one with seven for 12s. 4d.; in 1416 one with eight is sold for 8s. 6d., one with ten at 16s. 8d., one with six at 6s. 8d.; in 1429 one with four at 2s. 7d.; in 1430, one with seven at 7s.; in 1431, one with five at 5s. 4d.; in 1432, one with two at 3s., one with six at 4s.; in 1455, two with nine for 5s. 4d.; in 1457, one

with six at 3*s.* One with pigs, the number not given, is sold for 3*s.* 4*d.* in 1527.

The average price of sows in the fifteenth century, after which they are very rarely found in the accounts, is 3*s.* 3*d.* Entries are given as high as 6*s.* and 5*s.*, but generally the price is 3*s.* 4*d.* The same rate prevails in the early part of the sixteenth century. Thus a sow is bought at Lewes, in 1535, at 3*s.* 10*d.* But in 1572 the price is 8*s.*

Store pigs, the porculi, sometimes porci, occasionally hoggets, of the accounts, are bought throughout the fifteenth century uniformly, and in considerable numbers at from 2*s.* 6*d.* to 3*s.* apiece, and especially at Apuldrum and Lullington, the home farms of Battle Abbey. They are often cheaper elsewhere, but it may be inferred that the price represents at once the pig which might be fattened into a full-sized hog, or, after a little stay in the sty, might be killed and served as a porker, or be put to the salting-tub. The same price is paid at Sion for 'porkers,' which may be taken as the English equivalent of porculus. After 1540, the price rises to about 6*s.* 8*d.* But in the latter part of the period, these animals disappear from the accounts, and very little is found except boars and sucking-pigs.

Sucking-pigs, the porcelli of the earlier accounts, and the pigs of the later, are generally bought in the earlier period at 4*d.*, and rise from 10*d.* to 1*s.* and 1*s.* 2*d.* at the close of the period. The price, however, is so varied, according to the size of the animal at the earlier period, that I have not thought it worth while to construct a table of averages. The rise in price, at the conclusion of the period before me, corresponds with that of other agricultural produce.

POULTRY AND GAME. As in the former period, the commonest kind of poultry are capons, geese, cocks and hens, pullets, and pigeons. They are valued in the subjoined tables by the head, except pigeons, which are taken by the dozen, and rabbits, which are reckoned by the couple. Ducks are not so common as might be expected, but I have found more

entries of swans and cygnets, also it appears called *synetts*, than have come under my notice in the previous period. There are also a few entries of game.

Capons are found very frequently in the earlier part of the period. They are dearer during the fifteenth century than they were in the fourteenth, when the average was $3d.$ It is now $4d.$ up to 1470, when it rises to $4\frac{1}{2}d.$, and in the following decade (1481-90) to $5d.$, in the next to $6\frac{1}{2}d.$, in the next to $9\frac{1}{2}d.$, in the next to $1s. 0\frac{1}{2}d.$, in the next is as high as $1s. 4\frac{1}{2}d.$, the highest rate, with the exception of 1551-60, at which it stands. The explanation as before is to be found in the facts that I have taken the highest price, and that the sales are those of the best quality. Frequently these capons are purchased for royal and noble persons, or for banquets, when exceptional outlay was expected and incurred. A distinction is drawn towards the latter end of the period, between coarse capons and capons of grease, the latter being the choicest produce of the farm-yard. The better quality is also described as Kent capons. Thus, in 1527, three capons of grease are bought for a feast given by the king (Henry VIII) at Windsor on Feb. 25 (1528), when the price of poultry is exceedingly high, capons being charged $2s. 4d.$ each, fat hens $1s.$, and pigeons $2s.$ the dozen, no parallel to these prices being found before, or indeed for some time afterwards. It may be stated, however, that poultry is almost universally dear during this year. During the last years of the period the price of capons is generally derived from the Oxford city feasts, for the expenditure of the Colleges is greatly curtailed, owing to the general rise in prices and the inelastic character of rent.

The average price of the best hen during the first 140 years is $2\frac{1}{4}d.$ The evidence is fairly continuous, down to the later part of the second period, when it is a great deal broken. The average from such information as is forthcoming is $4\frac{1}{2}d.$ The average price of chickens in the earlier period is $1\frac{1}{4}d.$, and it rises to $3d.$ in the later period, when more evidence is found than there is for hens. There are only a few entries of

the price of ducks. But the proportion, $2\frac{1}{4}d.$ in the first 140 years to $4\frac{3}{4}d.$ in the last forty-two, closely corresponds to that of other such fowls. I infer that there was no such considerable rise in the price of poultry as occurred in other kinds of farm produce. The fact is, they were generally kept by the peasantry.

Geese are at about the price of capons during the early period, or are slightly dearer. They are not so much affected by the purchases of great people and by expensive entertainments as capons are, and therefore do not exhibit so considerable an increase during the latter part of the first 140 years. The average in the first part is $4\frac{3}{4}d.$, in the last $10d.$ This relation is again identical, or nearly so, with that found in other kinds of poultry. They were even more extensively kept by the peasants than capons and other such fowls.

During the early period, there is a considerable amount of information as to the price of pigeons, reckoned generally by the dozen. They are sold also from many manors, the practice of keeping a dovecot being one of the most cherished, and also the most vexatious of feudal rights. They are on an average worth $5\frac{1}{2}d.$ the dozen up to 1540, one entry alluded to already for the Windsor feast exalting the average in 1521-30, and are worth $1s. 1d.$ the dozen during the subsequent period.

The entries of swans and cygnets are so numerous that they enable me to give averages for the whole period, only one decade being unrepresented. The price, however, varies exceedingly; one entry in 1429 is as high as $6s. 8d.$ In 1414, 1430-31, 1515, the swan or cygnet is bought for $5s.$ or a little more. In 1555, two swans are purchased for the Oxford city feast on Jan. 1 at $10s.$ apiece, and in 1577, two swans are bought at Kirling for an entertainment at $6s. 8d.$ It is probable that the lower-priced birds are bought for stock, the more highly-priced for the table, having been previously fattened in coops, as they still are in the Eastern counties. Sometimes we are expressly told that they are bought for stock, and to be kept on rivers.

Towards the conclusion of the period several entries of turkeys are found, the earliest date being 1550, when one is bought for 5*s.*, the price declining considerably in subsequent years, and implying that the bird must have been a comparative rarity in the beginning of Elizabeth's reign. An average of seven entries gives a little more than 3*s.* In 1574, 1579, 1580, turkeys are sold at from 2*s.* to 1*s.* 8*d.*

There are eight entries of peacocks, the price of the bird varying greatly. It is bought for 9*d.* in 1467, for 1*s.* 10*d.* in 1472. But in 1504, King's College, Cambridge, giving a feast to the King's mother, Margaret of Richmond, paid 5*s.* 8*d.* for a peacock. In 1507, two are bought for 2*s.* and 1*s.* respectively; in 1555 one costs 1*s.* 8*d.*, and in 1569 three are bought for 4*s.* 6*d.* and three at 13*s.* 4*d.* each. These are on the occasion of great feasts at Oxford.

GAME. There are not many entries of the price of game, but the following will be found. Five entries of pheasants, the earliest date being 1467, when the bird is bought for 1*s.* In 1475 it costs 9*d.*; in 1507 (a very cheap year), 6*d.*; in 1538, 2*s.*; in 1542, 4*d.* Three entries of partridges, in 1419, at 2*d.*; in 1507, at 4*d.*; in 1561, at 3*d.* Two of woodcocks, in 1507, at 1*d.*; in 1555, at 5*d.*; two in the same year of snipe, when twenty were bought for 8*d.*, 22 for 1*s.* Seven of plovers, by the dozen, at 1*s.* in 1440; at 3*s.* in 1509; at 1*s.* 10*d.* in 1528; at 3*s.* 9*d.* in 1555; at 2*s.* in 1561; at 3*s.* 4*d.* and 2*s.* 10*d.* in 1572. Pewits are bought in 1569 at 2*s.* 3*d.* and 3*s.* 4*d.* each, and cannot be the birds to which the name is now applied. They are perhaps bustards. Thirteen quails are bought for 4*s.* 4*d.* in 1522, a dozen in 1533 for 1*s.* 11½*d.*, and five for 2*s.* in 1569. Curlews are purchased at 7*d.* in 1422, and at 8*d.* in 1481; herons or grues at 1*s.* in 1458, 8*d.* in 1507, 6*d.* in 1510, 1*s.* 8*d.* in 1521; egrets in 1411 at 1*s.* 2*d.*

Stints, dunlins, and knots are bought in the North, the first in 1422 at 4*d.*, and in 1531 at 2*d.*, the next in 1531 at 2*d.*, and the third in 1422 at a halfpenny. Coots are bought in 1510, 1511, 1512, 1515, 1518 at a halfpenny, as are also

moneduli in 1511, 1512, 1514, at the same price. Gastrimargi, a name found in the earlier period, are bought at 1*d.* in 1507; teal in 1507, 1516, at 1*d.*; widgeon in 1507, at 2*d.* and 1½*d.* Larks are bought in 1546 and 1580, at 5½*d.* and 6*d.* a dozen. In 1561, four guinea-pigs, which cost 3*d.* each, are served at the Norwich corporation feast.

RABBITS. Information as to the price of rabbits is so plentiful, that I have been able to construct, though imperfectly in the earlier period, annual as well as decennial averages. I stated in my earlier volumes that the high price of rabbits in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries suggests that these animals were comparatively scarce or only locally found. It appears that this opinion is confirmed by subsequent research. Rabbits are still dear as compared with other game, sometimes very dear, for in 1507, during a royal progress, they are bought in mid-winter at 6*d.* a couple in Brentford, at 1*s.* 4*d.* in Newbury, at 6*d.* in Reading, while at Thornbury twenty-one are bought for 3*s.* 6*d.*, and twenty-two at 4*s.* 7½*d.* Nor does the price rise after 1540 at the same rate as other and similar articles of food do. The entries are comparatively frequent, occurring nearly every year. But the average only rises from 5*d.* to 7½*d.*, whereas, speaking roughly, the rise in other kinds of stock is in the proportion of two to five.

The subjoined tables give, first, the highest price found in each year for oxen, calves, muttons, boars, pigs, saddle-horses, capons, geese, hens, chickens, ducks, swans or cygnets, pigeons by the dozen, and rabbits by the couple. Then follow decennial averages of these articles as far as they can be found, and a table giving decennial prices of muttons, ewes, hoggs and lambs.

TABLE I.
CATTLE AND STOCK. HIGHEST PRICES.

In the twelfth column c means cygnets.

	Oxen.	Calves.	Muttons.	Boars.	Pigs.	Saddle-horses.	Capons.	Geese.	Hens.	Chickens.	Ducks.	Swans or Cygnets.	Pigeons, dove.	Rabbits, couple.
	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
1401	21 6	2 2	2 2	7 0	5 0	60 0	0 4	0 4	0 2	0 1	0 2	4 0	.....	0 6
1402	20 0	2 7	2 2	8 0	5 0	100 0	0 4	0 4	0 2	0 1	0 2	.....	0 4½	0 6
1403	18 0	1 6	2 2	6 2	3 4	.....	0 4	0 4½	0 1½	0 2	0 1½	.....	0 4	.....
1404	22 6	1 10	2 1	13 4	6 8	100 0	0 4	0 4	0 2	.....	.....	.....	0 4½	.....
1405	20 0	.....	2 2	7 6	6 0	53 4	0 4	0 4	0 2	0 1½	.....	1 0	.....	.....
1406	15 7	1 0	2 3	3 0	2 11	54 6	0 4	0 4	0 2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1407	20 0	1 0	2 0	5 0	4 0	40 0	0 4	0 4	0 2	0 1	.....	.....	0 4	0 6
1408	20 1½	2 6	2 6	7 0	2 9	66 8	0 4	0 4	0 2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1409	17 8	2 0	2 5½	6 8	3 10	48 4	0 4	0 8	0 2	0 1½	.....	.....	.....	.....
1410	20 0	2 6	2 2½	6 2	2 4	53 4	0 4	0 4	0 2	0 0½	0 2	.....	.....	.....
1411	20 0	2 8	2 5	9 6	3 4	43 4	0 4	0 4	0 2	0 1	.....	4 7	.....	.....
1412	19 0	2 4	2 6	6 2	3 4	30 0	0 4	0 4	0 2½	0 1	.....	.....	.....	.....
1413	22 0	2 6	2 3	8 0	3 4	30 8	0 4	0 4	0 2	.....	.....	.....	0 4½	0 4
1414	16 0	2 6	2 4	6 8	4 0	40 0	0 4	0 4	0 2	.....	.....	5 0	0 5	0 2½
1415	21 0	2 3½	2 0	6 2	3 10	133 4	0 4	0 4	0 2	.....	.....	0 3 4	0 4	0 6
1416	20 0	2 0	2 0	7 5	3 4	50 0	0 4	0 5½	0 2½	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1417	17 0	3 4	2 7	6 8	2 4	33 4	0 5	0 10½	0 2½	0 2	0 1½	.....	0 4	.....
1418	19 0	2 4	1 9	8 2	3 4	40 0	0 4	0 6	0 2½	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....

TABLE I.—CATTLE AND STOCK. HIGHEST PRICES.

Oxen.	Calves.	Muttons.	Boars.	Pigs.	Saddle-horses.	Capons.	Geese.	Hens.	Chickens.	Ducks.	Swans or Cygnets.	Pigeons, doz.	Rabbits, couple.
s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
1419 18 0	2 0	1 7	7 0	5 0	40 0	0 4	0 6	0 2½	.....	.....	.....	.....	0 5
1420 18 0	2 0	1 7	12 6	3 4	26 8	0 4	0 4	0 2	.....	.....	.....	0 4	.....
1421 18 0	2 0	1 8	8 0	3 0	.....	0 4	0 4	0 2	.....	.....	.....	0 4	.....
1422 18 0	2 0	1 8	8 6½	3 0	90 0	0 4	0 4	0 2	0 1	.....	.....	0 4	.....
1423 18 0	1 8	2 0	7 0	3 10	43 4	0 4	0 4	0 2	0 1	.....	.....	.....	.....
1424 18 0	1 0	1 9	9 1½	3 2	26 8	0 4	0 4	0 2	0 1	.....	.....	.....	.....
1425 15 0	1 8	2 0	8 1	6 0½	28 4	0 4	0 4	0 3	0 1	.....	.....	0 4½	.....
1426 18 0	1 8	1 4	10 0	2 6	33 4	0 4	0 4	0 2	.....	.....	.....	0 4	0 5½
1427 19 0	1 6	1 6	7 6	1 8	33 4	0 4	0 4	0 2	0 1	0 3	.....	.....	.....
1428 20 0	2 6	2 0	7 7	7 0	73 4	0 4	0 4	0 2	0 1	0 1	.....	0 4	.....
1429 18 0	2 0	2 0	8 8	3 4	26 8	0 4	0 4	0 2	0 1	.....	6 8	0 4	0 6
1430 18 0	2 1	2 1	7 0	3 4	24 0	0 4	0 4	0 2	0 1	.....	5 0	0 4	.....
1431 18 0	2 6	2 0	6 9	3 4	40 0	0 4	0 4	0 2	0 1	.....	5 1½	0 4	0 4
1432 18 0	2 6	1 8	8 0	3 0	63 4	0 5	0 4	0 2	0 1½	0 1	0 1	0 4	.....
1433 14 0	1 8	1 10	8 0	3 2	60 2	0 4	0 4	0 2	.....	.....	.....	0 4	.....
1434 15 0	1 1½	2 4	6 5	3 4	40 0	0 4	0 4	0 2	0 1½	.....	0 4	0 4	.....
1435 20 0	1 9	2 2	9 1	2 6	22 6	0 4	0 4	0 2	0 1	.....	0 4	0 4	0 4
1436 15 0	2 6	2 2½	7 2	3 0	45 8	0 4	0 4	0 2	0 1	0 2	1 8	0 4	.....
1437 14 0	1 2	2 0	8 0	2 9	.....	0 4	0 4	0 3	0 1½	.....	3 5	0 4	.....
1438 18 2	2 0	1 11	8 4	3 3	50 0	0 4	0 4½	0 2	0 1	0 2	.....	.....	0 4
1439 26 8	2 2	1 11	9 0	3 6	.....	0 4	0 4	0 2	.....	.....	.....	0 4	0 4
1440 16 0	.....	2 0	8 10	3 4	.....	0 3	0 4	0 2	0 1	.....	2 2	0 4	.....

TABLE I.—CATTLE AND STOCK. HIGHEST PRICES.

Oxen.	Calves.	Muttons.	Boars.	Pigs.	Saddle-horses.	Capons.	Geese.	Hens.	Chickens.	Ducks.	Swans or Cygnets.	Pigeons, doz.	Rabbits, couple.
<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>
1441 13 4	1 2	2 0	8 0	3 0	40 0	0 4	0 4	0 2	0 1	.....	.....	.....	.....
1442 13 4	.....	1 8½	5 0	3 0	.....	0 4	0 4	0 2	0 1	.....	.....	.....	.....
1443 18 0	.....	4 0	5 0	3 0	73 4	0 4	0 4	0 2	0 1	.....	.....	0 4	0 4
1444 18 0	1 5	3 3½	8 4	3 0	.....	0 4	0 4	0 2	0 1	.....	.....	0 4	.....
1445 16 2	1 1	1 8	6 8	8 0	.....	0 4	0 4	0 2	0 1	.....	0 1 8	0 4	0 4½
1446 18 0	1 10	2 1	6 8	3 4	.....	0 4	0 4	0 2	0 1	.....	0 1 8	0 4	.....
1447 26 8	2 0	1 7	6 8	5 0	40 0	0 4	0 4	0 2	0 1	.....	0 1 8	0 5	.....
1448 20 0	1 5½	1 6½	8 2	3 4	53 4	0 4	0 4	0 2	0 1	.....	0 1 8	0 4	.....
1449 23 4	4 0	4 2	5 4	5 0	41 8	0 4	0 4	0 2	0 1	.....	0 1 8	0 4	.....
1450 13 4	1 6	2 0	7 0	5 7	80 0	0 4	0 4	0 2	0 1	.....	0 1 8	0 4	.....
1451 20 0	1 3	1 4	10 6	3 0	26 8	0 4	0 4	0 2	0 1	.....	0 1 8	0 5	.....
1452 16 0	2 0	1 6½	9 10	4 6	50 0	0 4	0 4	0 2	0 1	.....	0 1 8	0 4	.....
1453 18 0	2 0	1 8	9 4	3 0	.....	0 4	0 4	0 2	0 1	0 1½	.....	.....	.....
1454 25 0	1 0	1 8	8 2½	4 0	53 4	0 4	0 4	0 2	.....	.....	3 4	0 5½	.....
1455 23 4	.....	1 6½	7 7	2 8	.....	0 4	0 4	0 2	.....	.....	0 2 0	0 5½	.....
1456 20 0	2 4½	2 8	5 6	.....	53 4	0 5	0 4	0 2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1457 20 0	2 6	1 4	6 1	3 6	60 0	0 4	0 4	0 2	0 1	0 2	.....	0 5½	.....
1458 18 8	2 6	2 2½	8 0	3 0	65 8	0 4	0 4	0 2	0 1	.....	.....	0 4	.....
1459 16 8½	2 0	1 8	6 8	3 0	60 0	0 4	0 4	0 2	.....	.....	.....	0 4	.....
1460 13 4	1 6	2 0	8 7	3 0	46 8	0 4	0 4	0 2	.....	.....	1 11	0 4	.....
1461 12 0	2 0	2 2	10 0	3 4	26 8	0 6	0 5	0 2	0 1	.....	.....	0 4	.....
1462 16 0	2 0	1 4	5 0	3 4	80 0	0 4½	0 4	0 2½	0 1½	0 1	.....	0 4	.....

TABLE I.—CATTLE AND STOCK. HIGHEST PRICES.

Oxen.	Calves.	Muttons.	Boars.	Pigs.	Saddle-horses.	Capons.	Geese.	Hens.	Chickens.	Ducks.	Swans or Cygnets.	Pigeons, doz.	Rabbits, couple.
s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
1463 20 0	2 0	2 2	5 0	3 6	66 8	0 4	0 4	0 2½	.....	0 2	.....	0 4½	0 4
1464 13 0	2 0	1 8	8 4	3 0	24 4	0 4	0 4	0 2½	.....	.....	.....	0 4	0 5
1465 33 4	2 6	2 0	13 4	2 6	26 8	0 4	0 4	0 2½	.....	.....	.....	0 4	.....
1466 40 10	2 8	2 1	6 8	4 0	66 8	0 4	0 4	0 2½	.....	0 2	2 0	0 4½	0 4
1467 20 0	3 4	2 9½	11 0	.....	46 8	0 6	0 6	0 2½	0 1½	.....	.....	0 6½	0 4
1468 17 0	2 10	1 10	10 0	2 8	33 4	0 3	0 4	0 2½	0 1	.....	.....	0 5	.....
1469 17 6	2 10½	2 5	8 6½	2 6	.....	0 4	0 4	0 2½	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1470 16 8	.....	1 0	13 0	.....	25 1	0 3	.....	0 2½	.....	.....	C 2 4	.....	.....
1471 19 2	1 11	2 0	8 8	5 0	43 4	0 3	.....	0 2½	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1472 20 0	2 10	1 11	7 4	3 4	53 5	0 4	0 4	0 2½	0 1	.....	.....	.....	.....
1473 16 0	2 8	2 0	12 0	2 2	66 8	0 3	0 4	0 2½	.....	.....	.....	0 3	.....
1474 16 2	.....	1 8	8 6	.....	.....	0 8	0 4	0 2½	.....	0 2½	.....	.....	.....
1475 18 0	1 8	1 0	1 6	.....	.....	0 3	0 4	0 2½	.....	0 1	C 2 0	.....	.....
1476 13 6	2 4	1 8	7 10	2 6	.....	0 4	0 4	0 2½	0 1	0 1	.....	.....	.....
1477 12 0	.....	1 0	8 4	2 0	.....	0 3	.....	0 2½	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1478 17 6	2 6	1 10	9 9	2 6	23 5	0 6	0 6	0 3	.....	.....	.....	0 7	0 4
1479 20 0	2 0	1 4	9 7	3 4	23 4	0 10	0 4	0 2½	0 1	.....	.....	.....	.....
1480 20 0	.....	.....	9 6	.....	60 0	0 4½	0 4	0 2½	0 1½	0 2	.....	.....	.....
1481 20 0	1 10	2 2½	8 0	2 2½	46 8	0 6	0 4½	0 2½	0 1	.....	3 3	0 6	.....
1482 20 0	2 4	2 8	10 2	.....	80 0	0 6½	0 6	0 2½	0 1½	.....	2 0	0 8	.....
1483 22 0	2 3	3 1	.....	.....	33 4	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1484 10 0	3 0	1 4	8 0	5 4	60 0	0 3	0 4	0 2	.....	.....	C 2 6	.....	.....

TABLE I.—CATTLE AND STOCK. HIGHEST PRICES.

	Oxen.	Calves.	Muttons.	Boats.	Pigs.	Saddle-horses.	Capons.	Geese.	Hens.	Chickens.	Ducks.	Swans or Cygnets.	Pigeons, doz.	Rabbits, couple.
	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
1485	10 3½	.....	1 4	6 9	.....	53 4	0 3	.....	.....	.....	0 1	.....	0 5	.....
1486	13 4	.....	1 11½	9 0	.....	.....	0 3½	.....	.....	.....	0 2½	.....	.....	.....
1487	16 4½	2 0	1 11½	7 0	.....	63 4	0 4	.....	.....	0 1	.....	.....	.....	.....
1488	20 0	2 0	2 8	7 8	3 4	46 8	0 3½	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	0 5	.....
1489	14 5½	2 0	2 1½	7 0	.....	46 8	0 9	.....	.....	.....	.....	2 2	.....	.....
1490	13 4½	1 8	2 1½	7 4	.....	66 8	0 6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1491	17 6	.....	2 0	8 6	2 0½	43 4	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1492	15 8	1 3	.....	5 0	2 0	80 0	.....	0 3	.....	0 1	0 1½	.....	.....	.....
1493	14 0	2 4	.....	.....	.....	43 4	.....	.....	0 2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1494	20 0	3 0	2 2½	7 2½	1 6½	61 0	.....	.....	0 1½	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1495	13 6	1 11	1 9½	9 4	1 10	40 0	0 4	.....	0 2	0 1	.....	.....	.....	.....
1496	14 4	.....	2 8½	9 0	2 0	48 7½	1 2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1497	17 5½	2 0	1 1	5 10	2 0	33 4	.....	.....	.....	0 1	.....	.....	.....	.....
1498	14 0	2 0	1 8½	5 5	1 6	73 4	0 7½	0 5	0 2	0 1	.....	.....	.....	0 4
1499	14 8½	.....	1 8½	8 8	4 0	53 4	0 4	.....	0 1½	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1500	18 8½	2 4	1 5	10 2	2 6	80 0	0 4	0 4	0 2	0 1	0 3	.....	.....	.....
1501	18 8½	.....	3 4	11 0	3 3	80 0	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1502	20 0	2 8	1 10½	9 4	3 4	73 4	0 4	0 5½	0 2	0 1	.....	C 2 0	0 4	.....
1503	25 0	2 2	1 10½	6 8	.....	41 6	0 7	0 4	0 2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1504	18 1½	.....	1 10	10 4	.....	53 4	0 8	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1505	18 1½	.....	1 10	11 4	3 4	53 4	0 6	.....	.....	0 1½	0 1½	.....	.....	.....
1506	26 8	3 3½	2 0	14 0	3 8	56 8	0 4	.....	0 2	0 1½	0 3	.....	.....	.....

TABLE I.—CATTLE AND STOCK. HIGHEST PRICES.

	Oxen.	Calves.	Muttons.	Boars.	Pigs.	Saddle-horses.	Capon.	Geese.	Hens.	Chickens.	Ducks.	Swans or Cygnets.	Pigeons, doz.	Rabbits, couple.
	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
1507	20 2	3 1½	3 0	8 4	2 4	0 0	1 4	0 6	0 4	0 1½	0 8	3 8	.....	0 6
1508	28 4	.....	2 4	9 2	.....	64 3	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1509	23 4	1 8	2 10	8 8	.....	80 0	1 2	0 8	0 2	0 1	.....	.....	0 10	0 6
1510	26 8	2 4	2 4	7 0	2 0	53 4	1 8	0 3	0 2	0 1	0 4	3 0	.....	0 4½
1511	29 2	2 3	1 5	10 0	.....	20 0	.....	.....	.....	0 1	0 1	1 2	.....	.....
1512	.....	.....	.....	11 4	.....	61 0	.....	.....	0 2	0 1	0 2	.....	0 5	.....
1513	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	40 0	.....	.....	.....	0 1	0 1½	.....	.....	.....
1514	21 6	.....	.....	.....	4 6	40 0	.....	.....	0 2	0 1	.....	.....	.....	.....
1515	19 9	3 0	2 1½	10 0	.....	80 0	0 3	0 3	.....	0 1	0 2½	5 0	.....	.....
1516	13 4	1 6	1 8	9 0	3 4	43 4	.....	0 3	.....	0 1	0 2	1 1	.....	.....
1517	22 7	2 6	2 8	14 1	.....	33 4	1 8	.....	.....	0 1	0 4	1 10	.....	.....
1518	25 0	2 2	2 9	11 4	3 1	40 0	0 6	0 6	.....	.....	0 2	3 10	.....	0 4
1519	26 10	2 4	2 8½	11 1	3 8½	100 0	.....	0 3	.....	0 1	0 2	1 4	0 4	0 4½
1520	26 3	.....	4 0	7 0	4 0	86 8	1 8	.....	.....	0 1	.....	.....	.....	.....
1521	33 4	2 3	3 4	13 1	4 4	86 8	2 0	.....	.....	0 1½	.....	.....	0 10	.....
1522	40 0	.....	4 0½	13 4	5 1½	100 0	2 0	.....	.....	0 1½	.....	2 2	0 10	.....
1523	26 0	.....	2 11	10 0	.....	100 0	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1524	33 4	2 8	3 4	9 0	3 4	26 8	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	c2 6	.....	.....
1525	29 5	3 4	3 4	9 4½	3 2	46 8	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1526	21 11	.....	2 10½	11 1	2 11	83 4	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1527	24 4	2 3	3 2	11 1	2 3½	80 0	2 4	.....	0 4½	0 1½	.....	.....	2 0	0 7
1528	33 4	3 4	2 10	15 0½	4 0	53 4	1 0	.....	0 3	0 1	.....	2 6	.....	.....

TABLE I.—CATTLE AND STOCK. HIGHEST PRICES.

	Oxen.	Calves.	Muttons.	Boars.	Pigs.	Saddle-horses.	Capona.	Geese.	Hens.	Chickens.	Ducks.	Swans or Cygnets.	Pigeons, dove.	Rabbits couple.
1839	s. d. 28 10	s. d. 2 2½	s. d. 3 0½	s. d. 15 0	s. d. 3 0	s. d. 100 0	s. d. 0 8	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
1840	35 0	2 6	4 4½	8 0	5 0	66 8	0 5	.....	0 1½	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1841	31 2½	2 0	3 3½	13 6	5 0	176 0	0 6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	0 4	.....
1842	25 3	3 0	2 10½	15 10	5 0	56 3	1 0	.....	.....	0 1	.....	.....	0 4	.....
1843	22 8	2 9	3 0	10 0	5 0	33 4	0 10	0 8	.....	0 1	0 4	2 8	0 4	.....
1844	29 9	.....	3 2½	.....	2 5½	133 4	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1845	27 7	6 4	3 2	10 0	3 8	100 0	0 10	0 5	0 3½	0 2½	.....	.....	0 0	0 0
1846	30 7½	4 2	3 0	14 0	3 1½	80 0	1 3½	.....	0 2	.....	.....	.....	0 7	.....
1847	29 9	.....	3 3½	8 0	2 9½	180 0	.....	0 6	.....	.....	.....	2 8	.....	.....
1848	29 9½	.....	3 3½	8 0	4 3½	100 0	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1849	29 9½	.....	3 4	12 8	.....	110 0	0 4	0 4	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1840	30 0	.....	4 0	.....	.....	33 4	0 7½	0 7½	0 4	.....	.....	.....	.....	0 7
1841	28 5	3 0	4 0	13 4	.....	100 0	0 10	0 9	.....	0 1½	.....	.....	.....	0 8½
1842	29 0	4 0	4 4	11 5	.....	103 4	0 7	0 6	.....	0 3	.....	2 8	.....	0 4
1843	28 0½	.....	5 0	12 2	.....	73 4	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1844	30 5½	3 6	3 8	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1845	36 5½	3 5	5 0	15 2	.....	73 4	0 10	0 8	0 4	.....	.....	.....	.....	0 0½
1846	39 0	.....	6 0	.....	6 8	66 8	0 10½	0 8	0 4½	0 2	.....	.....	.....	0 7½
1847	39 0	3 4	4 6½	.....	.....	66 8	0 9½	0 8	0 5	0 1½	.....	.....	.....	0 9
1848	61 6½	4 0	6 0	15 0	.....	133 4	0 10½	0 8½	0 5	.....	.....	.....	.....	0 8
1849	70 4	4 0	6 0	16 0	.....	153 4	1 1	.....	0 8	.....	.....	.....	.....	0 8
1850	70 4	.....	5 0	.....	.....	110 0	0 9½	.....	0 8½	.....	.....	.....	.....	0 8

	Oxen.	Calves.	Muttons.	Boars.	Pigs.	Saddle-horses.	Capons.	Geese.	Hens.	Chickens.	Ducks.	Swans or Cygnets.	Pigeons, doz.	Rabbits, couple.
	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
1551	82 6½	.....	6 8	30 0	.....	170 0	0 8	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1552	82 6½	10 0	6 9	29 9	.....	120 0	1 8	.....	.....	0 4	.....	.....	.....	.....
1553	75 1½	4 6	5 11	22 3	.....	147 4	.....	0 10	.....	0 2	.....	.....	.....	.....
1554	63 6½	4 8	6 8	25 0	.....	106 8	2 10	.....	0 3	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1555	79 9	9 0	6 0	30 0	.....	120 0	1 10	.....	0 8	0 4½	.....	10 0	.....	1 0
1556	56 8	6 0	6 8	30 0	.....	100 0	2 0	0 7½	.....	0 1½	.....	.....	.....	0 6
1557	85 9	7 6	5 4	26 8	.....	153 4	2 8	1 4	0 3	0 2½	.....	.....	.....	0 5½
1558	74 9	9 0	6 0	24 0	7 0	153 4	0 11½	.....	0 3	0 3	.....	.....	.....	0 6
1559	109 9	7 6	6 4½	.....	.....	120 0	1 1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	0 7
1560	73 9	6 8	6 8	20 0	.....	115 4	1 10	0 10	0 6	0 3½	.....	.....	.....	0 6½
1561	75 0	9 0	6 8	20 0	.....	160 0	0 11½	0 10	0 3	0 3	0 3	.....	1 0	0 8
1562	73 10½	8 0	9 0	.....	.....	190 0	1 0	1 0	.....	.....	.....	02 0	.....	0 7½
1563	76 0½	.....	7 0	.....	.....	166 8	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1564	69 11½	9 0	5 10½	16 0	.....	180 0	0 11	0 11	.....	0 4½	.....	.....	1 0	0 7½
1565	120 0	.....	6 0	.....	.....	100 0	0 10	0 11	.....	0 4	.....	.....	1 0½	0 8
1566	66 0½	.....	6 8	33 4	.....	110 0	0 10½	.....	.....	.....	.....	4 3	.....	0 7
1567	71 6½	.....	5 5	25 0	.....	133 4	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1568	63 8½	9 0	6 8	23 4	.....	190 0	0 10	0 11½	.....	0 2½	.....	.....	.....	0 7½
1569	69 9½	.....	5 8	.....	.....	96 4	1 10	.....	.....	0 4½	0 8	.....	1 0	0 8
1570	70 11	12 2	6 3½	31 0	.....	115 0	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1571	70 4½	.....	6 10	23 0	.....	190 0	0 11½	0 11	.....	0 3	0 5	.....	1 0	0 10½
1572	96 0	14 4	7 0	.....	9 0	86 8	1 4	1 2	0 4½	0 1½	0 5	.....	.....	0 9

TABLE I.—CATTLE AND STOCK. HIGHEST PRICES.

	Oxen.	Calves.	Muttons.	Boars.	Figs.	Saddle-horses.	Capons.	Geese.	Hens.	Chickens.	Ducks.	Swans or Cygnets.	Pigeons, doz.	Rabbits, couple.
	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
1873	130 6	12 2	8 6	.....	.....	160 0	1 2½	1 0½	.....	0 6	.....	.....	.....	0 8
1874	88 5½	.....	8 0	33 4	.....	200 0	1 2½	1 3	0 6	0 4½	0 6	2 6	1 5½	0 9
1875	83 0½	11 4	10 6	26 8	.....	160 0	1 1½	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1 2½	0 8
1876	83 8	.....	6 8½	33 4	.....	240 0	1 1½	1 0½	.....	.....	.....	.....	1 0	0 8½
1877	85 0	13 4	8 4½	33 4	.....	160 0	1 6	1 0½	.....	0 2½	0 6	6 8	1 1	0 9½
1878	85 0	.....	8 10	33 4	.....	201 0	0 11½	1 0½	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	0 9½
1879	86 1	.....	7 5½	.....	.....	133 4	1 1½	1 2	.....	0 4	.....	.....	1 5	0 9½
1880	49 0	.....	7 8	30 0	.....	160 0	1 0	1 0	.....	.....	.....	.....	1 1	0 9
1881	86 0	.....	6 8	.....	.....	110 0	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1882	87 4	.....	6 8	.....	3 9	86 8	0 9½	0 10½	.....	0 2½	0 4½	.....	1 0	0 9

TABLE II.—THE PRICE OF LIVE STOCK.—DECENNIAL AVERAGES.

	Oxen.	Calves.	Boars.	Saddle-horses.	Capona.	Geese.	Hens.	Chickens.	Ducks.	Swans or Cygnets.	Pigeons, doz.	Rabbits, couple.
	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
1401-1410	19 6½	1 10½	6 11½	68 10	0 4	0 4½	0 2½	0 1½	0 1½	3 6	0 2½	0 6
1411-1420	19 0	2 4½	7 10	49 8½	0 4	0 5½	0 2½	0 1½	0 1½	4 3½	0 4½	0 4½
1421-1430	17 6	1 9½	8 3	41 0	0 4	0 4	0 2	0 1	0 2	5 10	0 4	0 5½
1431-1440	17 1	1 11½	8 0½	74 9	0 4	0 4	0 2	0 1½	0 1½	2 7½	0 4	0 4
1441-1450	18 0½	1 8½	6 8½	54 8½	0 4	0 4	0 2	0 1	.....	1 8	0 4	0 4½
1451-1460	19 1½	1 10½	8 0½	51 11½	0 4	0 4	0 2	0 1	0 1½	2 1½	0 4½	.....
1461-1470	20 7½	2 5½	9 2½	44 0	0 4	0 4½	0 2½	0 1½	0 2	2 2	0 4½	0 4
1471-1480	17 2½	2 2	8 9½	46 0½	0 4½	0 4½	0 2½	0 1	0 1½	2 0	0 5	0 4
1481-1490	16 0½	2 1½	7 10½	55 2	0 5	0 4½	0 2½	0 1½	0 1½	2 6½	0 6	.....
1491-1500	15 11½	2 1	7 8½	55 1½	0 6½	0 4	0 1½	0 1	0 2	.....	.....	0 4
1501-1510	22 6½	2 6½	9 7	61 7	0 9½	0 5½	0 2½	0 1½	0 4	2 11	0 7	0 5½
1511-1520	23 2	2 3½	8 5½	54 5	1 0½	0 3½	0 2	0 1	0 2	2 2½	0 4½	0 4
1521-1530	30 10½	2 7½	10 6	74 4	1 4½	.....	0 3½	0 1½	.....	2 3½	0 11½	0 7
1531-1540	28 7½	3 7½	11 6	93 10½	0 10½	0 6	0 3½	0 1½	0 4	2 5½	0 5½	0 6½
1541-1550	42 3½	3 7½	13 10½	97 9½	0 8	0 8	0 5½	0 2½	.....	2 8	.....	0 7
1551-1560	78 7½	7 2½	26 5	130 7	1 9	0 11	0 4½	0 3	.....	10 0	.....	0 7½
1561-1570	75 8½	9 5½	24 9½	144 1	1 0½	0 10½	0 3	0 3½	0 4	3 1½	1 0	0 7½
1571-1582	85 10½	12 9½	30 5	157 4	1 1½	0 10½	0 5½	0 3	0 5½	4 7	1 2	0 9
Average 140 yrs.	20 7	2 3	8 6½	58 11½	0 6½	0 4½	0 2½	0 1½	0 2½	2 9½	0 5½	0 5
1541-1582	70 7½	8 3	23 7½	132 5½	1 1½	0 10	0 4½	0 3	0 4½	5 1	1 1	0 7½

AVERAGES.—HIGHEST PRICES.

	Muttons.	Ewes.	Hoggs.	Lambs.
	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
1401—1410	2 2½	2 0½	1 10½	1 1½
1411—1420	2 1	1 4½	1 6½	0 11
1421—1430	1 8½	1 4	1 6½	0 10½
1431—1440	2 0	1 6½	1 8	1 0½
1441—1450	2 4½	1 3½	1 4½	0 8½
1451—1460	1 9½	1 2	1 0½	0 8
1461—1470	1 11½	1 7½	1 5½	1 1
1471—1480	1 5½	1 4	1 6	1 c½
1481—1490	2 4	1 4	1 4½	1 0½
1491—1500	1 10	1 0½	.....	0 8½
1501—1510	2 4	1 0½	1 4	1 1½
1511—1520	2 5½	1 6	.....	0 8½
1521—1530	3 4	2 3½	2 3½	1 1½
1531—1540	3 3	1 8	1 10½	1 5½
1541—1550	4 11½	.....	.....	2 2
1551—1560	6 2½	.....	.....	2 6½
1561—1570	6 6½	4 0	.....	3 3
1571—1582	7 8½	3 4	4 5	5 0
Average 140 years	2 2½	1 5½	1 7	0 11½
Average 42 years.	6 4	3 8	4 5	3 2½

CHAPTER XII.

ON THE PRICE OF FARM PRODUCE.

I HAVE already commented on the price of corn, stock, hay, straw and wool. But there are other agricultural products to which I must now direct my readers' attention, though I cannot promise such abundant information as I was able to supply in my previous volumes. There is enough, however, on which to construct some inferences, especially as to the rise in prices towards the latter part of the period. In this part of my enquiry the purchaser takes the place of the producer; and, while it is pretty clear that only the best qualities are represented in the articles which are priced, the measures are various, the evidence is broken, and the interpretation of the facts is sometimes obscure. I shall deal with the various articles separately.

CHEESE, BUTTER, AND EGGS. It has not been possible to construct unbroken decennial periods for any of these articles, even for the last, the evidence for which was so abundant in the earlier period. But scanty as the facts are, they are sufficient for certain, and those the most important, inferences.

Eggs are, as in the earlier period, generally bought and sold by the long hundred of 120. I have been able to find enough evidence to construct decennial averages, calculated to two places of decimals in pence for eggs during the first 140 years. This calculation gives 6s. 2d. for the hundred during this period, the price being constantly exalted during the last forty years, owing of course to purchases. It is highly probable that most people, and particularly the managers of colleges and monasteries,

kept fowls, and therefore purchased only when home supplies were scanty, and the article was dear. But however much prices were exalted in the earlier part of the sixteenth century, eggs were relatively very dear in the third quarter, for the price rises from a little over 6*d.* the ten dozen to a little over 2*s.* 6*d.*, an increase which is witnessed in no other article. I cannot but think that the peasantry, in the growing poverty of their condition, ceased to supply these articles, and that the stint led to the rise in price.

Cheese is bought by the wey or pisa, weighing 224 lbs., by the stone of 14 lbs., i. e. the sixteenth part of the wey, and by the pound. In the earlier part of my enquiry, the manor of Hornchurch, in Essex, belonging to New College, was still managed by the College, and cheese by the wey is one of the articles produced and sold from the estate. Essex cheese was of good quality, the Sion accounts constantly specifying it, though they do not, unfortunately, often give the weight of their purchases.

New College gave up cultivation on its own account at Hornchurch after 1428. During the years in which entries of cheese sales from this manor are made, the following prices are recorded, the years in which no sales are made being omitted.

PRICES OF A WEY OF ESSEX CHEESE AT HORNCURCH.

	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>		<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>		<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>		<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
1401	10	4	1407	10	4	1413	12	0	1421	10	0
1402	11	0	1408	12	0	1414	11	4	1423	9	0
1403	9	8	1409	10	10½	1415	11	3	1426	9	4
1404	11	0	1410	10	10	1417	11	0	1427	9	4
1405	10	0	1411	9	8	1419	10	0	1428	13	4
1406	10	2	1412	12	0	1420	8	0	Average	10	6½

Assuming that the Essex cheeses bought by Sion in 1448, 1481, and 1489 were procured at this rate, i. e. at 1*s.* 2*d.* to 1*s.* 2½*d.* each, it appears that about nine cheeses went to the wey, each weighing about 25 lbs.

Essex cheese is purchased by Sion by the wey in 1501 at 12*s.* 10*d.* and 13*s.* 4*d.* the wey, in 1519 at from 15*s.* to 14*s.* 10*d.*, and probably in 1520 at 18*s.*, in 1521 at from 16*s.* 3*d.* to 15*s.*, in 1524 at 14*s.*, in 1525 at 13*s.* 6*d.*, in 1526 at about 16*s.*, in 1527 at 17*s.* 8*d.*, in 1532 at about 15*s.* 6*d.*, and in 1536 at from 19*s.* to 14*s.* 8*d.*

Suffolk cheese is purchased by Sion at about 10*s.* the wey in 1494, at 14*s.* in 1501; at a much lower price, which it is not easy to disintegrate, in 1532; at 16*s.* 8*d.* in 1535, and at 23*s.* 8*d.* in 1536. The navy controller buys it at 30*s.* in 1549. That of Mettingham College in 1527 at 9*s.* 9*d.* is probably of the same origin.

A much cheaper cheese is bought at Wye in 1462, 1463, 1464, 1466, 1502, at 6*s.* 8*d.* the wey; at Faversham in 1474, at even a less price, 6*s.* to 6*s.* 7½*d.*; at Alciston in 1479 and 1502 at 6*s.* 8*d.*; and at La Loose at the same rate in 1498. Some cheese of this quality appears to be purchased by Sion in 1499.

Cheese rises in price from about 10*s.* 10*d.* to 26*s.* 3½*d.* towards the close of the period. Some bought at Hunstanton in 1572 varies between 40*s.* and 26*s.* 8*d.*

In the earlier part of the period cheese is sold by the stone of 14 lb., the price ranging from 1*s.* the stone to 7*d.*, and (as at Fountains in 1490 and Bardney in 1528-30) to even 6*d.*, 5*d.* and 4*d.* Generally it may be said that common good cheese could be bought at about a halfpenny the pound. Later in the period it is bought in 1548 at 1*d.* the pound, or at 8*s.* 2*d.* the cwt., in 1549 at 1½*d.* and 1*d.* A singular entry at Faversham in 1474 gives an unknown quantity, the pestry. The value of this quantity seems to imply the clove or half-stone.

Butter is sold by the gallon, the pound, the stone of 14 lbs., and later on by the barrel and firkin. The price by the gallon is from 1*s.* to 8*d.*, the former price being pretty constant near London. By the pound it is generally at 1*d.*, by the stone at 1*s.* The earliest entry of a barrel which I have found is at London in 1514, when it is bought at 12*s.* 5*d.*, the same price at which a wey of cheese is purchased. Sion in 1324 buys it

at 10s. the barrel and at 10*d.* the gallon. Bardney, in 1528, at 10*d.* the stone and 20s. 8*d.* and 21s. 4*d.* the barrel; in 1529 at 10*d.* and 1s. the stone and 17s. the barrel, and at the same rate in 1530. It is bought at Trimley in 1545 at 6s. 8*d.* the firkin of 58 lbs., which would give 232 lbs. to the barrel; at 12s. the barrel in 1546, at London. But in 1547 the navy buys it at 38s., in 1548 (a very cheap year) at 30s., 33s. 4*d.*, 38s., and 27s.; in 1549 at 38s. and at 7s. the cwt.; in 1566 at 40s. the barrel, five firkins going to the barrel, and at the same price in 1574, when the barrel appears to contain 240 lbs. In 1572 it is bought at from 60s. to 56s. the barrel, and in 1576 at 30s. the cwt.

Butter by the pound rises from 1*d.* to 3*d.* or even 4*d.* at the latter end of the period, but in small quantities. The general rise is from 1s. 1½*d.* in the earlier period to 2s. 8*d.* in the last forty-two years.

There are twenty-two entries of the price of milk, all in the earlier part of the enquiry. The price ranges from a penny the gallon to nearly 3*d.*, the most frequent price being 2*d.* All the entries but four are from the Sion accounts, three being from Isleworth, where the Sion dairy was. The fourth is from Windsor, on the occasion of a royal feast there.

There are fifteen entries of cream before 1541. In the earlier part of the first period, the price is generally from 4*d.* to 4½*d.* the gallon. Three entries in 1532, 1533, 1537 give 8*d.* The Windsor purchase in 1527 is at 1s. The general average for the whole time is 6*d.* Twelve entries of cream between 1559 and 1582 inclusive, generally derived from the Oxford city accounts, give an average of 1s. 5¾*d.*

In 1529 the abbey of Bardney buys 18 gallons of 'Quaccum' at 2*d.* I have no means of deciding what this article is. It is probably some mixture of curds and cream.

HONEY. The price of honey by the gallon has been discovered in 83 out of the first 140 years, being sometimes sold in considerable quantities and at varying rates. The entries are chiefly from Cambridge. Sometimes it is described as

purchased in the combs, as in 1473, 1479, and 1492 at Oxford. Once at Selborne, 1451, it is designated 'pure.' In one place, Berdfield Manor, 1461, 1500, it is sold by the 'bolle,' which appears to be, from its value, much the same as the gallon. In the aggregate, there is but little variation in the price, the average being 1s. 2½*d.* till the last decade, when the entry of a small quantity from Hunstanton in 1532 greatly raises the average. In the same year two barrels at Durham are printed in error as gallons. Only one entry has been found after 1540. In 1574 half a gallon was bought at Harling and Mendham at 3s. 4*d.*

Nineteen entries have been made of honey by the barrel (most of these being from Sion and Durham) before 1540. But it is plain that the barrel means a very different quantity in the years 1489, 1492, 1499, and 1521, from that which is implied in other years. An average of the fifteen entries gives 29s. 4*d.* for the barrel. That of three of the others, for it is almost impracticable to extract a price from the Cambridge entry of 1489, is 12s. 3*d.* There are also three entries of honey by the firkin, in 1530 at Sion, in 1533 at Lewes, and in 1535 at Sion. These give an average of a little over 7s. 8*d.* the firkin, and would represent an average of 30s. 8*d.* the barrel. The barrel of honey was defined, *supra*, p. 207, to contain 32 gallons. One entry has been found at Cambridge in the later period, a 'barrel' being priced at 10s. in 1543.

Bee-keeping was probably practised very generally by all classes, and especially by the poor. The price of the produce during the first part of the present period scarcely varies from that of the latter part of the period commented on in the first volumes, when the average was 1s. 2*d.* When the price of honey is compared with other saccharine matters, it is singularly low. Entries of the price of beehives will be found among sundry articles; in 1472, 1521, 1522, and 1524 at 4*d.*, in 1487 and 1518 at 3*d.*, in 1530 at a little over 3*d.*, in 1515 at 3½*d.*, in 1527 at 5*d.* In 1532 Sion buys two and a-half dozen of these articles for 9s.

CIDER AND FRUIT. In my first volumes I was able to give

a short table of these and cognate articles. But cider occurs very rarely in the accounts of the 15th and 16th centuries. I have been able to make only six entries in the first period between 1402 and 1463, the price steadily falling from 6*s.* 8*d.* and 5*s.* to 3*s.* 4*d.* the pipe. Once, 1414, it is sold by the tun of two pipes. Verjuice and crabs are bought frequently, and at very various prices. A pipe of the former is bought in 1504 at 16*s.*, another in 1524 at 20*s.*, a hogshead in 1516 at 10*s.* 6*d.*, another in 1529 at 6*s.* 8*d.*, others in 1550 at 9*s.*, in 1569 at 8*s.* 6*d.*, in 1579 at 10*s.* It is bought by the gallon in 1488 at 2*d.*, in 1510 at 3½*d.*, in 1573 at 1*s.* 1½*d.* Crabs vary in price from 3*s.* 6*d.* the quarter to 8*d.* Arbitri, in 1510–1515, are probably crabs, as Ompharium in 1572 is perhaps verjuice.

Apples are bought by the quarter or bushel, when the fruit is of the common sort, by the hundred when it is intended for the table. The former are found at 1*s.* 4*d.* the quarter in 1401, at 8*d.* in 1412, at 4*s.* in 1494, at 3*s.* 6*d.* in 1518, at 2*s.* 8*d.* in 1521, at 11½*d.* in 1538. But costard apples are bought at 4*d.* the hundred, and pippins at 5*d.*, in 1485. By the same measure they are purchased at 7½*d.* in 1519, at 4*d.* in 1522, at 6½*d.* in 1524, at 6*d.* in 1529. So twenty deusans are bought for 8*d.* in 1569, 12 pippins at 1*d.* each, 20 costards for 3*d.* But orchards were common, and these purchases were made for occasional feasts when home supplies ran short.

The entries of pears, either under this name or described as wardens and volemi, are more common. The first which has come under my notice is a hundred and a-half wardens bought (1417) in Cambridge at 8*d.* The next is 3000 volemi in 1467, bought between Michaelmas and Feb. 20, for 12*s.* 4½*d.*, 300 pears at 4*d.*, 350 wardens for 1*s.* 10*d.*, and a bushel of medlars in 1494, 400 at 6*d.* in 1515, 250 in 1517 at 2*s.* 2*d.* the hundred, these being volemi, 200 at 5*d.* and 100 at 3*d.* in 1520, 500 at 4*d.* in 1521, and a pannier at 8*d.*, 1000 for 3*s.* 4*d.*, and another 1000 for 2*s.* 4*d.* in 1522, a hundred wardens for 4*d.*, and a bushel at the same price in the same year, when I find also the

entry of a pot of strawberries, the first mention of this fruit, at $4\frac{1}{2}d.$ In 1525 I find strawberries at $1s.$, $10d.$, and $8d.$ the gallon, and fourteen pounds of cherries bought for $1s.$ In 1527, at the Windsor feast, 200 wardens are bought on Feb. 25, 1528, at $2s. 6d.$ the hundred; in 1529, 100 pears at $1s.$, 400 at $6d.$, 600 at $4d.$; in 1530 a bushel of wardens at $1s. 2d.$, a hundred at $5d.$ In 1532 I find a bushel of walnuts at Durham bought for $3s. 4d.$, and five bushels of wardens at Sion at $1s. 8\frac{1}{2}d.$ In 1536 I find oranges and cucumbers at Birling in Essex, priced without quantities, and seven bushels of wardens in Oxford at $1s.$ Sion in 1537 buys the same quantity at $1s. 6d.$ In 1557-8 cherries are bought in London (July) at $1d.$ the lb., and next year, at the same place and time, at $3d.$ In 1569 quinces are found for the first time, 31 being bought for $3s. 8d.$ In 1575 100 pears cost $6d.$, and 200 wardens are bought at $1s. 6d.$ the hundred. These are the last entries of fruit.

GREASE AND FAT. The accounts contain entries of various kinds of hard and soft fats, the former being generally known as *cebum*, *cepum*, and latterly tallow, the latter *pinguedo* or lard. The principal use of the latter was for sheep dressing, when it is bought in large quantities to mix with tar, and is sometimes called *pinguedo alba*. It is bought by the gallon and the pound, sometimes by the wey and stone, the stone being occasionally 8 lbs. in weight, and the wey containing 20 such stones. In the Coleshull account of 1499 the gallon of *pinguedo* is said to contain 12 lbs. The price varies from $2\frac{1}{2}d.$ to $1d.$ the lb., though the commonest price in the early period is $1d.$ Thirty entries of *pinguedo* between 1426 and 1499 give an average of $1s. 3\frac{1}{4}d.$ the dozen pounds, nine entries of *pinguedo* or *unctum* by the gallon give an average of $10\frac{1}{4}d.$ An average of 25 entries of *cepum* or hard fat by the stone is nearly $8\frac{3}{4}d.$, and as the wey contains twenty such stones, it appears that the stone should be a little over 11 lbs. But, as I have stated, at Cambridge and S. Osyth in 1502 and 1521, it is said that the stone is 8 lbs., and in this case the wey of tallow would be 160 lbs. *Cebum* is sometimes sold to shoemakers and at a

high price. After 1540 three entries give an average of 2s. 3½*d.* the stone.

Tallow is bought at 1s. 6*d.* the stone at Pershore, and at 9*d.* at Canons Ashby in the years 1424 and 1453, at 1*d.* the lb. in 1461 at Restormel. But it is also purchased by the cwt. An average of nine entries between 1462 and 1541 inclusive gives a price of 7s. the cwt. for tallow, an average of eleven entries after that date gives 22s. 6½*d.* for the same quantity.

Entries of flotas or kitchen grease generally come from the Sion accounts. It is sold by the barrel, and occasionally by the kilderkin or half barrel. In the first two years, 1452-1453, it is sold at 6s. 8*d.* The remaining seven entries realise 10s. or a little more. The average is 9s. 2*d.*

Sagmen, occurring at Durham only, appears to be the same as lard, as the swine grease is of 1463, where the petra is of 8 lbs. Lard is sold under this name in the Hatfield account of 1551, and at the great pound of 8 lbs. So also is the sumen of 1558, which is sold by the little pound at 2*d.*

Fifteen entries of suet give an average, between 1555-1582, of 2s. 10½*d.* the dozen lbs. There is an entry of suet before this time from Mary Tudor's wardrobe in 1527, at 10*d.* the petra, and two others at 1s. 3*d.* and 1s. 6*d.* the dozen from London and Birling in 1534 and 1536. It does not appear that, on the whole, the price of fats rose so rapidly, after the increase of prices occurred, as that of other agricultural produce did. To this general fact tallow appears to be an exception.

A few entries of train oil purchased for the use of the navy in the latter part of the period give an average of 72s. the tun. The crown also purchased a tun of 'caulking' oil for Rochester dockyard at £10 10s. in 1561.

WAX AND OIL. Information as to the price of wax, chiefly used for church purposes, and later in the period for the domestic use of the king's or queen's household, is very abundant, only twelve years out of the whole 182 being unrepresented

in the accounts. It occurs in two forms, by the pound and by the hundredweight, the price of the article being naturally cheaper when the purchase is made in bulk. In the later years of the period it is very often purchased by the cwt. only, and the price by the dozen lbs., which has been taken in order to avoid the fractions which would result from drawing the averages from numerous entries, has been estimated from the sales in bulk.

Much of the wax purchased by monasteries and parish churches was of home origin. But it was also imported, principally from the Baltic. It is likewise probable that large purchases made at fairs, as at Stourbridge and Ely, were of foreign origin. This foreign wax is known in the accounts as 'Boleyn,' or 'Poleyn' (1460-1461, etc.), and is known to have been a product of Livonia, and other districts east of the Elbe. Sometimes the wax is purchased made up for consumption, and entries are frequently found of waste wax or droppings, and of the cost of making it either from the raw material or the re-melted and purified waste. The accounts in the pre-reformation times also contain numerous entries of an article cheaper than wax, known as torch, and of lichinum, which appears to be wick. Cotton, raw or twisted, is also to be found, and several entries have been copied into the list of sundries.

The average price of wax in the early part, i. e. the first 140 years, is 6s. 3d. the dozen, and scarcely varies from that which was derived from the averages of the period contained in the first two volumes. The slight rise of a third only is effected in the last 42 years, and this mainly during the last 32 years. Even here, however, the rise is little more than that of 10 to 6. It is highly probable that north-eastern Europe, from which this article was obtained, did not feel the effect of the fall in the value of silver till long after western Europe was brought under its influence.

The cessation in the use of wax for ecclesiastical purposes in all countries where the Reformation became dominant, i. e. in north-western Europe, must have affected the price of this

article. It was used to a great extent in the domestic consumption of monarchs and nobles. But this consumption was in the aggregate nothing as compared with its universal use in churches, as an offering at shrines and altars. The annual cost of the article in colleges and monasteries is a very large sum, though it was constantly compensated by the other offerings made by the penitent, or in the profits made by the sale. Thus Oriel College, in Oxford, to which the offerings made in St. Mary's Church were a considerable source of income, buys wax largely for religious offices, and sells tapers at a profit to the worshippers.

There are a few entries of red wax for seals, but chiefly in the later period. In early times the corporation probably manufactured this article, by melting wax with vermilion, red lead, and other pigments.

Frequent purchases of oil are made, olive and rape, for light and culinary purposes, but chiefly for the former. In the pre-reformation period, most years are represented by these articles, in the later they become scanty. But decennial averages by the gallon have been obtained. The price in the earlier period is very uniform, the average being 1*s.* 2½*d.* the gallon. In the latter it rises to 2*s.* 8¾*d.* Oil is frequently bought in small quantities.

Oil is also bought by the barrel, or cask, the casks being small. One of six gallons is given under 1403, and another of under 5½ gallons in 1406. But it does not follow that these were full barrels. A barrel of rape oil is bought in 1450 for 21*s.*, half a 'cade' of oil in 1456 at 30*s.* 8*d.*, another in 1480 at 7*s.*, and others in 1481 at 5*s.*, in 1482 at 5*s.* 7*d.*, in 1483 at 4*s.*, in 1484 at 8*s.* These are bought at Finchale. But the same priory gives 33*s.* 4*d.* for a barrel in 1486.

In 1488 Magdalen College buys a doleum for 23*s.* 4*d.* Sion in 1489 a barrel of rape oil containing 16 gallons 1 quart 1 pint for 59*s.* 10*d.* Two years afterwards it buys two barrels at 33*s.* 4½*d.* But in 1494, these measures are even more confusing. A 'cade' of oil containing 64 gallons is bought in

Oxford, a barrel of 13 gallons at Sion, two others of $16\frac{1}{2}$ gallons, and a hogshead of lamp oil, the quantity of which is not noted. The barrel of rape oil costs 27*s.* 2*d.* in 1496, 26*s.* 8*d.* in 1499, 36*s.* 8*d.* in 1504, 32*s.* in 1519, 30*s.* in 1520, 33*s.* 4*d.* in 1521, 32*s.* in 1522, 28*s.* 4*d.* in 1526, 40*s.* in 1530, 32*s.* 8*d.* in 1537. The average of the last ten entries is 31*s.* 10½*d.*

Oil, called 'meat oil,' is purchased at Hickling in 1509 and 1511. This seems to mean the same as salad oil.

CANDLES. The information obtained as to the price of candles is much more copious in the later period than it was in the former, evidence being deficient for only eleven years out of the 182 contained in this period. The price of candles therefore supplies what is wanting in the record of the price of hard fats, the more because the annual record is almost unbroken during the sixteenth century, and entirely so during that part of the period in which the rise in prices was effected.

The entries have been reckoned by the dozen pounds. Candles are frequently bought at this rate, and occasionally, as at Hornchurch in 1407, and Cambridge in 1414, thirteen pounds are reckoned to the dozen. Candles are much cheaper in the fifteenth century than they were in the fourteenth, and the price, lower in the last decade of the fifteenth century, keeps falling from the commencement of this period. The general average in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries was 1*s.* 11½*d.* From 1401 to 1530 the general average is only 1*s.* 3¾*d.*, and in the decade 1491-1500 it is as low as 1*s.* 0½*d.*, the article being frequently purchased at 1*s.* the dozen, and even less.

The price of candles is, of course, the price of manufactured mutton fat; and the low range of these prices is a proof that sheepfarming was profitable, that meat was cheap, that a generous diet was within the reach of most people, including the labouring classes, and that artificial light was also more within the means of the many than it had been a century before. During that period it seemed that the use of candles must have been rare among the poorer and farming classes, and that, as a

rule, they must have used rushes stripped on two sides, and dipped in grease for occasional light¹. But with increased wages and cheaper articles, artificial light was far more accessible in the fifteenth century.

The New College accounts give certain entries of lichinum, that is, of loosely plaited wick. This is of two qualities, described as *melius* and *pejus*, and is generally bought at 2*d.* and 1½*d.* the lb. Wick is also purchased under the English name in other places and at the same prices.

Cotton for wicks, of which there are thirteen entries in the tables of sundry articles, was very dear, though not so costly as it was in the fourteenth century. It fluctuates considerably; 6*s.* 8*d.* and 6*s.* 4*d.* the dozen lbs. in 1455, 8*s.* 6*d.* in 1459, 7*s.* in 1460, 4*s.* in 1462, when it is called wick yarn, nearly 10*s.* in 1466, 7*s.* in 1482, 3*s.* 9*d.* in 1494, 6*s.* in 1518, 1521, and 1524, in which last year it is also bought at 5*s.* 4*d.*, 5*s.* 8*d.* in 1522, 8*s.* in 1529 and 1530. But in 1571 it is bought for 3*s.*

Candles are frequently described as of Paris, especially in the middle part of the period. These are sometimes dearer than English produce, though frequently of the same price. But they are not found in the later part. The purchases are occasionally very large, probably because it was known that candles are the better for keeping. Thus Sion Abbey buys between 100 and 200 dozen in the year, and at one time, Mettingham College purchases 406 dozen in 1528. Cambridge (King's College) 120 dozen in 1547.

Mettingham College buys candles by the cwt., and in the two years' account of this college pays 8*s.* 6*d.* and 8*s.* 9*d.* for the hundred. The hundred-weight is also used at Kirling, which gives late information (in 1577 the cwt. is 25*s.*, in 1578 and 1579 32*s.*, in 1580 30*s.*), and at Cambridge in 1581, where it is 25*s.* By this time the price had risen to 3*s.* and 3*s.* 6*d.* the dozen, though occasionally purchases are made at cheaper rates.

The rise in the price is exceedingly suggestive, but com-

¹ Candle rushes may be found in Vol. III. p. 565 i, 566 i, &c.

ments on it will be best reserved, till the whole range of prices are subjected to analysis in a later chapter. A candle-mould will be found in vol. iii. p. 577, priced at 5s.

FUEL. It is convenient to include fuel under the head of farm produce, as underwood was regularly cultivated for fuel, and the produce was sold under various names. The labour is in some of the articles included in the price of fuel, the principal element of value; but, as was stated before, no land in the fifteenth century was without an owner, and the privilege of cutting even the cheapest kinds of fuel was either a common right, or granted on payment for a licence, even to dig turf or mow sedge.

The accounts contain several entries of the sale of underwood and trees by the acre. The value varies exceedingly. Thus in 1401 the sales at Heghtredebury give prices varying from 24s. to 9s. the acre, while at Anesty a sale is affected at 4s. Two acres of wood are sold at Takley at 50s., while one at Birchanger fetches 40s. In 1409, 1410, 1412, 1422, 1424-7, 1432, 1435, the Takley copse is sold at 4s., while the Heyford reaches 12s. 6d. In 1411 the Takley wood is also sold at 6s., in 1417 at 3s. 4d. In 1423 large sales are made at rates from 15s. to 10s. the acre in 1456, and at 8s. in 1457, at Folkingham. But in 1474, Peterhouse, Cambridge, buys an acre for 26s. 8d., and in 1481 Swaffham sells a quarter of an acre at 16s. In Kimbolton $23\frac{1}{2}$ acres are sold at 13s. 4d. in 1495, and $3\frac{1}{2}$ at Wiveton are bought at 8s. In 1500, $3\frac{1}{2}$ acres are sold at Farley at 6s. 8d. In 1503 Heghtredebury sells an acre at 20s. But none of these entries give any account of the produce. Sales of wood are effected in 1540 and in 1542 at prices varying from 26s. 8d. to 106s. 8d., and of underwood in the latter year at 20s. and 16s. the acre. In 1438 the highest prices of underwood are reached.

More significant is the purchase at Norwich in 1511 of an acre of wood seven miles from the city. This produced 1700 faggots, and was bought for 40s. The cutting and tying these faggots cost 12s. 9d., the carriage was 17s., which gives a little

over 4*s.* 7*d.* the hundred delivered. Now in Cambridge about this time faggots are worth by the hundred about 6*s.* 8*d.* In 1512, at Eton in Norfolk, the cost is 4*s.* But faggots by the hundred are universally far dearer in the fifteenth than they were in the fourteenth century. The average is 2*s.* 8½*d.* from 1260 to 1400, 7*s.* 11*d.* from 1401 to 1540. Part of this exaltation is undoubtedly due to the high prices which Cambridge gives, and probably denotes that the faggot was large in this district.

Faggots are sold from Hornchurch at from 4*s.* to 5*s.*, and even at lower prices; in other places at 4*s.*, 3*s.*, and 2*s.* 8*d.*, at which the Heveningland sales are made. Once, in 1473, King's College buys at 3*s.* 2*d.*; but this is an exception. They are sold as low as 1*s.* 2*d.* at Walsham, in 1501. Faggots are rarely bought at Oxford, charcoal being the fuel generally used. After 1540 the price of faggots by the hundred rises considerably, though not as much as other commodities do.

In my first volume (p. 426) I reckoned, from information which I had received, that underwood produces from 300 to 600 faggots by the acre. But the Norwich purchase of 1511 yielded 1700, and must have therefore been exceptionally good. Still, as compared with the rates at which underwood was ordinarily sold (such underwood yielding about 400 faggots the acre in the fourteenth century), the price paid for the Norfolk purchase is high, and indicates increasing dearness for fuel.

Faggots are also sold by the load. The load appears to have contained, to judge from its price, about a quarter of a hundred. This measure is not so common as that by tale.

Other names are Bobbelyns (Cambridge, 1408); Shrof faggots (Elham, 1414), one quarter the price of ordinary faggots from the same place; ascels¹, or astells, kydes, or kedys (Heveningland), tosarls, bavins (a cheap article), and brushwood.

Fuel, *focalia*, is also sold by the hundred, as are tall wood,

¹ Those in 1434 are said to be bought for burning tiles. The word is very widely used.

standards, shides, sheddings, billets, pole wood, great wood, and furze. Fuel by the hundred, or by the load, is generally about the price of faggots. A hundred of tall wood is about half the price of a hundred of faggots.

Charcoal is very commonly used, both for cooking and for warmth. It is bought by the quarter, the load, and the sack; by the first generally, by the load frequently at Cambridge. It varies from 6*d.* to 16*d.* the quarter, but is occasionally much dearer. The average price before 1540 is 7½*d.*, afterwards it rises to 1*s.* 0¾*d.* The rise is far less than in the case of most other articles, but the chief element in the value of charcoal was labour, and labour, as we shall see hereafter, did not rise in price as other articles rose¹. The seam is also found, and the skep at York.

To judge from comparative prices, the load of charcoal contained from ten to twelve quarters, probably the latter, as is suggested by the decennial and general averages. It was likely to be a little dearer when bought by the smaller quantity. In 1490 the Cambridge load is said to contain thirteen quarters.

In 1524, 1525, 1527, 1529, 1530, charcoal is bought at Sion by the byn, a measure unknown to me, and apparently to the glossaries. The average of this quantity in the first year is 33*s.*, in the second 37*s.* 6*d.*, in the third apparently 38*s.*, in the fourth 34*s.* 1½*d.*, in the fifth 37*s.* 11*d.* In the first and second year the price of the load is 9*s.* at Sion, in the third it cannot be exactly discovered, in the fourth it is 9*s.*, in the fifth it is 10*s.* It would seem then that this anomalous and exceptional measure contained from three to three and a-half loads.

Another singular measure is found in 1454 at Cambridge, the tuntyte. It looks like the third of a load.

Sea-coal is found more frequently than in the earlier period, being bought by the chalder or chaldron, the fother, the quarter,

¹ It may be stated here that the proportion in the above prices (31 to 51) represents a ratio between the rise in the necessities of life (generally 3 to 7) and that of wages (generally 2 to 3) before and after 1540.

and the bushel. It varies, as may be expected, greatly in price according to its proximity to the coal-field. It is purchased in York by the chaldron in 1402-1404 at 5*s.*, in 1415 at 5*s.* 4*d.*, in 1418 at 4*s.* 4*d.*, and 4*s.* in 1419; at 1*s.* 1*d.* the skep at the same place in 1432; at 1*s.* 4*d.* the quarter in 1472, the fuel being here designated as Raby coal; at 1*s.* 2*d.* the quarter in 1498. But at Windsor, in 1405, it costs 3*s.* 8*d.* the quarter; in 1408, 6*d.* the bushel; in 1414, 5*d.*

At Jarrow and Wearmouth it is much cheaper. It is 1*s.* 4½*d.* the chaldron at the former place in 1433, 10½*d.* in 1451, 1*s.* 2½*d.* in 1453, 1*s.* 4*d.* in 1454, 1*s.* 2*d.* in 1466, in 1531 2*s.* At Wearmouth it is bought by the fother in 1448, 1449, at 2*s.*, in 1450 at 6*d.*, in 1453 at 7*d.*, in 1452 at 2*s.* 0½*d.*

The Howard accounts of 1467, 1469 contain purchases at 6*s.* 8*d.* the chaldron. It is bought by Sion for the first time in 1489 at 7*s.*, in 1497 at 5*s.* 8*d.*, in 1507 at 4*s.* 5½*d.*, in 1508 at 5*s.*, in 1515 at 5*s.*, in 1516 at 4*s.* 8*d.*, in 1517 at 6*s.* 4*d.*, in 1518 at 6*s.* 8*d.*, in 1522 at 9*s.* 8½*d.*, in 1523 at 4*s.* 6*d.*, 5*s.*, and 9*s.* 4*d.*, in 1529 at 6*s.* 8*d.*, in 1534 at 6*s.* 8*d.*

It is bought at Peterhouse, Cambridge, in 1502, when 20 bushels cost 3*s.* 8*d.*, and 1503, when the same quantity costs 3*s.* In 1519, 1520 it is bought at 2½*d.* the bushel, and in 1521, at 2½*d.*

A chalder is purchased at Hickling in 1517 at 5*s.*; seven in 1521 at Hunstanton at 5*s.*, three at 5*s.* 4*d.*, and half a chaldron at 6*s.*; next year at the same place, nine are bought at 5*s.*, four at 5*s.* 4*d.* In the next year twenty chalders from Newcastle are purchased at 5*s.* 4*d.*, and in 1527, dated purchases from March to Feb. give 5*s.* 4*d.*, 4*s.* 8*d.*, 5*s.*, 5*s.* 4*d.*, 6*s.* The Nuns of Swyn buy thirteen chaldrons in 1528 at 5*s.* 11*d.*, and nine chaldrons are bought at Hunstanton in 1533 at 5*s.* In 1548, fifty-seven chaldrons are bought at 2*s.* 6*d.* in Newcastle, and sold as sixty-eight and a-half Ipswich chaldrons at 10*s.*, an enormous profit. In 1549, at Hunstanton, twelve and a-half chalders, two bolls are bought at 10*s.*, and eighteen chaldrons are sold at Newcastle at 2*s.* 10½*d.* In 1562, ten

chaldrons are bought at Deptford at 11*s.* 4*d.*, and eighteen and a-half in London at 11*s.* In 1569 the dockyard at Gillingham gives 13*s.* 4*d.* the chalder, and the same price is paid at London in 1570. In 1574, seventy-one and a-half chalders are bought in London at 20*s.*, and two sacks in Hunstanton at 8*d.* In Cambridge, King's College in 1579 buys one chalder at 16*s.* 8*d.*, eleven at 18*s.*, one at 13*s.* 2*d.*, one at 12*s.* 8*d.*, and purchases thirteen in Lynn at 12*s.* 7*d.* Next year it buys nineteen at 14*s.*, London paying in the same year 15*s.* for half a chalder and 12*s.* 8*d.* for thirty. In 1581 London buys half a chalder at 13*s.* 4*d.*, and Cambridge buys eleven great chalders in Lynn at 11*s.* 6*d.*, and twelve at 10*s.* 6*d.*, the carriage of the two parcels being 26*s.* 8*d.* and 28*s.* respectively, making with the carriage the cost of the first lot 13*s.* 11*d.* and of the second 12*s.* 10*d.* the chaldron.

The average price of twelve entries of sea-coal by the chaldron at Sion is 6*s.* 2*d.*, and may be taken to adequately represent the London price. All these entries precede 1540. The average of five entries in London subsequent to the above date is 14*s.* 5*d.*, and the rise corresponds to that which is found in other money values. The average of seven entries at Hunstanton and its neighbourhood is 5*s.* 3½*d.* Three purchases at Hunstanton and Lynn after 1540 give 11*s.* 2¼*d.*

Sea-coal was used for working iron, whenever its price rendered this use expedient. Sion purchases iron largely in mass. But sea-coal is in all places dearer than charcoal, except of course in the immediate neighbourhood of the mines.

It may be mentioned here, that in the year 1427 (vol. iii. p. 549; iii) the monks of Finchale purchased four acres of coal-field at £10 the acre.

Besides wood, charcoal, and sea-coal, sedge was extensively used in the Eastern counties as fuel, and indeed has not been disused till within recent memory. Information as to the price of this article is very abundant from the Cambridge colleges, where it is sometimes the principal kind of fuel used, especially in the later period, when other sources of artificial

heat became relatively dear. It is bought by the 1000 or 100 bundles, is sometimes called 'carices,' and occasionally described by its origin as Lackenham or Lackingay, or Burwell, sedge. It is distinguished from reeds, though the price of the two does not vary in Cambridge. The burning reed bought for the navy, in Kent, is either a different article, or the price of this fuel is very low in Kent. Lackenham is the dearest kind of sedge by fifty per cent.

The average price of sedge up to 1540 is 20s. 6½*d.* the thousand, and afterwards is 30s. 3*d.* It is not raised in price so considerably as other articles. But this is a commodity which owed nearly, if not all, its value to labour, and as we shall find hereafter, labour did not share in the exaltation of general prices in anything like the same degree which other money values did.

Between 1415 and 1450, the Cambridge colleges used turves pretty extensively, bought by the thousand. After the latter date they are almost entirely disused. The average price is a little over 2s.

At the beginning of the sixteenth century another kind of fuel, generally bought by the hundred and called thack, comes into use. The price varies from 8*d.* to 2½*d.*, and the use of it is soon abandoned.

A few articles have still to be commented on. Whitethorn was used for hedges, as in the present day, and plants were bought in the early period at from 10*d.* to 10½*d.* and 1s. the thousand. Other trees are bought for the garden in 1502, when 4*d.* is given for twenty. In 1518, 100 willows are bought for 1s. 4*d.*, and in 1524, sixty for 2s. 6*d.* In 1556 Magdalen College buys 2050 plants for 'the grove,' the whole being purchased for 4s. 10*d.* In 1563, quicksets are 2s. the thousand.

I have referred above to cabbage seed. In 1420 and 1423 the King's Hall, Cambridge, buys parsley and apparently carroway seed.

It will be seen from entries (sundry articles, pp. 544, sqq.) that there were vineyards in 1405 at Windsor, in 1420 at

Cambridge, considerable outlays being incurred at both places. See also vol. iii. p. 683 for that at Barking in 1540.

Saffron was largely cultivated in England, especially in the south-east, but it will be convenient as before to deal with this article when comment is made on spices.

There are seven entries of the price of feathers by the pound, three before 1540, four after that date. By the dozen pounds the first average is 3*s.* 10*d.*; the second 5*s.* 9*d.* Once, in 1533, they are bought at 48*s.* the cwt. There are also four entries by the stone at an average of 2*s.* 2½*d.* between 1456 and 1547.

In the following tables are given, as far as the accounts supply, the following articles. Table I gives the annual value of wool by the tod, woolfells by the dozen, fleeces by the dozen, and the highest prices of ox-hides; prices of the dozen of candles, the dozen of wax, the cwt. of wax, the gallon of oil and the gallon of honey.

In Table II are given the decennial averages of candles, wax, by both weights; oil, honey, cheese by the wey, butter by the gallon and dozen lbs., and eggs by the hundred.

In Table III are given the annual prices of various kinds of fuel. Faggots by the hundred and load, firewood by the hundred and load, charcoal by the quarter and load, and sedge by the thousand.

In Table IV are the decennial averages of these articles.

	Wool, tod.	Woolfells, doz.	Fleeces, doz.	Ox or cow hides. Highest prices.	Candles, doz. lbs.	Wax, doz. lbs.	Wax, cwt.	Oil, gallon.	Honey, gallon.
	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>
1469	4 5	6 0	.....	2 10	1 3	6 4	.....	1 3	1 4
1470	4 0	.....	.....	.....	1 3	7 3 $\frac{3}{4}$	70 0	1 3	1 2 $\frac{1}{2}$
1471	4 1 $\frac{1}{2}$	.....	.....	1 2	.....	8 0	.....	.....	.....
1472	5 2 $\frac{3}{4}$	4 0	.....	3 3	1 1 $\frac{1}{2}$	7 2 $\frac{1}{2}$	75 0	1 2	1 8 $\frac{1}{2}$
1473	5 2 $\frac{3}{4}$	4 6	4 0	.....	1 1 $\frac{3}{4}$	6 9	.....	.....	1 1 $\frac{1}{2}$
1474	4 0	3 6	.....	.....	.....	5 9	.....	.....	1 1 $\frac{1}{2}$
1475	7 1	.....	.....	3 0	.....	6 2 $\frac{1}{2}$	.....	.....	1 2 $\frac{1}{2}$
1476	8 8	4 0	.....	.....	1 0	5 3	45 2	.....	1 1 $\frac{3}{4}$
1477	6 0	2 3 $\frac{1}{2}$	.....	.....	.....	5 3	.....	.....	1 2
1478	4 0	4 4	.....	1 8	1 0	5 7	54 6	.....	1 3
1479	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	5 9	.....	0 9	1 1
1480	3 8	.....	.....	.....	1 7	5 9 $\frac{1}{2}$	.....	1 0	1 2
1481	4 4	3 0	.....	2 8	1 3	5 8 $\frac{1}{2}$	.....	1 1 $\frac{1}{4}$	1 4 $\frac{3}{4}$
1482	5 7	.....	.....	2 4	1 7 $\frac{1}{2}$	5 7 $\frac{1}{2}$	45 8	0 11 $\frac{1}{2}$	.....
1483	5 2	.....	2 10 $\frac{1}{2}$	2 6	1 7 $\frac{3}{4}$	8 10 $\frac{3}{4}$	44 6	1 1	0 11
1484	5 4	.....	.....	.....	1 0	7 0	.....	0 10 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 3 $\frac{1}{2}$
1485	5 0	.....	.....	.....	1 3	7 10 $\frac{1}{2}$	.....	1 2	1 5
1486	5 0	2 11 $\frac{1}{2}$	.....	1 2 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 3	7 10	.....	.....	.....
1487	4 0	.....	.....	.....	1 3 $\frac{3}{4}$	8 4 $\frac{1}{2}$	.....	1 4	1 2
1488	4 5	5 0	.....	2 4	1 1	7 1	60 0	1 2 $\frac{1}{4}$	1 1
1489	4 9 $\frac{1}{2}$	4 0	.....	2 6	1 1 $\frac{1}{2}$	8 0	51 0	1 0	1 3
1490	3 6	.....	.....	.....	1 0	7 6 $\frac{3}{4}$	.....	.....	1 3
1491	4 8	.....	.....	.....	1 0	7 3	.....	.....	1 4
1492	4 0	.....	.....	1 2	1 0	8 0	74 8	.....	1 0
1493	8 0	.....	.....	1 6 $\frac{1}{2}$	.....	7 3	62 8	.....	1 2
1494	4 0	.....	.....	1 3 4	1 0 $\frac{1}{2}$	8 0 $\frac{3}{4}$	70 0	1 2	.....
1495	6 2	.....	.....	.....	1 0	6 7 $\frac{1}{2}$	60 8	.....	.....
1496	8 0	.....	7 0	.....	1 0 $\frac{1}{2}$	7 5 $\frac{1}{2}$	53 10	1 2	0 10
1497	.....	.....	.....	1 2 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 3	6 6	.....	1 2	.....
1498	8 0	.....	.....	.....	1 0	5 1	50 0	0 10	.....
1499	4 11	6 0	.....	.....	1 0	6 0	48 8	1	.....
1500	6 8	.....	.....	1 11	1 0	7 0	56 0	1 2	1 4
1501	5 3 $\frac{3}{4}$	6 0	.....	2 8	1 0	7 3	43 5	1 0	.....
1502	4 8 $\frac{1}{2}$	5 0	.....	3 2	1 2 $\frac{3}{4}$	5 6	49 0	1 4	1 2
1503	4 0	4 0	.....	3 8	1 2 $\frac{1}{4}$	6 3	47 0	1 4	.....
1504	4 0	5 0	.....	2 8	1 2	.....	46 7 $\frac{3}{4}$	.....	.....
1505	3 7 $\frac{1}{2}$	5 0	.....	2 8	1 0	.....	40 7	.....	.....
1506	4 10 $\frac{1}{2}$	5 6	.....	3 4	1 1	6 6	42 4	1 1	.....

	Wool, tod.	Woolfells, doz.	Fleeces, doz.	Ox or cow hides. Highest prices.	Candles, doz. lbs.	Wax, doz. lbs.	Wax, cwt.	Oil, gallon.	Honey, gallon.
	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
1507	4 3	5 0	.....	3 4	1 2	6 0	42 6	1 4	1 8
1508	3 1	5 10	.....	3 4	1 1½	5 9	45 2	1 0	.....
1509	4 8	2 0	.....	2 0	1 0	5 6	60 8	0 8	.....
1510	6 6½	5 8	.....	3 4	1 0	6 0	52 7	1 0	1 1½
1511	7 7	6 0	.....	2 6	1 0	7 3	.....	1 3½	.....
1512	.....	.....	.....	2 1	.....	6 7½	49 0	1 1½	.....
1513	4 11½	2 9	.....	.....	1 0	6 9	.....	1 4	1 0
1514	6 8	.....	.....	.....	1 7	6 6	52 3	1 8	.....
1515	6 6½	4 0	.....	3 0	1 2½	.....	51 9	1 5	.....
1516	7 7½	3 0	.....	3 4	1 4	7 4	64 0	1 6	.....
1517	7 2½	.....	.....	.....	1 3	8 6	59 3½	1 3	1 8
1518	5 6½	.....	.....	.....	1 2½	7 8½	64 11½	1 2	.....
1519	7 4	2 0	.....	2 4	1 1½	10 8	63 10	1 4	1 3½
1520	6 1	.....	.....	.....	1 3	8 11½	75 6	1 2½	1 3
1521	4 3½	5 0	4 0	3 4	1 2	9 8½	81 0	1 7	1 8
1522	.....	.....	.....	.....	1 3	6 0	70 4	1 2½	.....
1523	.....	.....	.....	.....	1 1	6 6	.....	1 2	.....
1524	.....	.....	.....	.....	1 3	6 7½	64 9	1 5	.....
1525	4 5½	.....	6 0	3 4	1 2½	7 0	61 10	1 3½	.....
1526	4 3	.....	.....	3 4	1 2	6 9	49 5	1 2	0 11
1527	7 5½	6 6	.....	4 1	1 4	6 0	50 4	1 3½	.....
1528	6 3½	.....	.....	2 7	1 0½	6 2½	51 11	1 1½	.....
1529	.....	.....	.....	4 0	1 2	6 0	46 3½	1 2½	.....
1530	.....	5 0	.....	3 4	1 3	6 5	.....	1 4	1 1½
1531	5 4	.....	.....	.....	1 6	6 6	51 11	1 5	1 6½
1532	6 6	.....	.....	.....	1 5½	7 3	51 9	1 1½	2 8
1533	6 8½	.....	3 4	5 0	1 4	6 0	53 6	1 4	1 5
1534	6 0	.....	.....	.....	1 5	6 6	48 0½	1 2	1 6
1535	8 2	.....	.....	4 8	1 3½	7 7	63 8	.....	.....
1536	7 7	.....	.....	.....	1 5½	7 1½	63 0	.....	1 4
1537	.....	.....	.....	.....	1 3	.....	50 2½	1 4	1 2½
1538	.....	.....	.....	.....	1 4½	7 0	46 9	1 4½	.....
1539	.....	.....	.....	.....	1 3	6 8	47 7½	.....	.....
1540	.....	.....	.....	.....	1 3	6 0	49 2½	.....	.....
1541	.....	.....	.....	.....	1 5½	6 0	47 2	.....	.....
1542	.....	.....	.....	.....	1 4½	5 10	47 4	.....	.....
1543	.....	.....	.....	.....	1 3½	6 9	40 11	.....	.....
1544	.....	.....	.....	.....	1 5½	5 6	43 10	.....	.....

	Wool, tod.	Woolfells, doz.	Fleeces, doz.	Ox or cow hides. Highest prices.	Candles, doz. lbs.	Wax, doz. lbs.	Wax, cwt.	Oil, gallon.	Honey, gallon.
	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
1545	32 0	8 0	.....	.....	1 10	6 0	41 0	.....	.....
1546	.....	.....	.....	.....	1 9	7 0	41 8½	.....	.....
1547	9 4	.....	.....	.....	2 0½	5 0	45 0	.....	.....
1548	.....	.....	.....	6 0	2 0	7 4	51 3	.....	.....
1549	.....	.....	.....	5 9½	2 2½	6 9	56 5	2 8	.....
1550	.....	.....	.....	.....	1 11	8 0	79 0	.....	.....
1551	20 0	24 6	.....	5 8½	1 11½	8 0	86 1	.....	.....
1552	.....	.....	.....	.....	2 8½	10 0	66 10	.....	.....
1553	.....	.....	.....	.....	2 6	7 11	70 8	.....	.....
1554	.....	.....	.....	.....	2 4½	10 8	81 3	2 4	.....
1555	.....	.....	.....	.....	2 4½	10 1	87 0	.....	.....
1556	.....	.....	.....	.....	2 9	11 4	.....	2 4	.....
1557	.....	.....	.....	.....	2 10½	11 4	86 8	2 2	.....
1558	9 0	12 0	.....	.....	3 2	11 0	86 6	.....	.....
1559	15 8	.....	.....	L 4 8	3 6½	10 7	89 4	.....	.....
1560	18 0	.....	.....	.....	3 6½	12 0	75 0	.....	.....
1561	.....	.....	.....	.....	3 0	*7 10	73 0	1 3	.....
1562	.....	.....	.....	10 0	3 0	*8 0	75 0	.....	.....
1563	.....	.....	.....	10 0	3 0½	*7 6	70 0	.....	.....
1564	.....	.....	.....	.....	3 1	*6 5	60 0	.....	.....
1565	.....	.....	.....	.....	3 3	*19 3	180 0	.....	.....
1566	.....	.....	.....	6 8	3 2	*7 11	74 0	.....	.....
1567	.....	.....	.....	6 8	2 11	10 0	72 4½	.....	.....
1568	.....	.....	.....	L 10 0	2 11½	*8 0	74 6	.....	.....
1569	.....	.....	.....	L 8 6	3 0½	8 0	79 0	.....	.....
1570	16 0	.....	.....	.....	3 0½	*8 9½	82 0	4 0	.....
1571	.....	.....	.....	.....	2 11½	11 3	78 0	4 0	.....
1572	.....	.....	.....	12 0	2 8½	*8 7	80 0	.....	.....
1573	.....	.....	.....	.....	2 11½	10 9	85 0	.....	.....
1574	.....	.....	.....	.....	3 1½	9 0	95 6	.....	3 4
1575	20 0	.....	.....	.....	3 0½	*9 7	88 0	.....	.....
1576	.....	.....	.....	11 0	3 1½	*10 8½	100 0	.....	.....
1577	14 0	.....	.....	.....	3 1½	12 0	91 0	.....	.....
1578	.....	20 0	.....	13 4	3 2½	10 4½	97 0	.....	.....
1579	.....	20 0	.....	.....	3 4½	10 0	84 0	.....	.....
1580	.....	.....	.....	.....	3 1½	.....	.....	2 8	.....
1581	.....	.....	.....	.....	2 11½	*10 5½	98 0	.....	.....
1582	.....	.....	.....	.....	2 11	10 0	.....	.....	.....

* Estimated from the hundredweight.

TABLE II.—DECENNIAL PRICE OF FARM PRODUCE.

	Candles, doz. lbs.	Wax, doz. lbs.	Wax, cwt.	Oil, gallon.	Honey, gallon.	Cheese, wey.	Butter, gallon.	Butter, doz. lbs.	Eggs, c = 120.
	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	d.
1401—1410	1 6½	5 9½	47 4	1 3	1 1½	10 6½	0 8	0 11½	5 18
1411—1420	1 5½	5 8	50 6½	1 2½	1 0½	10 8	1 0	1 0	4 28
1421—1430	1 6½	5 6½	43 10	1 3	1 0½	10 2½	0 8	.....	4 81
1431—1440	1 6½	5 7½	45 4	1 2½	1 1½	.....	.....	.....	5 7
1441—1450	1 4½	6 8½	48 4½	1 3½	1 2½	.....	0 11½	.....	5 71
1451—1460	1 3	5 9	51 11	1 1½	1 1½	.....	0 11½	.....	5 46
1461—1470	1 3½	6 7½	55 11	1 1½	1 1	6 11	0 7	.....	5
1471—1480	1 2	6 2½	58 3	1 0	1 2½	6 6	0 9½	.....	5 12
1481—1490	1 3	7 4½	50 3½	1 1½	1 2½	.....	0 11½	1 0	5 2
1491—1500	1 0½	6 11	59 6½	1 1	1 1½	7 11½	0 10½	1 3	5 5
1501—1510	1 1	6 2½	46 11½	1 1½	1 3½	9 6	0 10	.....	7 67
1511—1520	1 2½	7 11	60 1	1 3½	1 3½	15 1	0 10	1 6	7 14
1521—1530	1 2½	6 8½	59 5½	1 3½	1 3	13 7½	0 10½	.....	9
1531—1540	1 4½	6 8½	52 10½	1 3½	1 7½	17 6	1 0	.....	12 5
1541—1550	1 7½	6 5	49 4½	2 8	.....	21 0	.....	2 0	.....
1551—1560	2 9½	10 3½	77 8½	2 3½	.....	.....	.....	3 0	28 66
1561—1570	3 0½	* 8 5½	84 0	2 7½	.....	26 8	.....	3 0	33 6
1571—1582	3 0½	* 11 3½	89 8	3 4	3 4	31 2½	.....	3 0	28 5
First 140 years	1 3½	6 3	52 2½	1 2½	1 2½	10 10½	0 10½	1 1½	6 2
Last 42 years	2 7½	9 1	75 2½	2 8½	3 4	26 3½	.....	2 8	30 25

* Reduced from the cwt.

	Wool, tod.	Woolfells, doz.	Fleeces, doz.	Ox or cow hides. Highest prices.	Candles, doz. lbs.	Wax, doz. lbs.	Wax, cwt.	Oil, gallon.	Honey, gallon.
	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
1545	32 0	8 0	.....	.....	1 10	6 0	41 0	.....	.....
1546	.....	.....	.....	.....	1 9	7 0	41 8½	.....	.....
1547	9 4	.....	.....	.....	2 0½	5 0	45 0	.....	.....
1548	.....	.....	.....	6 0	2 0	7 4	51 3	.....	.....
1549	.....	.....	.....	5 9½	2 2½	6 9	56 5	2 8	.....
1550	.....	.....	.....	.....	1 11	8 0	79 0	.....	.....
1551	20 0	24 6	.....	5 8½	1 11½	8 0	86 1	.....	.....
1552	.....	.....	.....	.....	2 8½	10 0	66 10	.....	.....
1553	.....	.....	.....	.....	2 6	7 11	70 8	.....	.....
1554	.....	.....	.....	.....	2 4½	10 8	81 3	2 4	.....
1555	.....	.....	.....	.....	2 4½	10 1	87 0	.....	.....
1556	.....	.....	.....	.....	2 9	11 4	.....	2 4	.....
1557	.....	.....	.....	.....	2 10½	11 4	86 8	2 2	.....
1558	9 0	12 0	.....	.....	3 2	11 0	86 6	.....	.....
1559	15 8	.....	.....	L 4 8	3 6½	10 7	89 4	.....	.....
1560	18 0	.....	.....	.....	3 6½	12 0	75 0	.....	.....
1561	.....	.....	.....	.....	3 0	*7 10	73 0	1 3	.....
1562	.....	.....	.....	10 0	3 0	*8 0	75 0	.....	.....
1563	.....	.....	.....	10 0	3 0½	*7 6	70 0	.....	.....
1564	.....	.....	.....	.....	3 1	*6 5	60 0	.....	.....
1565	.....	.....	.....	.....	3 3	*19 3	180 0	.....	.....
1566	.....	.....	.....	6 8	3 2	*7 11	74 0	.....	.....
1567	.....	.....	.....	6 8	2 11	10 0	72 4½	.....	.....
1568	.....	.....	.....	L 10 0	2 11½	*8 0	74 6	.....	.....
1569	.....	.....	.....	L 8 6	3 0½	8 0	79 0	.....	.....
1570	16 0	.....	.....	.....	3 0½	*8 9½	82 0	4 0	.....
1571	.....	.....	.....	.....	2 11½	11 3	78 0	4 0	.....
1572	.....	.....	.....	12 0	2 8½	*8 7	80 0	.....	.....
1573	.....	.....	.....	.....	2 11½	10 9	85 0	.....	.....
1574	.....	.....	.....	.....	3 1½	9 0	95 6	.....	3 4
1575	20 0	.....	.....	.....	3 0½	*9 7	88 0	.....	.....
1576	.....	.....	.....	11 0	3 1½	*10 8½	100 0	.....	.....
1577	14 0	.....	.....	.....	3 1½	12 0	91 0	.....	.....
1578	.....	20 0	.....	13 4	3 2½	10 4½	97 0	.....	.....
1579	.....	20 0	.....	.....	3 4½	10 0	84 0	.....	.....
1580	.....	.....	.....	.....	3 1½	.....	.....	2 8	.....
1581	.....	.....	.....	.....	2 11½	*10 5½	98 0	.....	.....
1582	.....	.....	.....	.....	2 11	10 0	.....	.....	.....

* Estimated from the hundredweight.

TABLE II.—DECENNIAL PRICE OF FARM PRODUCE.

	Candles, doz. lbs.	Wax, doz. lbs.	Wax, cwt.	Oil, gallon.	Honey, gallon.	Cheese, wey.	Butter, gallon.	Butter, doz. lbs.	Eggs, c = 120.
	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
1401—1410	1 6½	5 9½	47 4	1 3	1 1½	10 6½	0 8	0 11½	5-18
1411—1420	1 5½	5 8	50 6½	1 2½	1 0½	10 8	1 0	1 0	4-28
1421—1430	1 6½	5 6½	43 10	1 3	1 0½	10 2½	0 8	.....	4-81
1431—1440	1 6½	5 7½	45 4	1 2½	1 1½	.....	.....	.....	5-7
1441—1450	1 4½	6 8½	48 4½	1 3½	1 2½	.....	0 11½	.....	5-71
1451—1460	1 3	5 9	51 11	1 1½	1 1½	.....	0 11½	.....	5-46
1461—1470	1 3½	6 7½	55 11	1 1½	1 1	6 11	0 7	.....	5
1471—1480	1 2	6 2½	58 3	1 0	1 2½	6 6	0 9½	.....	5-12
1481—1490	1 3	7 4½	50 3½	1 1½	1 2½	.....	0 11½	1 0	5-2
1491—1500	1 0½	6 11	59 6½	1 1	1 1½	7 11½	0 10½	1 3	5-5
1501—1510	1 1	6 2½	46 11½	1 1½	1 3½	9 6	0 10	.....	7-67
1511—1520	1 2½	7 11	60 1	1 3½	1 3½	15 1	0 10	1 6	7-14
1521—1530	1 2½	6 8½	59 5½	1 3½	1 3	13 7½	0 10½	.....	9
1531—1540	1 4½	6 8½	52 10½	1 3½	1 7½	17 6	1 0	.....	12-5
1541—1550	1 7½	6 5	49 4½	2 8	.....	21 0	.....	2 0	.....
1551—1560	2 9½	10 3½	77 8½	2 3½	.....	.....	.....	3 0	28-66
1561—1570	3 0½	* 8 5½	84 0	2 7½	.....	26 8	.....	3 0	33-6
1571—1582	3 0½	* 11 3½	89 8	3 4	3 4	31 2½	.....	3 0	28-5
First 140 years	1 3½	6 3	52 2½	1 2½	1 2½	10 10½	0 10½	1 1½	6-2
Last 42 years	2 7½	9 1	75 2½	2 8½	3 4	26 3½	.....	2 8	30-25

* Reduced from the cwt.

TABLE III.
THE PRICE OF FARM PRODUCE.

In the first column the letter c means the price at Cambridge. The price of faggots by the hundred is the highest of the year.

	Faggots, per 100.	Charcoal, qr.	Charcoal, load.	Firewood, load.	Faggots, load.	Wood, per 100.	Sedge, per 1000.
	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>
1401	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1402	5 0	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1403	4 0	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1404	4 0	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1405	4 6	0 6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1406	4 8	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1407	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1408	4 0	.....	.....	1 9 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 8	.....	.....
1409	4 0	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1410	c 8 2 $\frac{1}{2}$	.....	.....	.....	.....	7 11	19 0
1411	4 0	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1412	c 10 6	.....	8 0	1 11 $\frac{1}{4}$	1 10	.....	24 6
1413	3 7	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1414	c 6 10 $\frac{3}{4}$	.....	.....	1 5	.....	.....	23 5
1415	3 0	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	21 8
1416	2 8	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1417	c 8 0	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	20 0
1418	c 8 3	.....	.....	2 2	.....	.....	.....
1419	5 0	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1420	c 7 10	.....	.....	2 0	.....	.....	22 0
1421	c 8 6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1422	c 8 4	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1423	c 8 8	.....	.....	2 1	.....	.....	23 4
1424	c 8 4	1 4	.....	.....	.....	.....	26 0
1425	c 7 5	0 10	.....	.....	2 0	.....	27 0
1426	c 8 6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	29 5
1427	2 8	0 10	.....	.....	.....	.....	27 10
1428	c 9 2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	30 8 $\frac{1}{2}$

	Faggots, per 100.	Charcoal, qr.	Charcoal, load.	Firewood, load.	Faggots, load.	Wood, per 100.	Sedge, per 1000.
	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>
1429	c 8 6	0 9	.....	.....	.....	.....	21 10
1430	c 7 4	0 9	.....	.....	.....	.....	20 0
1431	c 9 8	.....	.....	.....	2 3	.....	22 1
1432	c 10 0	0 9 $\frac{3}{4}$	.....	.....	.....	.....	33 4
1433	7 6	.....	8 3	.....	.....	9 5	19 6
1434	4 7	.....	.....	2 6	.....	.....	19 2
1435	3 4	0 10	.....	.....	.....	8 6	20 0
1436	c 8 4	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1437	c 8 10	0 10	.....	2 3	.....	.....	31 8
1438	3 0	0 10 $\frac{3}{4}$	.....	.....	.....	.....	27 8
1439	c 8 2	.....	.....	2 4	.....	8 4	22 7
1440	c 7 4 $\frac{1}{2}$	0 10 $\frac{1}{2}$	.....	.....	.....	.....	20 0
1441	c 8 4	0 11	8 1	.....	2 2	.....	20 0
1442	c 8 3	.....	7 6	2 0	.....	.....	23 4
1443	c 8 6	.....	7 7	.....	.....	.....	18 10 $\frac{1}{2}$
1444	3 4	0 6	7 8	.....	.....	.....	18 11
1445	c 8 8	1 3 $\frac{3}{4}$	7 6	.....	.....	.....	20 0
1446	c 8 0	0 7	7 1 $\frac{1}{2}$	2 0	.....	.....	21 0
1447	c 8 4	0 9 $\frac{3}{4}$	7 0	2 6	2 1 $\frac{1}{2}$	.....	20 11
1448	c 8 8	0 7 $\frac{1}{2}$	7 2 $\frac{1}{2}$	2 1 $\frac{1}{2}$	.....	.....	20 7
1449	c 4 6	0 8 $\frac{1}{2}$	6 6 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 11	.....	8 8	22 4
1450	.....	0 9 $\frac{1}{2}$	.....	1 9 $\frac{1}{2}$	2 10	.....	20 5
1451	c 8 0	.....	7 4	1 10 $\frac{3}{4}$	.....	.....	19 4
1452	c 8 8	0 7 $\frac{1}{2}$	7 9 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 11	.....	8 0	21 9
1453	.....	0 6	8 9 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 2	.....	8 3 $\frac{1}{2}$	22 2
1454	10 0	0 7	8 0	2 0	2 1	7 6	20 7 $\frac{1}{2}$
1455	.....	0 7 $\frac{1}{2}$	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1456	c 7 0	0 8 $\frac{3}{4}$	8 1 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 11 $\frac{1}{2}$	.....	.....	.....
1457	.....	0 10	8 0	2 0	.....	8 0	18 2
1458	c 7 9 $\frac{1}{2}$	0 9	7 6	.....	2 1 $\frac{1}{2}$	.....	18 0
1459	.....	0 7	8 0	1 9 $\frac{3}{4}$	.....	7 5	20 8
1460	.....	0 7 $\frac{1}{2}$	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1461	c 8 0	0 9	9 3 $\frac{3}{4}$	1 10 $\frac{1}{2}$	.....	.....	25 0
1462	.....	0 7	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1463	.....	0 6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1464	c 7 0	0 5	7 4 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 11 $\frac{1}{2}$	.....	8 8	18 7 $\frac{1}{2}$

	Faggots, per 100.	Charcoal, qr.	Charcoal, load.	Firewood, load.	Faggots, load.	Wood, per 100.	Sedge, per 1000.
	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>
1465	c 6 0	.....	11 4	1 11	1 8	7 8	20 6½
1466	c 8 0	0 6½	6 6½	1 10½	.....	.....	23 8
1467	c 7 4	.....	7 10½	.....	2 0	.....	21 8
1468	.....	0 7	8 0	1 10½	2 0	.....	20 0
1469	c 8 0	.....	11 10½	2 4½	.....	.....	22 3
1470	.....	0 7½	.....	.....	1 10½	.....	21 2
1471	.....	.....	7 4	2 0	.....	8 2	.....
1472	4 0	0 6	7 9½	1 8½	.....	.....	20 0
1473	c 3 2	.....	6 9½	1 11½	.....	7 10	19 6
1474	.....	0 9	7 4½	.....	.....	8 4	18 10
1475	.....	.....	7 0	1 11½	.....	.....	21 0
1476	c 8 0	0 8½	7 7½	2 6	2 0	8 0	20 0
1477	.....	0 9	7 0	1 2	.....	8 0	20 0
1478	.....	0 9	6 11	1 11½	.....	7 4	19 0
1479	.....	0 8	7 0	1 11	.....	8 0	20 0
1480	.....	0 8	.....	1 1	.....	.....	.....
1481	.....	0 8	8 6	1 10	.....	8 0	23 7
1482	.....	0 4½	7 2½	2 0½	.....	8 0	20 0
1483	.....	0 6½	7 0	2 0	.....	.....	18 0
1484	.....	.....	6 5½	1 10½	.....	.....	.....
1485	.....	.....	6 7	1 4½	.....	.....	.....
1486	.....	.....	6 3½	1 5½	.....	.....	.....
1487	.....	.....	7 0	1 6	.....	.....	.....
1488	c 8 0	0 6	7 0	.....	.....	6 8	.....
1489	c 8 0	0 6½	7 0	.....	.....	7 4	.....
1490	.....	0 9	7 2	2 0	.....	7 8	.....
1491	c 7 8	0 5	6 8	1 6	.....	.....	18 6
1492	c 7 0	.....	6 8	.....	.....	6 4	17 11
1493	.....	.....	6 8	1 9	1 9½	7 1	21 6
1494	.....	0 4½	6 8	1 9½	.....	.....	19 0
1495	2 9½	0 8	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1496	4 0	0 7	6 8	.....	.....	6 1½	19 0
1497	4 0	0 6½	6 8	1 5½	.....	4 4	19 6
1498	c 7 4½	0 4	6 10	.....	.....	7 6	20 0
1499	.....	.....	7 1	.....	.....	8 0	20 0
1500	.....	0 8½	6 8	1 10	.....	8 0	20 0

	Faggots, per 100.	Charcoal, qr.	Charcoal, load.	Firewood, load.	Faggots, load.	Wood, per 100.	Sedge, per 1000.
	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>
1501	c6 8	o 6½	6 8	.....	1 10½	.....	20 0
1502	.....	o 8	6 8	.....	.....	.....	20 0
1503	c7 2	.....	6 8	1 9½	1 8½	.....	20 0
1504	.....	o 7	6 8	1 10	.....	.....	18 9
1505	c8 0	.....	6 8	.....	1 10	.....	17 11
1506	c6 9½	o 6½	6 9½	1 8½	.....	7 9	20 1½
1507	c7 0	o 4	7 4	1 10	.....	.....	17 9
1508	c6 11	o 8	7 0	1 9	.....	7 6	15 8
1509	c6 6	o 8	6 8	1 10	.....	7 4	15 8
1510	c6 8	o 8	6 8	2 4	.....	7 0	13 4
1511	4 7	o 8	6 8	.....	.....	7 8	20 0
1512	.....	o 8	6 8	.....	.....	7 4	.....
1513	.....	o 8	6 8	1 10	.....	7 4	18 0
1514	.....	o 8	6 8	.....	.....	7 8	18 0
1515	c8 8	.....	6 5	2 2	.....	.....	12 6
1516	.....	.....	7 4	.....	.....	7 9½	20 0
1517	.....	o 8½	6 8	.....	.....	7 6	20 0
1518	c7 6½	o 7½	6 8	.....	2 2½	.....	19 6
1519	c8 0	o 6½	6 8	2 0	.....	.....	20 0
1520	c8 2	o 7½	6 4	.....	.....	.....	19 0
1521	c8 0	o 6	6 8	.....	.....	.....	20 0
1522	c8 0	o 7	6 8	.....	.....	.....	20 0
1523	c8 0	o 8	6 8	.....	1 10½	.....	20 0
1524	c8 2	.....	7 10	.....	2 0½	.....	20 0
1525	c8 0	o 7½	9 0	.....	.....	.....	18 0
1526	.....	o 8½	6 8	.....	.....	2 6	25 4
1527	.....	o 6½	6 11	2 0	.....	.....	19 6
1528	c8 2	o 8½	7 0	1 10	.....	.....	19 6
1529	c8 0	o 8½	8 7	1 10½	.....	.....	19 9
1530	.....	o 8	7 2	.....	.....	.....	.....
1531	c8 0	o 8½	6 8	.....	.....	.....	18 6
1532	c8 0	o 5	6 8	.....	.....	.....	15 0
1533	c8 0	o 6	7 10	.....	1 8½	.....	16 8
1534	3 4	.....	6 8	.....	.....	8 0	14 6½
1535	c8 0	o 6½	7 4	.....	1 10	.....	26 1
1536	c7 9½	o 6½	7 4	2 0	2 1	.....	17 7

	Faggots, per 100.	Charcoal, qr.	Charcoal, load.	Firewood, load.	Faggots, load.	Wood, per 100.	Sedge, per 1000.
	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>
1537	c 8 0	0 8	7 10	.....	.....	.....	18 4
1538	c 8 0	0 8	7 2	.....	.....	.....	.....
1539	c 8 0	0 7	7 8½	.....	.....	6 0	.....
1540	.....	0 7	6 3	.....	.....	.....	.....
1541	c 8 4	0 7	7 0½	.....	2 2½	.....	18 4½
1542	c 8 8	0 7	.....	.....	.....	.....	27 8
1543	.....	0 7	7 8	.....	.....	8 8	20 0
1544	c 9 4	.....	7 11	2 9	2 5	.....	22 1
1545	.....	0 8½	8 4½	2 7½	2 4½	.....	22 2½
1546	.....	0 10	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1547	c 9 10	0 8	10 6	2 6	2 10	.....	24 2
1548	c 10 6½	0 8½	11 2	3 7	2 8	.....	27 2½
1549	c 11 9½	0 8½	12 6½	4 3	3 4½	.....	23 3
1550	c 12 4	0 9½	13 0½	5 10	.....	.....	.....
1551	c 13 11	.....	15 9	6 0	3 3	.....	26 4
1552	c 14 10	1 0½	13 7½	6 0	3 7	.....	24 10
1553	c 11 8	1 0	13 4	.....	3 10½	.....	31 8
1554	c 12 6½	1 0½	14 11½	.....	.....	.....	35 8
1555	c 13 5	1 1½	16 0	3 4	4 3	.....	.....
1556	c 10 10	1 1	14 11	4 4½	.....	.....	29 8
1557	4 0	1 2	15 4	.....	.....	.....	27 11
1558	.....	1 1	14 11	5 4	4 5½	.....	28 3½
1559	.....	1 2½	15 0	5 0	4 4	.....	.....
1560	.....	1 3	16 0½	.....	4 4	15 0	.....
1561	10 0	1 2	17 6	.....	.....	.....	38 8
1562	.....	1 5½	15 9	5 4	.....	.....	43 0
1563	c 16 6	1 1½	16 0	5 4	4 0	.....	26 0
1564	.....	1 0	14 6	5 0	.....	.....	26 1½
1565	c 15 2½	1 1	16 0½	6 2½	.....	.....	31 3
1566	.....	1 0	15 11½	6 3	.....	.....	25 1
1567	.....	1 1½	16 0	6 10	.....	.....	32 8½
1568	.....	1 2	15 4½	6 11	.....	.....	45 4
1569	.....	1 0	13 7	8 1	.....	.....	.....
1570	c 13 11	1 3½	13 8	.....	.....	.....	38 10½
1571	15 6	1 3½	19 5	5 10½	.....	.....	36 0½
1572	.....	1 4	16 4	5 10½	5 0	.....	41 3

	Faggots, per 100.	Charcoal, qr.	Charcoal, load.	Firewood, load.	Faggots, load.	Wood, per 100.	Sedge, per 1000.
	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>
1573	.....	1 3	16 6	.....	.....	.....	33 4
1574	.....	1 3½	17 7	6 0	.....	.....	31 8
1575	.....	1 5½	16 4	5 4½	.....	.....	31 8
1576	c 17 0	.....	18 7½	6 3½	.....	.....	31 8
1577	c 18 6½	1 4	17 6½	7 0	.....	.....	31 8
1578	.....	1 4½	13 3	5 3	.....	.....	26 0½
1579	.....	.....	17 5	7 0	.....	.....	31 8
1580	.....	1 3	18 9	7 1½	.....	.....	36 10½
1581	20 0	.....	19 3	5 3½	.....	.....	.....
1582	.....	1 4	20 2	6 9½	.....	.....	38 10

TABLE IV.
DECENNIAL AVERAGES. FUEL.

	Faggots, per 100.	Fuel, per 100.	Charcoal, qr.	Charcoal, load.	Firewood, load.	Firewood, per 100.	Sedge, per 1000.
	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>
1401—1410	8 2½	7 11	0 6	.....	1 9½	7 11	19 0
1411—1420	8 3½	.....	.....	8 0	1 10½	.....	21 11
1421—1430	8 1	.....	0 9½	.....	2 1	.....	25 9
1431—1440	8 3½	8 9	0 10	8 3	2 4½	8 9	24 0
1441—1450	7 11	8 8	0 9½	7 4½	2 0½	8 8	20 7½
1451—1460	8 3½	7 10	0 7½	7 11½	1 9½	7 10	20 1½
1461—1470	7 4	8 2	0 6½	9 2½	1 11½	8 2	21 10½
1471—1480	8 0	8 1	0 8½	7 2½	1 9½	7 11½	19 9½
1481—1490	8 0	7 6½	0 6½	6 9½	1 9	7 6½	20 2
1491—1500	7 4½	6 9½	0 6½	6 8½	1 7½	6 9½	19 6
1501—1510	6 11½	7 4	0 7	6 9½	1 10½	7 4½	17 11
1511—1520	8 1	7 6½	0 7½	6 8	2 0	7 6½	18 6½
1521—1530	8 0½	.....	0 7½	7 3½	1 11	.....	20 2½
1531—1540	7 11½	7 0	0 7½	7 1½	2 0	7 0	18 2
1541—1550	10 0½	8 8	0 8½	9 9½	3 7	8 8	23 4
1551—1560	12 10½	15 0	1 1½	15 0½	5 0	15 0	29 2½
1561—1570	15 2½	.....	1 1½	15 5½	6 3	.....	38 1½
1571—1582	17 9	.....	1 3½	17 7½	6 2	.....	30 4½
Average 140 years	7 11	7 9½	0 7½	7 5½	1 11	7 11	20 6½
Average 42 years	13 11½	11 10	1 0½	14 5½	5 3	15 0	30 3

CHAPTER XIII.

ARTICLES EMPLOYED IN AGRICULTURE.

I PURPOSE in the present chapter to deal with the same articles as were treated under a similar head in my first volumes, viz. salt, tar, lime, and iron or steel, together with such other materials as are occasionally employed, but, being too few for separate tables, are comprised under the very general head of sundry articles. Next I purpose to deal with agricultural implements, and in the third place with building materials, concerning which very copious information is supplied.

I had to make some excuse for grouping these subjects under a common title in my first volumes, and the excuse is more necessary now. But it was expedient to make the inference continuous. It is still the case that the principal use of salt was for the preservation of provisions, though it is undoubtedly used as a condiment; that tar was mainly purchased for dressing sheep, though it is employed in the later part of the period in dockyards; that lime is much more frequently registered in the accounts for building purposes than for dressing land; and that many more uses are recorded for iron and steel than the manufacture of agricultural implements. As, moreover, the record of agriculture is derived from prices of produce, from indirect evidence, and from comments on its progress, instead of being taken from the actual register of farming operations, the relation of these materials to agriculture becomes less distinct as time goes on.

SALT. The information which I have gathered as to the price of this article is far less copious than that which formed

the material for the averages in my first volume. Nor unfortunately is every year represented. I have found no entries for the years 1470, 1471, 1477, 1480, 1486, 1496, and 1513. The number of entries in each year and in the aggregate is less, but the quantities are generally larger. I have therefore thought it better to reckon salt by the quarter rather than by the bushel, the unit taken in the earlier volumes. The averages of the 142 years in the first period were derived from 1613 entries; those of the present 182 years have been yielded by 976 entries. The deficiencies, however, will not prevent me from gathering the most important inferences which can be derived from the price of this, as of analogous articles.

Salt is purchased by the wey of five quarters, by the chaldron, by the quarter, and by the bushel. Thrice, in the Sion account of 1448, in the Howard account of 1462, and in the Osney account of 1510, it is bought by the pipe, a measure which it is difficult to believe identical in the three cases. From another entry of 1462, we find that 'the wychwerke' contained two quarters or sixteen bushels. In my first volume, p. 456, the wychwerke contained eighteen bushels.

Salt is distinguished according to its origin, as Paytou, i. e. Poitou, Greatham, Bartfleet, or Barfitt (1494, 1538); by its colour, as white, grey, black, subnigrum; by its form, as gross or great, small and bay. White is dearer than black or grey, great than small. Towards the latter end of the enquiry, great or gross salt appears to be purchased at factitious prices.

I expressed the opinion in my earlier volumes that salt in England was rarely produced from natural brine springs, and by artificial heat, but chiefly by solar evaporation. It was largely imported from Guienne, and its free introduction was guaranteed by treaties. It is plain that stipulations in diplomatic documents, that the English should have free access to French salterns, are a proof that the home produce was inadequate for the necessary demand, and that therefore the enormous resources of the Cheshire and Worcestershire basins had either not been discovered, or were not utilised.

The same conclusion is again assisted, if not verified, by the great exaltation of the price of salt in wet summers, and the consequent deficiency of what I may call solar fertility. Thus the principal dearth of the fifteenth century (we might call one year, 1438, a year of famine) is characterised by a high price of salt, in 1437-9. The same facts will be found to follow other years, though sometimes the exalted price is discovered in the year which comes after the corn dearth, as though the value of the article rose as the stocks became low, and sometimes in the year before, as though the mischievous rainfall was early in its influence¹.

The great amount of solar fertility which characterised the fifteenth century is shown in the low price of salt. Between 1261-1350, the average price was 3*s.* 1*d.*; during the next fifty it is 6*s.* 4*d.* the quarter. The fifteenth-century average for the first decade is not much less, 6*s.* 2½*d.*, and for the first six years it is nearly 7*s.* 4*d.* But it falls rapidly, and though it never reaches in any decade, or even in more than six several years, the average which is taken from the time before the great plague, the general average is but a little in excess of that which is gathered from the whole period, 1261-1400, viz. 4*s.* 5*d.*

The rise in the price of salt during the 42 years, 1541-1582, is closely analogous to that of other prices. It is not indeed quite five to two, but it is only a fraction below this ratio, and it is probable that the interruption of the salt trade between England and Guienne, which was the subject of diplomacy between England and France, may have been the principal cause of the high prices which ruled, when other values were not similarly exalted, between 1521-40. The dearest years of the fourteenth century were synchronous with the war which followed on the rupture of the peace of Bretigni. Still, the dominant cause of an exalted price of salt in England was a

¹ I do not venture, at this part of the enquiry, to do more than indicate in a note, that assuming, as one can from the evidence, that the price of salt is exalted by wet summers, the period of the year in which the rainfall was greatest would be traceable in the prices of dear years of salt, compared with dear years of corn.

deficiency of direct solar heat. The price of salt is highest in 1572-4. Now in these years, the highest wheat price at the end of the harvest year of 1572 is 28s. 6d., the maximum in 1573 is 30s. 8d., at the beginning of 1574 it is 28s. 4d.

Most of the places from which the prices of salt have been derived for the period before me were accessible by water carriage. They are mainly Cambridge, Oxford, and London. The first and last were easily reached by water. But it appears, as I stated in my earlier volumes, that the navigation of the Thames did not in the middle ages, or indeed till comparatively recent times, extend beyond Maidenhead. We may expect therefore that salt would be dearer in Oxford than it is in the other two places, especially after the Reformation, when the roads went out of repair. This will be found to be the case, the difference of price at Oxford and Cambridge being in the post-Reformation period about 30 per cent. against the former. Before this time there is indeed but little evidence about the price of salt in Oxford, or in its immediate neighbourhood, but there is no more marked difference between the price of Cambridge and London salt on the one hand, and that purchased at places as remote from river and sea navigation, than the cheap transit of the fifteenth century would add to the cost. On the whole, salt is bought most cheaply, as might be anticipated, at the towns on the south-west coast, as Sidmouth and Dartmouth.

I stated above, as before, that rock salt was not quarried or otherwise worked for the manufacture of a condiment, and for culinary purposes, as far as could be discerned. But our forefathers used rock salt generally, as I believe it is now used, to put into pigeon-houses, though possibly for cattle to lick. The accounts of the Cambridge Colleges, especially King's, supply information as to the purchase of salt stones. There are twenty-one such entries between 1438 and 1579, and they might have been more, were it not that I merely quoted them as illustrations, to be found among the sundry articles. Two are bought in the first year at 3½d. and 8d.; one in 1447 at 1s. 4d.; one in 1452

at 4*d.*; two in 1466 at 3*d.* each; two in 1467 at 6*d.* each; one in 1472 at 3*d.*; one in 1528 at 9*d.*; two in 1529 at 4*d.* each; two in 1532 at 3*d.* each; one in 1534 at 4*d.*; three in 1541 at 4*d.* each. Lastly, two are bought in 1578 at 2*s.* 6*d.* each, and one in 1579 for 6*s.* 8*d.* The exaltation in price, if there be any corresponding magnitude in the pieces purchased in these later years, is altogether without parallel. In any case, I submit that the trade in rock salt must have been occasional or capricious, and that these prices imply that the manipulation of the mineral for the consumption of man was only locally known, or more probably, was wholly unknown.

The price of salt was exceptionally high during the first decade of the fifteenth century. But otherwise the decennial periods correspond closely with the price of corn during the remaining 130 years of the earlier period. The dearest are 1431-40, 1511-40; the cheapest are 1441-50, 1461-80, 1491-1500. The reader will find the correspondence even more exact in comparing the price of salt with that of oatmeal.

I have found no trace of the use of salt either as food for cattle, or as a manure.

CATTLE MEDICINES. I find no account of any veterinary drugs to be used internally, except it be that 'nerval' for a sick horse in 1454 is of this kind. All other drugs are used externally, and it seems from Fitzherbert's work that surgery, and especially the actual cautery, were the remedies most relied on for cattle diseases. But remedies were employed for the skin diseases of sheep. For these the principal, indeed the universal, remedy is tar.

I stated in my earlier volumes that mercurial, and perhaps arsenical unguents were originally employed to treat the new and disastrous disease in the fleece of sheep which is known as scab, and which appeared at the conclusion of the thirteenth century for the first time. Very soon however these, and the use of sulphate of iron, which was also tried, disappeared, and tar takes their place. The shepherd, says Fitzherbert, must never be without his tar-box.

I had little difficulty in finding sufficient evidence for the price of tar in my former volumes. But I have far less evidence at present. It may have been that in the general prosperity of the fifteenth century the necessary use of the article decreased, it may have been that the shepherd obtained it from his employer's purchases, and that thus the record of prices is lost; it is certain, as I have already had to say, that the later part of my enquiry gives me little information as to the management of sheep farms, the cost of the medicines used, and the value of the produce.

Down to the middle of the fifteenth century entries of tar are fairly continuous, prices being given by the gallon and occasionally by the barrel. From this time, prices by the gallon are rare, and by the barrel frequent. It is dearer on the whole during these fifty years than it was in the fourteenth century, though it must be admitted that the places which record its purchase are generally inland and at some distance from the sea. Tar is still the produce of Scandinavia, and its price depended on the cost of manufacture and the facilities of transport, as well as on proximity to the eastern coast.

There are a hundred and one entries of tar by the barrel between 1401-1540. In 1407, the barrel is stated to contain twelve gallons; in 1533, it is said to hold sixteen. The average of these entries gives 6*s.* 0½*d.* the barrel, for the period between 1401-1540, against 4*s.* 9½*d.* between 1321-1400. The article, however, is far cheaper, even if we take the smaller sized barrel as the rule, when sold in bulk, than it is when purchased by the gallon.

Tar is dear in 1427, 1428, several entries being given for each year, and in 1532, though the barrel in the latter year is cheap. It is also dear by the barrel in 1441 and 1453.

Tar is sometimes described as 'circuli majoris,' or, in later years, as of 'the great band.' The first of these terms is used in 1423. It is found again in 1433. The later entries, referring to purchases in the navy, distinguish (1561, 1569) great band from small.

In the latter part of the period tar is purchased extensively for naval stores, sometimes by the barrel, more frequently by the last of fourteen barrels. The earlier purchases made in the Howard accounts (1462, 1465, 1469) are for the same object. The price when obtained in these large quantities is less than that by the barrel.

It is probable that the gallon of 'resina' bought in 1401 (544. i), and that of 'pisagra' in 1419 (547. iv), are really entries of tar.

Pitch was bought for marking sheep at 1*d.* the pound. It is also purchased by the stone and the barrel. The price does not differ generally from that of tar. In the latter period, however, it is rather cheaper. Here again it is cheaper by the last than it is by the barrel.

The price of resin is entered in eighteen years. It is bought by the pound, the dozen, and the cwt. In the earlier period, when bought by the pound it is worth 1*d.*, but is once 1½*d.*, and is sometimes much cheaper, as in 1515. Five entries by the cwt. between 1506 and 1537 give an average of 4*s.* 11½*d.* In 1552 it costs by the pound 1½*d.*, in 1567 4½*d.* and 2*d.*, in 1574 4*d.*, 2 cwts. 1 qr. 8 lbs. being bought on behalf of the navy. In 1562 23 cwts. 12 lbs. are bought at 8*s.*, 20 cwts. 2 qrs. 27 lbs. at 7*s.*, and 73 cwts. 2 qrs. 15 lbs. at 7*s.* 6*d.*, these quantities being employed by the navy. Resin was used, it seems, occasionally for agricultural purposes to form unguents, but more frequently to mix with wax for torches, and latterly for caulking.

The only medicine which I have found besides is 2 lb. of 'nerval' for six horses at 8*d.* in 1454, a receipt for which is given in Halliwell's Glossary, and a horse drench in 1457, which costs 4*d.*, another in 1540 for 6*d.*, and nine in 1542 at 4*d.* There are entries of rat poison in 1506 and 1525, the quantity in the later entry, whatever it was, costing New College 6*s.* 8*d.*

It may be convenient here to take notice of the price of soap. It was employed for sheep-dressing, and for lubricating

wheels, especially in mills, as well as for the laundry. It is sometimes purchased in considerable quantities, and at various prices, as in 1504-6. It is described as white and black, the latter being cheaper than the former. Ten entries by the lb. give 2s. 4d. the dozen as the price before 1540, the latest entry being in 1532. It is much dearer than it was in the fourteenth century (vol. i. p. 467).

It is more frequently bought by the barrel. Twelve entries before 1540 give an average of 17s. 3d. Six entries after that period give 36s. 10d. It is purchased in later times for the use of the navy. The barrel of soap by 23 Hen. VIII, cap. 4, contains 32 gallons.

Ruddle is also bought for marking sheep. I have found two entries of it, one in 1413 at 1d. the pound, another in 1433, where two 'belyes' of this substance are purchased at 1s. The place is the sheep-farm of Coleshull. In 1493 'Bath tile' is purchased at the same place for the same purpose, and red tar is used in 1432.

LIME. In the period before me, lime was much more frequently used for building than for agricultural purposes. Still, it was and remained, with stable dung and marl, the principal material for dressing land, clearing it of weeds and moss, and getting it into condition. The evidence obtained for this article is abundant, only one year being destitute of an entry.

Lime is generally sold by the quarter. But many measures are found. The sack is used in London, as is also the load or carriage, the quantity of the load being apparently six sacks. The sack is also used at Hornchurch and Otterton (Devon). Later on the hundred (*c*) is used in and near London, this being equal to four quarters. In York the miell of two quarters is an early measure, which gives way to the load in later times. In Norfolk there is a local measure, the treye of 16 bushels. There is the ton or doleum at Windsor, the chaldron of Durham and Essex, the wey at Yartcombe, the pisa at Banwell, the tray at Boston, the stone of Kent, which is the same as the quarter, and the slete at Selborne. But after the quarter, the

commonest measure is the load, ton, or fother of Cambridge and its neighbourhood. These three words are identical, and it appears that the measure contained three quarters. They occur so frequently and, in the latter part of the enquiry, so regularly, that I have constructed a table of them and of the averages derived from them.

The Oxford load, which occurs frequently, varies, the quantity in quarters being sometimes supplied. In 1483 it is nearly four quarters. In 1503 it is $4\frac{1}{2}$ quarters. In 1552-3 it is four quarters, in 1554 it is five quarters.

The Sion load is five quarters. In Warwick it varies from three quarters and a bushel to three quarters and a half. In Rochester the load is $3\frac{3}{4}$ quarters. Fortunately it is generally possible to interpret these measures. In the early years we find the Welsh crannock, and a quantity described as a long trowe, by which a barge or boat-load appears to be meant.

The price of lime varies greatly, for the cost of carriage entered largely into the value of this article, this cost being further contingent on the proximity of the market to chalk or limestone. It remains, however, during the first 140 years pretty steadily at the price which it reached after the middle of the fourteenth century, the dearest decade being that in which the wet seasons of 1437-9 induced scarcity prices in corn. This is also the dearest decade during the same period for the Cambridge fother or bigate.

Lime by the quarter rises in price after 1540 in the same ratio that other commodities do. There is not quite so great a rise in lime by the fother or bigate. But the Cambridge purchases, chiefly those for King's College, where extensive buildings are carried on, were large, and this would tend to depress the price. It was not an uncommon practice with a corporation, when they were building, to hire a limestone quarry, supply wood or faggots for burning, and carriage from the quarry to the kiln, and from the kiln to the building, paying wages to limeburners for the work which they performed.

The fact that the price of lime was maintained at the rates of the last half of the fourteenth century is an indication of the permanently bettered condition of the labouring classes. We shall indeed see, when we deal with the price of labour, that labourers, notwithstanding the cheapness of food, were in a singularly advantageous position, though the reverse which came upon them in the sixteenth century lowered their condition to one of which their forefathers for a long period had no experience.

IRON AND STEEL. Iron is purchased in two forms, raw and wrought. The information is so considerable that only sixteen years out of the 182 are without entries of one kind or the other. Wrought iron is found under many forms, the product being purchased of the smith or dealer. The old custom of the fourteenth century has not indeed entirely passed away, for purchases of raw material are still made to be fashioned into shape by the craft of the workman, but an increasing number of articles are bought ready made.

By the beginning of the fifteenth century the hundredweight of 112 lb., originally it seems a tare weight of the London market, has become customary if not universal, though the 'piece' of the older accounts still lingers and is occasionally represented. But the hundredweight or quintal is so general that it may be taken as the basis of both entries and averages. I have therefore reduced all the entries both of raw and wrought iron to this unit, and have thus been able to exhibit the prices of the article in a uniform quantity in all the years in which entries occur.

Iron is not only of English origin. Much of it comes from Spain; the first entry in the third volume being a purchase at Stourbridge fair in 1424. Spanish iron is not unknown in the thirteenth century, as I have noted in my first volume, under the year 1294, at Ospring in Kent. But in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries it is very common. In the fifteenth century it is ordinarily bought by the *petra* of 14 lb., and for some years into the sixteenth. Finally it is always bought by the *cwt.* or *ton.*

Spanish iron is generally dearer than Weardale metal, the article with which it is frequently contrasted, the proportion of the former to the latter being, as a rule, 6 or $6\frac{1}{2}$ to 5. Sometimes, however, Weardale iron is dearer than Spanish. In two years (1471, 1473) Finchale priory buys three kinds, Weardale, Spanish, and Luk or Lukeys metal. Another kind of iron is described as Amyas (1527, 1528). In the first of these years it is dearer than Spanish, in the second cheaper.

In the latter part of the period we find English, Spruce, and Spanish, the latter being distinguished as Bilboa, Seville or Siviletto iron. Spruce appears to be iron from the Scandinavian peninsula, which regularly supplied England with part of what she needed for consumption (*supra*, p. 145). Bilboa iron appears to be slightly cheaper than that of Seville, but Spanish and Spruce are generally of the same value, and both appear to be, at least in the later period, forty per cent. dearer than English produce.

Besides raw forged and wrought iron, there are a few entries of cast iron. The shot of 1513 and 1546 was probably of this material. The ordnance of 1570-1579 is stated to have been so. There is a story to the effect that cast iron was an invention of the seventeenth century, and due to the skill of Dud Dudley, a base brother of the great Worcestershire ironmasters of that town. But my accounts show a far earlier origin. It is probable that Dudley merely introduced improvements into the process.

Wrought iron, during the earlier part of the period, is generally bought by the pound, even when the quantity purchased is considerable, and the product elaborate. Thus the cranes employed to raise stone and timber for Merton College tower, each weighing 267 lbs., and bought between 1448-50, are purchased respectively at 2*d.* and $2\frac{1}{2}$ *d.* the lb. These were very dear years on the whole. The contrast between raw and wrought iron at the end of the period is very instructive, and when compared with that of the earlier time, throws light on the condition of labour.

1402. The price of iron (10s. the cwt.) is like all other prices high. Such a price as that paid for iron in mass at York is reached twenty years later, next in 1441, and not again till after 1540. In 1419 it is 6s., in 1421, 4s. 10d. Steel is also dear. It is 1s. 6½d. the stone. In 1424 it is 9½d., in 1444, 9d.

1406-9. The price of wrought iron is very high, much that is purchased being merely iron bars.

1433, etc. The wrought iron of Jarrow, &c., must be understood to be iron rods, i.e. blooms or masses partially manufactured.

1446. The entry of the hammer from York means that the instrument weighed half a cwt., was made of Spanish iron, and that the cost of the material and its manufacture was 5s. 10d.

1457. Iron is generally very cheap.

1461-64. Prices are continuously low.

1467. These charges for the Prior of Waynflete's tomb were incurred by the order of the founder of Magdalen College. They represent, as the price of iron was low, very elaborate work, such as indeed still remains in specimens of medieval iron-work. Some of the work is done on cheaper terms.

1470. Iron is again very cheap.

1472. Iron and steel are equally cheap.

1476. These are charges incurred for the iron-work in King's College Chapel. The building was stinted, but not wholly stopped, during Edward the Fourth's reign.

1483-7. Iron is again cheap. But the iron-work at Windsor, ranging from 23s. 6d. the cwt. to 25s. 11d., must have been very elaborate, being nearly five times the price of the raw material.

1516-18. The price of iron is still low.

1528. I am unable to define 'flagg' iron.

1533-35. Iron is rising in price.

1548. Iron begins to be very dear.

1562. All kinds are doubled in price.

1582. The variety in price represented by the purchases on the Shuttleworth estate are probably due to varieties in quality, the highest being foreign, the lowest English.

Steel is also called Osemond. It is bought by the stone, the garb, the barrel, the burden, the sheaf (probably the same as the garb), the wisp, perhaps the same measure (for these terms are employed at Sion only), the gad and the pound. Steel is not

discovered nearly so frequently in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries as it was in the fourteenth.

Thirteen entries of steel by the garb give an average before 1540 of $7\frac{1}{4}d$. Eleven entries of steel by the sheaf in the same period supply an average of $5\frac{1}{4}d$. One by the wisp is $9d$. Four by the burden give $3s. 6d$. One by the gad is $3s. 4d$. The gad and the burden seem to be identical, or nearly so. In 1436 Osemond is sold by the barrel at $10s.$; in 1452 at $10s. 6d$. In 1457 and 1458 steel is sold by the barrel at $15s$. In 1465 Osemond is bought at Stourbridge at $9s. 4d$. the barrel. But in 1510, Osemond is bought by the prior of Hickling at $53s. 3d$. the barrel. In 1527 the same article costs $12s. 6d$. at Bardney. It is hardly possible that the barrel of 1510 could have contained the same quantity as the other barrels did.

In 1566 steel is bought by the cwt. It is nearly double the price of iron, i.e. $21s. 8d$. to $11s$. In 1571-2, it is bought at $4d$. the pound, i.e. $37s. 4d$. the cwt. In 1574 it is $21s. 8d$. the cwt., this being the last entry in the accounts.

The price of iron is not to be taken alone, but with that of nails. These will be treated, the evidence being very copious, when I come to deal with building materials, and they will be found to illustrate the facts which I have been able to collect for raw iron and for ironwork, priced by weight.

The comparative scarcity of steel prices suggests that the work of steeling tools, for which this article was especially used, was undertaken by the local smith out of his own stock of materials. This is further implied in the fact that tools of various kinds, agricultural and mechanical, are purchased from the manufacturers, and though they do not appear so fully as to justify separate treatment and separate tables, I shall be able in a subsequent chapter to deal with them with sufficient fullness for the purpose of my enquiry. The fifteenth century and at least the first quarter of the sixteenth was an epoch of almost unbroken prosperity, in which farmer and artisan were equally successful in improving their condition.

Among the records which have been preserved, perhaps by accident, in New College muniment room, are collections of bills, presented by artisans in the latter part of the fifteenth century, for repairs executed on the various tenements belonging to New College, in Oxford and elsewhere. Similar documents exist in other Colleges. These are evidence, not only of the general spread of education among the working classes, who knew how to draw up and present accounts, but of the fact that employments which, a century before, were with rare exceptions of labour only, had become employments of labour and capital, in which the craftsman found materials as well as work. In some directions indeed, and for a long time afterwards, employers, especially in building, found materials and even tools, but in others, and these not the least significant in the economy of society, the artisan had taken decided steps towards independence.

The reader will remember that considerable fluctuations in price recorded in articles like those dealt with in the present chapter are due either to temporary causes, such as inclement seasons, wet, and deficient solar heat, in an article like salt, and in some degree in lime; to interruptions in trade, casual or permanent, and to the restoration of such commercial transactions, in articles which were almost entirely of foreign origin, such as tar, or extensively imported as iron was; or to a rise or fall in the value of the precious metals, as the representatives of money values. But there was no opportunity for what we should call speculative purchases, with a view to a control of the market. The vendor in those times could not measure and anticipate the wants of the purchaser, for as far as industry and commerce were concerned, in relation to ordinary demand, producers and dealers were not stimulated, as yet, to extraordinary exertions, or subject to such fluctuations in price as arise from interpretations on a large scale of actual supply and possible demand. The record of prices is therefore a record of economical values.

In the subjoined tables, Table I is the annual averages

of salt, lime, iron and tar; the first by the quarter; the second by the quarter, and fother, ton, or load; the third by the cwt. of raw and the cwt. of wrought iron; the fourth by the gallon and barrel. Table II is of the decennial averages.

TABLE I.
AVERAGE PRICES OF SALT, LIME, IRON, TAR.

	Salt, qr.	Lime, qr.	Lime, load, ton, fother.	Iron, raw, cwt.	Iron, wrought, cwt.	Tar, gallon.	Tar, barrel.
	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>
1401	5 4	1 11	.....	.....	.....	0 7	4 11
1402	7 10 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 4 $\frac{1}{2}$	.....	10 0	.....	0 7 $\frac{1}{2}$	5 2 $\frac{1}{2}$
1403	5 11	1 5 $\frac{1}{2}$	.....	.....	.....	0 9 $\frac{1}{2}$	4 6
1404	6 10 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 2 $\frac{1}{2}$	.....	.....	.....	0 9 $\frac{1}{2}$	.....
1405	7 9 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 2	4 0	7 10 $\frac{1}{2}$	.....	0 8	.....
1406	5 9 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 0 $\frac{1}{2}$	.....	.....	18 8	0 9	.....
1407	6 8	1 3	.....	.....	.....	0 8 $\frac{1}{2}$	4 8
1408	5 9	1 1	.....	6 8	18 8	0 10	.....
1409	4 10	1 0	.....	.....	18 8	0 7	.....
1410	5 5	1 4	.....	6 8 $\frac{1}{2}$	16 11	0 8	.....
1411	4 8	1 2 $\frac{1}{2}$	4 6	.....	.....	0 8	4 4
1412	4 5	1 1	.....	.....	11 8	0 10 $\frac{1}{2}$	4 8
1413	5 10	1 3	.....	.....	17 1	0 9 $\frac{1}{2}$	4 6
1414	4 6 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 3 $\frac{1}{2}$	2 5	.....	16 9 $\frac{1}{2}$	0 9	.....
1415	6 0	1 5	.....	.....	16 4	0 8 $\frac{1}{2}$	.....
1416	4 0	1 3 $\frac{1}{2}$	2 2 $\frac{1}{2}$	.....	15 2	0 7 $\frac{1}{2}$	.....
1417	6 1	1 3	2 3	.....	16 4	0 7 $\frac{1}{2}$	.....
1418	5 4 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 4 $\frac{1}{2}$	2 2	5 6	18 8	0 8	4 0
1419	3 10	0 11 $\frac{1}{2}$	2 2	6 6	15 5 $\frac{1}{2}$	0 8 $\frac{1}{2}$	6 9
1420	2 10	1 0	.....	5 0	.....	0 8 $\frac{1}{2}$	.....
1421	4 7 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 0	.....	4 10	16 4	0 7	7 0
1422	4 3 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 0 $\frac{1}{2}$	.....	6 2	16 4	0 8	7 5 $\frac{1}{2}$
1423	3 4	1 4	.....	6 4	15 2	0 9 $\frac{1}{2}$	5 0
1424	3 11	1 0 $\frac{1}{2}$	.....	6 4	16 11	0 8	6 2
1425	4 11 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 8	.....	.....	14 6	0 8	.....
1426	3 4	1 1	2 10	.....	14 10 $\frac{1}{2}$	0 10	11 4
1427	3 2 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 3	2 8	6 10	16 7	1 4	.....
1428	4 3 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 4	.....	.....	17 2 $\frac{1}{2}$	0 10 $\frac{1}{2}$	8 3

	Salt, qr.	Lime, qr.	Lime, load, ton, fother.	Iron, raw, cwt.	Iron, wrought, cwt.	Tar, gallon.	Tar, barrel.
	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>
1429	3 7 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 6	.....	.....	15 2	0 8	.....
1430	3 4 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 1	.....	11 0	17 10 $\frac{1}{2}$	0 8	6 8
1431	3 3 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 4 $\frac{1}{2}$	.....	.....	15 3 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 0	.....
1432	4 5	1 5	.....	6 0	14 0	0 10 $\frac{1}{2}$	.....
1433	3 4	1 5	2 8	6 4	.....	0 8	8 0
1434	4 0	1 6 $\frac{1}{2}$	4 0	6 6	14 0	0 8	.....
1435	5 4	1 6 $\frac{1}{2}$	3 2	6 10	13 10	.....	.....
1436	5 3 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 6	.....	6 6	14 0	0 9	8 1
1437	6 10	1 5	.....	6 0	11 8	0 9	6 8
1438	7 7	1 4 $\frac{1}{2}$	3 0	.....	14 4 $\frac{1}{2}$	.....	.....
1439	6 7	1 2 $\frac{1}{2}$	3 0	5 6	.....	0 8 $\frac{1}{2}$	6 4
1440	5 1 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 5	.....	.....	14 0	1 4 $\frac{1}{2}$	.....
1441	4 0	1 4 $\frac{1}{2}$	.....	10 0	18 8	.....	10 2
1442	4 9 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 1 $\frac{3}{4}$	.....	6 0	.....	.....	.....
1443	3 10 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 3 $\frac{1}{2}$	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1444	3 10 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 1 $\frac{1}{2}$	.....	6 0	14 9	0 7	.....
1445	3 4 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 7	3 0	5 6	15 7	0 6	.....
1446	4 1 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 2 $\frac{1}{2}$	.....	6 0	14 0	0 6	.....
1447	3 5 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 3 $\frac{1}{2}$	.....	.....	16 4	0 10	.....
1448	4 5	1 5 $\frac{1}{2}$	2 11	5 4	15 2	0 9	.....
1449	3 6 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 6	3 0	6 0	16 4	0 9 $\frac{1}{2}$	4 10 $\frac{1}{2}$
1450	4 5 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 3 $\frac{1}{2}$	.....	.....	21 0	.....	.....
1451	4 5 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 3 $\frac{1}{2}$	3 0	.....	13 6	0 10	.....
1452	4 0	1 2 $\frac{1}{2}$	3 2	6 5	16 4	1 0	.....
1453	3 10 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 3 $\frac{1}{2}$	3 6	6 8	18 8	.....	13 0
1454	3 9 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 6	3 0	5 1	14 0	.....	.....
1455	4 0	1 5 $\frac{1}{2}$	2 6	5 6	14 0	0 8	7 6
1456	2 11 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 5 $\frac{1}{2}$	3 0	5 0	14 0	.....	.....
1457	4 0 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 3	3 0	5 1	.....	.....	7 0
1458	4 6 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 3 $\frac{1}{2}$	3 0	3 4	.....	.....	.....
1459	5 6 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 1	3 0	5 2	18 8	.....	.....
1460	5 4	1 4	.....	4 10	.....	.....	.....
1461	3 4 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 1	.....	3 11 $\frac{1}{2}$	15 7	.....	.....
1462	4 0	1 6	.....	3 8	17 1	.....	6 0
1463	3 6	1 0	.....	3 10	16 4	0 8	.....
1464	2 8	1 3 $\frac{1}{2}$	3 0	3 10	14 0	.....	.....

	Salt, qr.	Lime, qr.	Lime, load, ton, fother.	Iron, raw, cwt.	Iron, wrought, cwt.	Tar, gallon.	Tar, barrel.
	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>
1465	3 10 $\frac{3}{4}$	0 7 $\frac{1}{2}$	3 0	8 0	14 0	.....	5 0
1466	3 9 $\frac{1}{2}$	0 10 $\frac{1}{4}$	3 0	5 11 $\frac{1}{2}$	.....	.....	6 6
1467	3 6	1 2	3 6	4 1 $\frac{1}{2}$	17 10	0 8	.....
1468	4 3	.....	.....	4 4	.....	.....	.....
1469	4 6 $\frac{1}{4}$	1 1 $\frac{1}{2}$	.....	3 10	14 0	.....	4 8 $\frac{1}{2}$
1470	.....	1 1	.....	4 7	14 0	.....	.....
1471	.....	1 0	.....	4 10 $\frac{1}{2}$	.....	.....	.....
1472	3 2 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 4	2 11	4 4 $\frac{1}{2}$	.....	.....	.....
1473	2 8	1 0 $\frac{3}{4}$	.....	4 4	.....	.....	.....
1474	3 0	1 2 $\frac{1}{4}$	.....	4 4	18 8	.....	7 7
1475	3 8 $\frac{1}{4}$	0 8	2 6	5 7	.....	.....	.....
1476	4 1	1 2	.....	4 4	18 8	.....	6 0
1477	.....	1 4	.....	5 4	21 0	.....	6 9
1478	3 8 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 2 $\frac{3}{4}$	3 0	.....	14 0	.....	.....
1479	4 8	0 10	2 6	5 4	14 0	.....	4 9
1480	.....	1 3	.....	4 4	14 0	.....	7 6
1481	4 9 $\frac{3}{4}$	0 8	2 0	4 8 $\frac{3}{4}$	.....	.....	.....
1482	4 7 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 2 $\frac{1}{2}$	.....	.....	16 4	.....	5 0
1483	3 0	0 11	2 6	4 0	16 0	.....	.....
1484	4 8	1 3 $\frac{1}{2}$	2 6	3 10	11 8	.....	8 0
1485	4 0	1 2 $\frac{1}{2}$	2 6	4 0	14 0	.....	.....
1486	.....	0 10 $\frac{1}{2}$	2 6	4 4	.....	.....	.....
1487	4 6 $\frac{3}{4}$	.....	2 4	3 9	24 8	.....	.....
1488	4 9 $\frac{1}{4}$	1 2 $\frac{1}{2}$	2 6	3 4	.....	.....	.....
1489	6 0 $\frac{1}{4}$	1 2 $\frac{1}{2}$	2 6	4 4	.....	.....	5 4
1490	8 0	1 1	2 0	4 4	16 4	.....	5 10
1491	4 4 $\frac{3}{4}$	1 2 $\frac{1}{2}$	.....	.....	18 8	.....	.....
1492	3 7 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 3	.....	.....	14 0	.....	.....
1493	5 8	1 3	.....	.....	.....	.....	5 0
1494	4 11	1 5	.....	4 6	15 2	.....	.....
1495	3 0	1 2	.....	3 10 $\frac{1}{2}$	14 0	.....	5 0
1496	.....	1 3	.....	.....	15 2	.....	.....
1497	3 8	1 2	2 6	.....	12 10	.....	6 4
1498	2 11 $\frac{1}{4}$	1 3	2 6	3 10 $\frac{1}{2}$	.....	.....	.....
1499	4 3 $\frac{3}{4}$	0 8	2 6	.....	14 0	.....	6 2
1500	4 8 $\frac{1}{4}$	1 1 $\frac{1}{2}$	2 6	4 4	15 2	.....	.....

	Salt, qr.	Lime, qr.	Lime, load, ton, fother.	Iron, raw, cwt.	Iron, wrought, cwt.	Tar, gallon.	Tar, barrel.
	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>
1501	4 6	1 1	2 6	3 10	14 0	.....	4 0
1502	3 11 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 0	2 6	4 3	14 0	.....	.....
1503	4 2 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 2	2 6	.....	14 0	.....	.....
1504	5 10 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1505	4 4 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 4 $\frac{1}{2}$	2 4	4 0	14 0	.....	.....
1506	4 1	1 0 $\frac{1}{2}$	.....	.....	14 0	.....	.....
1507	3 8	1 0	.....	4 2	16 4	.....	.....
1508	3 10	0 10 $\frac{1}{2}$	2 6	4 0	19 0	.....	.....
1509	4 1	0 11	2 6	.....	14 0	.....	.....
1510	4 1 $\frac{1}{2}$	0 11	2 6	.....	14 7	.....	.....
1511	4 5	1 0	.....	4 0	9 4	.....	.....
1512	3 6	1 1 $\frac{1}{2}$	.....	6 5	14 0	.....	.....
1513	.....	1 0 $\frac{1}{2}$	.....	5 5 $\frac{1}{2}$	.....	.....	.....
1514	4 8	0 9 $\frac{1}{2}$	.....	4 8	.....	.....	.....
1515	5 0	1 0 $\frac{1}{2}$	2 6	4 3 $\frac{1}{2}$	14 0	.....	.....
1516	6 0	0 11	2 5	4 6	.....	.....	.....
1517	4 6	1 4	2 3 $\frac{1}{2}$	4 7	.....	.....	.....
1518	5 8 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 2 $\frac{1}{2}$	2 6	4 3	.....	.....	3 8
1519	5 8 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 3 $\frac{1}{2}$	2 4	4 5	14 0	.....	.....
1520	5 11	0 8 $\frac{1}{2}$	.....	.....	.....	.....	3 3
1521	6 10 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 1	2 4	5 4	.....	.....	.....
1522	7 4 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 8	2 6	.....	.....	.....	.....
1523	6 10 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 0	.....	.....	17 7	.....	.....
1524	7 6 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 1	2 6	.....	16 4	.....	.....
1525	7 2 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 0	2 6	5 4	14 0	.....	.....
1526	7 1	1 0	.....	5 4	.....	.....	.....
1527	5 10 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 4	2 8	6 4	.....	.....	8 5
1528	8 3	1 1	.....	6 2	.....	2 8	.....
1529	8 1	1 4	2 6	5 7	.....	.....	5 8
1530	8 0	1 1 $\frac{1}{2}$	.....	5 2	.....	.....	.....
1531	6 4 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 2 $\frac{1}{2}$	.....	6 10 $\frac{1}{2}$	.....	.....	5 0
1532	6 7 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 2	2 6	4 5	14 11	1 3	5 9
1533	4 10 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 2 $\frac{1}{2}$	2 6	5 4 $\frac{1}{2}$	16 4	.....	6 4
1534	6 1 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 2 $\frac{1}{2}$	2 6	5 7	14 0	.....	.....
1535	6 10	1 3	2 8	6 9 $\frac{1}{2}$	18 8	.....	7 10 $\frac{1}{2}$
1536	7 4	1 2 $\frac{1}{2}$	2 6	.....	14 0	0 8	.....

	Salt, qr.	Lime, qr.	Lime, load, ton, fother.	Iron, raw, cwt.	Iron, wrought, cwt.	Tar, gallon.	Tar, barrel.
	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>
1537	5 11½	1 5	.....	.....	14 0	.....	.....
1538	6 2½	1 1	3 0	.....	.....	0 8	.....
1539	5 4½	1 2	.....	.....	13 4	.....	.....
1540	6 0	1 6½	.....	4 9	17 1	.....	.....
1541	6 0	1 2½	.....	5 4	15 3	1 3	.....
1542	8 4½	1 3	.....	6 0	16 4	.....	.....
1543	7 0	1 4	.....	.....	14 11	.....	.....
1544	8 11	1 4	3 7	.....	19 10	.....	.....
1545	7 10½	1 3	3 4	.....	18 8	.....	.....
1546	8 0	1 3	.....	5 0	18 8	.....	.....
1547	10 0	1 2½	3 4	4 8	21 0	.....	8 6
1548	9 5½	2 0	3 4	.....	18 8	.....	.....
1549	9 4	1 5	4 6	.....	.....	.....	.....
1550	11 6	2 3	5 0	.....	14 0	.....	.....
1551	9 1½	3 0	5 8	.....	18 8	.....	.....
1552	10 3	2 7½	5 0	.....	.....	.....	.....
1553	8 4	2 9	6 3	.....	.....	.....	.....
1554	10 2	2 6	5 0	12 6	.....	.....	.....
1555	13 5	3 0	6 0	11 0	74 8	.....	.....
1556	8 10	3 3	5 2	12 0	28 0	.....	.....
1557	12 7	3 1	5 6½	.....	56 0	.....	.....
1558	9 9	2 7½	6 4	.....	28 0	.....	.....
1559	13 3	2 8½	.....	.....	28 0	.....	.....
1560	12 2	2 10½	6 11	.....	26 0	.....	.....
1561	11 9	3 1	6 0	12 4	22 5½	.....	9 0
1562	10 10½	2 9½	6 4	11 9½	23 4	.....	7 7½
1563	12 6½	3 4	5 10	.....	.....	.....	6 10
1564	12 2½	2 8	5 6	.....	.....	.....	.....
1565	10 11	2 8	6 0	.....	.....	.....	.....
1566	10 7½	3 3½	6 0	11 0	.....	.....	.....
1567	11 4½	2 9	6 0	.....	21 0	.....	.....
1568	10 8	2 0	5 1	14 0	.....	.....	.....
1569	12 1½	4 8	6 0	13 0	23 4	.....	8 7
1570	11 0	4 0	6 8	12 6	23 4	.....	.....
1571	11 1	3 0	6 0	11 2	.....	.....	.....
1572	13 11	3 6	6 6	.....	.....	.....	.....

	Salt, qr.	Lime, qr.	Lime, load, ton, fother.	Iron, raw, cwt.	Iron, wrought, cwt.	Tar, gallon.	Tar, barrel.
	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>
1573	17 0 $\frac{1}{4}$	4 8	6 8	.....	.....	.....	7 0
1574	18 9	4 0	6 0	11 0	25 8	.....	10 6
1575	15 11	4 0	.....	18 0	.....	.....	.....
1576	15 4 $\frac{1}{2}$	3 10	6 0	.....	32 8	.....	.....
1577	14 6	3 10	6 0	.....	32 8	.....	7 6
1578	12 5 $\frac{1}{2}$	4 0	6 0	.....	28 0	.....	.....
1579	12 7	3 8	6 0	13 0	25 7	.....	.....
1580	12 3 $\frac{1}{2}$	4 0	6 0	11 4	25 7	.....	.....
1581	12 3	4 0	6 0	.....	23 7	.....	.....
1582	10 8	4 0	6 0	12 0	.....	.....	.....

TABLE II.

DECENNIAL AVERAGES OF SALT, LIME, IRON, TAR.

	Salt, qr.	Lime, qr.	Lime, load, ton, fother.	Iron, raw, cwt.	Iron, wrought, cwt.	Tar, gallon.	Tar, barrel.
	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>
1401—1410	6 2½	1 3¼	4 0	7 9½	18 2½	0 8½	4 10
1411—1420	3 11½	1 2½	2 7½	5 8	17 5½	0 8½	4 10½
1421—1430	4 0	1 2¾	2 9	5 11	16 1	0 9½	7 3½
1431—1440	5 2½	1 5	3 2	6 4½	13 10¾	0 10½	7 3
1441—1450	3 11¾	1 3¾	2 11¾	6 5	15 10½	0 8	7 6
1451—1460	4 0¾	1 4	3 0½	5 2¾	15 7½	0 10	9 2
1461—1470	3 8¾	1 1	3 1½	4 7½	15 4½	0 8	4 6½
1471—1480	3 7¾	1 1½	2 8¾	4 9	16 8¾	.....	6 6
1481—1490	4 11½	1 1	2 4½	4 1	16 6	.....	6 0½
1491—1500	4 1½	1 2	2 6	4 1¾	14 10½	.....	5 7½
1501—1510	4 3½	1 0¾	2 5½	4 0½	14 10½	.....	4 0
1511—1520	5 0½	1 0½	2 5	4 8¾	12 4	.....	3 5½
1521—1530	7 3¾	1 2	2 6	5 7½	15 11¾	.....	7 1½
1531—1540	6 2	1 3	2 7½	5 8	15 3½	0 10½	6 3
1541—1550	8 7¾	1 5½	3 10½	5 3	17 5¾	1 3	8 6
1551—1560	9 7½	2 10¼	5 9½	11 10	37 0½	.....	.....
1561—1570	11 5	3 1½	5 11¾	12 3½	22 8½	.....	9 0
1571—1582	13 10¾	3 10½	6 1½	12 10¼	27 8½	.....	10 6
First 140 years	4 9	1 2¼	2 9½	5 4½	15 7½	0 9½	6 0½
Last 42 years	10 10¾	2 9¾	5 5	10 6½	26 2¾	1 3	9 4

CHAPTER XIV.

AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS AND TOOLS.

THE accounts which have been inspected for the purpose of collecting the evidence of prices have supplied me with numerous entries of agricultural implements and tools of very various kinds, on which I shall proceed to comment.

ECONOMY OF THE FIELD. I. Ploughs, shares, and plough-wheels. There are thirty-two entries of the price of ploughs between 1402 and 1519, the prices being very various. This is to be expected, for Fitzherbert informs us that the plough varied in all the counties which he knew. The construction of this necessary instrument must have been sometimes exceedingly slight, for it is purchased at as low a rate as 10*d.* and 1*s.* frequently. But on the other hand, some ploughs described as complete are bought at 3*s.* 8*d.*, 6*s.*, and one for as much as 8*s.* 7*d.* Ploughshares, which were so common in the earlier period of my enquiry as to furnish me with annual and decennial values, have now almost entirely disappeared. Plough-wheels occur rarely, and cost from 2*s.* to 1*s.*; but in 1511 a pair is bought for 4*d.*

During the fifteenth century I find fairly numerous entries of ploughshares, fifty-four years being supplied with evidence. The share generally costs 1*s.*, and is seldom less, i.e. in only two entries. It once reaches 1*s.* 11*d.* in the dear year 1439, and once 1*s.* 6*d.* in the year 1442, when the price of iron had been very high. If one can safely infer from the average price of wrought iron, when the manufactured article was not of a kind as to require extraordinary skill, the weight of the share was from eight to ten pounds.

The seed was cast on the ground from a seed-cod or seedlep, the latter word being still used. There are two entries under the former name at 3*d.* and 4*d.*; four under the latter, all but one at 4*d.*

I have found no entry of a harrow; but its use is indicated as early as 1414; for in that year the bailiff of Alton Barnes buys a quantity of harrow pins, the number not being given, for 1*s.* 10*d.* Testing this price again by that of iron, it would imply not more than from 14 to 16 lbs. weight of wrought iron.

Manure was carried to the field in carts, and apparently in 'dung pots,' two of these being quoted in 1402 and 1420 at 6*d.* and 1*s.*, and spread by dung-forks, five of which are entered at 5½*d.*, 5*d.*, 4*d.*, and 2*d.* Eight gong-spokes, a word meaning the same as dung-fork, are bought in 1527 at 10*d.* each. In 1410 three dung-pykes and a mattock were purchased for 1*s.* 5*d.* A dung-cart is bought in 1430 for 5*s.*, the body of such a cart in 1452 for 2*s.* 6*d.* In 1430 King's College, Cambridge, sells the pigeon's dung from its dovecot for 2*s.* 8*d.*, in 1461 for 3*s.*, in 1537 for 4*s.*

Hoes are found at prices from 7½*d.* to 1*s.*, under the names of *Hercia* and *Herpica*. *Tribuli ferrei* are found at 4*d.*, 3*d.*, and 1*d.* Weed-hooks at from 3*d.* to 1*d.* Rastra, which seem also to be hoes, at 3*d.* and 1*d.* Pitchforks are priced at 3*d.* in 1410, and 9*d.* in 1450. Hedging-bills at 7*d.* in 1522 and 1530, 8*d.* in 1525.

Ox-bows are found frequently during the first thirty years of the fifteenth century, and cost a halfpenny, or a little more. Ox-yokes have been found at 2*d.* But these articles were generally fashioned by the farmer himself in the winter months. I have found one entry of a coulter in 1427 at 8*d.* But I am at a loss to interpret a 'padell' for a plough in 1407, or the plough-handle of 1418.

Spades are called *vangae*. They are sometimes described as iron shod; and it appears that owing to the high price of iron, only the lower part of the spade was made of this material. Twenty-two entries of tools under this name between

1411 and 1521, with prices varying from 2*d.* to 11*d.*, give an average of 5½*d.* Later on they are worth, under the name of spades, from 6*d.* to 1*s.*, and are comparatively frequent.

Sickles are found in fourteen years. They cost about 3*d.* in the earlier period, but are bought at 6*d.* in 1568.

The scythe was a more expensive tool. Scythes are found in twenty-two years, and cost generally about 2*s.* In 1501 Sion Abbey supplies its mowers with scythe-rubbers at 1*d.* each. Whetstones ('cotes') are also entered under 1502 and 1508 at 6*d.* and 10*d.* Grindstones are more numerous. One is bought in 1445 at 2*s.*; others in 1472 at 5*s.*, in 1495 at 3*s.* 2*d.*, in 1514 at 5*s.* 8*d.*, in 1518 at 4*s.* 8*d.*, in 1534 at 3*s.* 8*d.* and 2*s.* 8*d.* In 1536 a grindstone, spindle, and winch are purchased at 5*s.*, two in 1540 at 3*s.* 8*d.* and 4*s.*, one in 1542 at 2*s.* 1*d.*, one in 1561 at 3*s.* 4*d.*, three, said to be three feet in diameter, at 2*s.* 8*d.*, two of the same dimensions at 3*s.*, and six more of the same size at 4*s.* 6*d.*, while two, five feet in diameter and described as great grindstones, are purchased at 14*s.* 8*d.* in 1562. One in 1569 is bought for 5*s.*, and one in 1574 at 4*s.* There is no traceable rise in the value of these articles, though it may be that those priced at the same rate in the earlier accounts were larger or better. Omitting the five-feet grindstones of 1562, the average of the others is 3*s.* 10¼*d.*

Pea-hackers are found in 1423 at 10*d.*

There are entries of sieves (*cribra*) for twenty-two years. They naturally vary in price as they varied in size. But those employed for farm purposes cost from 4*d.* to 2½*d.* In 1567 the same article costs 8*d.* In 1568, those which are bought at 1*s.* 8*d.* are certainly large and probably wire sieves employed on the queen's works at Eltham.

I cannot discover what the *shelda* is. It appears on one estate, Lullington, five times, generally with sieves, and costs from 2½*d.* to 3½*d.*

Three chicken 'rips' are bought by Sion for 1*s.* 2*d.* in 1521, and three more for the same price in 1524.

I do not know what a *Brynesceppe* is, bought at Ormesby in

1423. I find a corn-fork for 6*d.* in the same year, a stable-rake in 1473 for 5*d.*, a kiln-fork in 1440 for 3*d.*, a hay-rake in 1536 for 6*d.*, a hay-rack in 1422 for 10½*d.*, and 200 rackstaves for 2*d.* the hundred.

There are fourteen entries of wheelbarrows, at prices ranging from 2*s.* to 7*d.* The general price is about 1*s.* 3*d.*¹

CHARGES INCURRED FOR SHEEP. The practice of folding sheep was general, and the purchase of hurdles was a regular charge in the shepherd's account. In my earlier volumes I was able to supply an almost unbroken price of these articles, but in the present enquiry I find them for 93 years only, entries being fairly abundant in the fifteenth century. Towards the latter part of the period, hurdles are generally employed for scaffolding, being lashed to the poles, in order to give standing-room for the builders. They were also employed, as in earlier periods, to enlarge the space of carts and waggons in harvest-time.

I am enabled to give decennial averages of hurdles for all these periods except 1521-30 and 1570-82. Up to 1540 these prices fairly represent the average value of hurdles, and do not differ notably from the averages drawn for the last fifty years of the fourteenth century. But the average of 1541-50 is exceptionally low, and cannot be taken as a fair criterion of prices. The few entries of a later period represent a great exaltation of price, and probably point to a better article than that ordinarily used for sheep-folds; being really hurdles used in scaffolding. But the general average of the last thirty years is one which closely resembles the rise effected in other articles, viz. from two to five. The hurdles in these accounts were doubtlessly made from hazel or willow rods split and twisted across a frame.

Four times the hurdles are sold 'cum saulis,' i.e. with the

¹ Perhaps the sever rotalis of which three entries occur in 1430, 1436, 1442, at 1*s.* 8*d.*, 2*s.* 2*d.*, and 1*s.* 11½*d.*, and the semivectoria rotata, of which there are also three entries in 1437, 1467 and 1520, at 1*s.* 7*d.*, 1*s.* 1½*d.*, and 1*s.* 4*d.*, are also wheelbarrows; a sever manualis is bought in 1440 for 2*d.*

stakes to which withy or hazel rings locked the frame of the hurdle, as it does in our own day. My accounts also supply me with certain entries of iron saules; in 1426 when one was bought for 10*d.*; in 1433 when another cost 1*s.*; in 1445 and 1446 when they are bought for 3*d.* and 8*d.* In the case of the cheapest, I conclude that the entry is of a stake shod with iron. Iron crows are found in 1442 at 1*s.* 7*d.*, and in 1578 at 4*s.* The older name seems to have entirely gone out of use. It is not at least found in the glossaries. I do not find in the later accounts, as I did in those of the fourteenth century, that the manufacture of hurdles was carried on by the land-owners and the produce sold. The great proprietors of the later period traded, and that largely, in wool and corn, but seem to have entirely abandoned such manufactures as they formerly established.

LANTERNS. These articles were needed for the shepherd in the lambing season, as well as for the stable. Thus the sheep-master at Coleshull buys two at 6*d.* each in 1425. The shepherd at Alton Barnes pays 7*d.* for one in 1430. The bailiff of Sutton-at-Hone pays the same price in 1440. But the lanterns bought by King's College in 1454 and 1457, for 1*s.* 6*d.* and 7*d.*, are for the college and the college stable. Others are bought in 1476, 1488, 1494, 1491, and 1496, at 10*d.* each for various purposes. A lantern for the College hall at Cambridge in 1478 costs 2*s.* 4*d.*; as New College had bought a great lantern in 1413 for the College hall. Magdalen College, Oxford, again gives 2*s.* for a lantern in 1505, and in 1509 King's College again buys stable lanterns at 6*d.* In 1517 Magdalen buys two at 8*d.*, and in 1519 two at 9*d.* In 1522 Sion buys four at 7*d.* and one at 6*d.*, and in 1524 one for the porter at 8*d.* In 1526 Magdalen College buys two lanterns at 9*d.*, and in 1528 Sutterton pays 1*s.* In 1530 two more are bought in Oxford at 7½*d.* In 1532 a lantern and a wire to hang it by is purchased in London for 11*d.* In 1534 a stable lantern at Oxford costs 8*d.* Henceforth the entries become numerous. But the price does not materially rise. Five are bought at 8*d.*,

two at 10*d.*, two at 1*s.*, three others at 1*s.* 1*d.*, 1*s.* 2*d.*, and 1*s.* 4*d.* But a glass lantern is bought by Corpus Christi, Oxford, for 6*s.*, and another glass lantern for the cloister by Magdalen for 10*s.*

The ordinary lantern was no doubt a light iron frame filled with pieces of horn, and neither material nor labour was likely to be particularly costly. Some of the shilling lanterns were bought as navy stores, just as those bought in 1378 for the defences of Cherbourg were.

There are three entries of sheep-bells; one in 1418, when the article cost 3*d.*; two others in 1462 and 1529, when it cost 2*d.* In 1536 two 'bells of St. Anthony' are bought for calves at 4*d.* This, I presume, points to some local superstition, unless it be a name given to the head-gear put on calves when they are being weaned.

ECONOMY OF THE STABLE AND BARN, WHEELS, CARTS, AND FITTINGS. I have little to add to that which I stated in my first volume about these articles. I was able to give at that time consecutive and abundant evidence as to such parts of the machinery of agriculture as were implied in the terms used for the various parts of agricultural carriages. But the evidence is so broken, and so difficult in the present period, that it seems to me better to discuss the facts, as they occur year by year, than it would be to leave the reader to draw his inferences from averages. I hope to be able to show that if averages are difficult in this particular, it may be possible to follow prices. The evidence is interrupted, and besides, accounts are kept with so much less precision than they were in an earlier age, that it is almost necessary to analyse that which the scribe left in confusion, and the writer of the present day has to examine with caution. And if I may seem sometimes to deal too boldly with what appears insufficient evidence, I may perhaps defend myself with the assertion that long familiarity with such figures as are found in the rough in these volumes enables me to see facts and inferences where a more superficial experience could only produce confusion.

1401. The entries give two registers of prices. Of these the most important are from Heghtredebury. The bailiff buys a pair of wheels at Devizes, which cost, with carriage to the manor, 9s. 7d. He buys a cart from the cooper, i.e. the body of the cart, for 3s. 4d. Next he buys two ladders (*scalae*), which in this case mean side wings to the cart, intended to extend its holding, for 1s. 2d.; twelve strakes, which are iron plates covering the woodwork, for 11s. 3d.; 120 great nails at a little over a penny each, 10s. 6d.; twelve gropes, which have been already explained (Vol. I, p. 544), which cost 1s. 8d.; a long hundred of small nails at 6d. to fasten the parts within, and to complete the manufacture a pair of iron pincers at 4d. The whole cost of the cart is therefore 38s. In the same year the Hornchurch bailiff buys a cart body at the same rate, 3s. 4d. He has wheels, perhaps made on the farm, perhaps an old frame, but he buys clouts and nails to put his cart into working condition for 5s.

1402. The Alton Barnes bailiff repairs two old wheels at a cost of 10s. He buys a pair of plain wheels for a dung-cart for 8s. These are unshod wheels, and the price is high. He puts eight clouts on them at a cost of 1s. 4d., and fastens them with a hundred nails, which he buys for 3d. His dung-cart wheels cost him 9s. 7d. In the same year the bailiff at Kington (probably also in Wilts) buys the ironwork for a pair of wheels, bought for 5s. 6d., at a cost of 18s., the charge for the wheels completed being 23s. 6d. Comparing this purchase with that of the other Wiltshire manor, it appears that the article is inferior in its parts, and probably in its general quality. The two pairs of Lullington wheels were probably, to judge by other entries from the same estate, worth 8s. 1d., and the plough wheels, as we see elsewhere, were worth 1s. 2d. The same inference can be drawn in 1403, from the same place, for, deducting 8s. 1d., the two pairs of plough-shares would be at 1s. 3d.

1404. A pair of wheels called 'bryddes' is bought at Hornchurch for 10s. 10d.; sixteen clouts cost 3s. 2d., and a hundred great cart nails 12s. 3d. The total charge is therefore 25s. 3d. The word *bryddes* is frequently used in the Hornchurch accounts, and is sometimes explained as wheels, sometimes as a cart. A pair of wheels, here without fittings, is bought at Lullington for 4s., the ordinary price. A similar purchase is made next year at the same place for 3s. 9d., and another pair of *bryddes* is bought at Hornchurch in 1406 for 7s., the clouts and nails to which cost 6s. 2d., half the price of the purchase in 1404. A pair of wheels is bought at Bicester for 3s. 2d. These are plainly unshod. I do not find 'bryddes' in the glossaries.

1408. A pair of plain wheels at Alton Barnes costs 7*s.* 1*d.*; a pair of bryddes at Hornchurch 7*s.*

1409. A pair of 'briddes' at Alton Barnes costs 8*s.* The iron-work to these wheels is 26*s.* 8*d.*, making the charge 34*s.* 8*d.* A pair of wheels to bryddes at Hornchurch costs 7*s.* A pair of plain wheels at Takley is 6*s.*

1410. Hornchurch buys a pair of cart wheels for 6*s.*, and a new cart (i.e. bryddes) for 10*s.*; Stert a pair of wheels (i.e. bryddes) for 8*s.* 6*d.*; Lullington a pair of waggon wheels at 4*s.*, and clouts and brods for 2*s.* 4*d.* It seems then that at the last-named place, where wheels are generally cheap, a pair could be made for use at the cost of 6*s.* 4*d.* Next year the same price is paid for two pair. Lullington was a small estate, and it seems that those lightly shod and cheap wheels soon wore out.

1412. Alton Barnes buys plain wheels at 6*s.* 8*d.* the pair, and again at the same price in 1413. Lullington again buys in 1413 at 4*s.*; Codrington at 3*s.* 6*d.* In 1414 the Lullington wheels cost 3*s.* 5*d.*, the slight iron fittings 1*s.* 4*d.* Stert buys wheels at 5*s.* 6*d.* But two pairs of wheels, iron bound, at Wearmouth, reach the ordinary price of the best articles, being purchased at 30*s.* the pair.

1415. Alton Barnes buys a biga for 7*s.* Guyton a pair of cart wheels at the same price. Weedon a pair for 6*s.* 8*d.* Codrington a pair for 3*s.* 5*d.*, with fittings, which raise the price to 4*s.* 11½*d.*

1416. The Lullington pair costs 3*s.* 8*d.*, with clouts and nails, 5*s.* But Heyford buys two carts at 21*s.* 8*d.* each, and two bigae at 13*s.* 4*d.* each. In 1417 the Lullington wheels cost 3*s.* 4*d.* At Houghton a pair of wheels, under the name of lolls, costs 5*s.* 6*d.*

1418. A pair of wheels is bought in Hornchurch for 7*s.* Another pair and part of a cart for 10*s.*, and irons for cart, here probably mere repairs, cost 1*s.* The Lullington wheels are 4*s.* 1*d.*; in 1419, 4*s.* 3*d.*

1420. Alton Barnes buys a pair of wheels for 7*s.* The iron fittings cost 21*s.*, and the clouts 1*s.* 4*d.*, i.e. 29*s.* 4*d.* in all. The Lullington wheels cost 4*s.* 4*d.*, and the same price is given for the same article at Weedon. In 1421 the Lullington wheels cost 4*s.* 2*d.*; in 1422, 4*s.* A pair of wheels at Stert, in 1421, costs 7*s.*

1423. Hornchurch buys a pair at 8*s.* The Lullington pair is 4*s.* 1*d.*; in 1424, 4*s.*; in 1425, 4*s.*; in 1426, 4*s.* The fittings and strakes for a pair at Bicester in 1424 cost 23*s.* Two pairs at Heveningland in 1424 cost 7*s.* the pair.

1427. A pair of wheels at Alton Barnes costs 8*s.*; a pair at Bicester

9s. 8d. The ironwork of a pair at Bicester costs 20s., and a cart at Takley 16s. In 1428 the Lullington wheels are at 4s. In 1429 a pair at Alton Barnes costs 6s. 8d.; a cart and wheels at Charles and Rowhill, 10s., and a pair of wheels for a 'curtena,' 3s. In 1430 the Lullington wheels cost 4s., and a dung-cart is bought at Quainton for 5s. This cart must have been of very rude construction.

1431. Alton Barnes buys a pair of wheels fitted 'with irons, oxnails, and lynces,' for 36s. Jarrow monastery a pair with irons and nails for 21s. 2d. But the Lullington wheels are 4s., and Oxford (New College) buys two carts, one for 8s., the other for 5s. In 1432 the Apuldrum pair is 3s. 4d., that of Lullington 4s. In 1433 the Apuldrum pair is 3s. 8d., the Lullington 4s., and in 1434, 1435, 1436, 1437, the Lullington pair keeps the same price. In 1435 an Apuldrum pair is also 4s. In 1437 a pair of wheels called 'sloddes' is bought at Guyton for 13s. 4d.

1443. Wheels are bought at Apuldrum and Lullington at 4s. the pair; a cart, with wheels, at Spitling, for 9s. 6d. In 1444 a cart, iron bound, costs 20s. at Sutton-at-Hone. In 1446 Apuldrum and Lullington again buy at 4s., and also in 1447, and the latter in 1448. Two pairs of wheels are bought in York, 1447, at 7s. 6d.

1449. The cost of making a pair of wheels at Apuldrum, probably from the timber on the estate, is put at 3s. 4d. The ironwork to them at 14s., other ironwork 1s. 6d., making 18s. 10d. in all. The Lullington wheels in this year, 1450, and 1451, are at 4s.

1452. A pair of Apuldrum wheels costs 3s. 4d. Two pairs at Sion are bought at 4s. 4d., and the ironwork to a pair costs 13s. 8d. In 1453 a two-wheeled cart with irons is purchased at Canons Ashby for 24s.; an ox-cart at Hornchurch for 28s.; a cart, iron bound, at Shenfield, for 12s. 2d., and another at Depeden for 8s. Two pairs of wheels, evidently plain, are bought at Jarrow, at 6s. 8d. In 1454 two pairs of wheels are bought at St. Neots at the rate of 6s. 7d. In 1455 the Apuldrum pair is 3s., the Lullington 4s. In 1456 a waggon at Fountains costs 30s.; in 1457 the wheels at Apuldrum and Lullington are 3s. 4d. and 4s. the pair, and in 1458 4s. at Lullington.

1459. The price remains the same at Lullington for this year, for 1460, 1463, and 1465. A new cart, iron bound, is bought at Sion for 30s. 10d. in 1459; a pair of cart wheels in 1460 for 8s. 2d.; a pair in 1462, at Wye, for 3s. 4d.; a pair in 1463, at Jarrow, for 6s. 8d.; a pair in 1465, at St. Ives, Hunts, for 9s.; a pair in 1466, at Jarrow, for 6s. 4d. A waggon, iron bound, at Finchale, for 20s., in 1470; another waggon at Wearmouth in 1471 for 11s. 6d.

1472. A set of cart-irons costs 12*s.* at Waddon, and a pair of wheels 6*s.* 4*d.* at Wearmouth. Next year another pair costs 6*s.* 6*d.* at the same place.

1484. There is no entry between 1473 and this date, when a 'biga' is bought at Daventry for 23*s.* 10*d.*, and two pairs of plain wheels at 5*s.* An iron-bound cart is purchased at Waltham for 16*s.*

1487. A pair of wheels is bought at Sion for 6*s.* 8*d.*, and the iron-work for 18*s.*, i.e. 24*s.* 8*d.* complete. In 1489 a pair is bought at Jarrow for 10*s.*, and at Wymondham for 6*s.* 8*d.*, where a cart is purchased for 6*s.* In 1492 a pair of wheels is bought at the last-named place for 2*s.* 4*d.*, and strake-irons for 2*s.* 9*d.*, probably second-hand. In 1495 a pair of wheels is bought at Jarrow for 11*s.*

1500. The irons of a pair of wheels are bought at Farley for 16*s.* In 1507 a pair of wheels at Jarrow costs 4*s.* 10*d.* In 1510 two pairs of wheels are bought at Hickling at 6*s.* 11*d.* the pair; another pair at 6*s.* 8*d.*, and a fourth at 6*s.* 10*d.* A pair at Hulme in the same year costs 6*s.* 2*d.* In 1513 a pair at Hickling costs 6*s.* 4*d.*, and another pair 6*s.* 8*d.*; in 1515 a pair from the same place costs 7*s.*, and the iron fittings 10*s.* 5*d.* In 1516 a pair at Hulme costs 7*s.* In 1519 Hickling buys a pair with all the needful irons for 24*s.* 6*d.*, and in 1520 a pair of plain wheels, called here and elsewhere 'flood' wheels, for 8*s.* 5*d.*

1526. A pair of wheels is bought by Sion for 7*s.* The irons necessary for these wheels cost 23*s.*, i.e. 30*s.* in all. The monastery also buys an axle for 4*s.* In 1528 Finchale buys two pairs at 6*s.* In 1530 Sion buys two pairs at 7*s.* In 1533 Wearmouth buys two pairs at 6*s.* 8*d.* In 1535 a pair is bought at Balneth for 5*s.* 4*d.*, and another pair at the same price at Lewes. In 1536 pairs are bought at Lewes for 2*s.*, and at Windsor for 2*s.* 8*d.*, the lowest prices registered.

1566. At this date, after an interval of thirty years, there are entries of carts at 60*s.*, tombrils at 40*s.*, short carts at 40*s.*, and wheels at 40*s.* the pair.

1574. Long carts are bought in London for 60*s.*, shod cart wheels at 40*s.*, and cart harness at 8*s.* the set. In 1424 a cart harness is bought for 4*s.*; in 1516 at 3*s.* 6*d.* In 1577 a pair of wheels is bought for a timber waggon in Gillingham for 56*s.*, and in 1578, eight carts with shod wheels in London at 66*s.* 8*d.* Lastly, in 1582, at Cambridge (King's College), a pair of cart wheels, clearly plain, is purchased for 12*s.*, and an axle for 1*s.* 4*d.*

It will be clear from these notes, that a pair of wheels, fitted

with the proper irons for lasting use, was worth during the fifteenth and the first part of the sixteenth century, taken with a cart body, about 27*s.* 5*d.* on an average, and that a pair of shod iron wheels would cost about 25*s.*, these being the averages derived from my entries before 1540. Afterwards these articles would cost about 60*s.* and 48*s.*

Unprotected or plain wheels are very much cheaper. The Lullington series is at about 4*s.*, but there are instances which give 8*s.*, and even more. From the numerous entries of these cheap wheels at Lullington, it is plain that they stood very little wear, and were probably worn out in a twelvemonth or two years. It is probable too that these plain wheels were often protected by thin pieces of iron called clouts, and frequently found in the earlier accounts, which were nailed on to the wooden felly. These clouts and nails were so frequent in the fourteenth century that I was able to construct annual and decennial averages of their prices. They occur pretty frequently in the fifteenth-century accounts till about 1460, when they become rare, and finally disappear, partly because the records of agriculture become scanty, partly because repairs were undertaken by the village smith. The price ranges from 1*s.* 7*d.* to 2*s.* the doz. clouts, the nails being from 3½*d.* to 3*d.* the hundred. They become dearer during the decennial period 1441-50, when iron articles are generally expensive.

My reader will recognise how seriously agriculture was affected by the high price of iron and iron implements. The plough was weak, the cart was clumsy, but both were rendered less effective by the cost which the medieval husbandman incurred by the lavish or even free use of iron. The inventions which have made iron cheap, are as significant in the history of agriculture as they are in that of other industries.

HORSE-SHOES. Horse-shoes are distinguished as fore and hind, the former being almost invariably worth 2*s.* the dozen; the latter 1*s.* 6*d.* In the latter part of this period the price rises to 3*s.* and 4*s.* the dozen, the two kinds being no longer distinguished. But these are the prices for horses employed for

riding purposes. The shoes of horses used in husbandry are very much cheaper, being worth often no more than 8*d.* the dozen, and must therefore have been very thin plates or tips of metal, each weighing less than half a pound. Horse-shoe nails are from 2½*d.* to 3*d.* the hundred.

SADDLES, &c. The entries of these articles are very numerous, and, as the price varies much, must have been of very different qualities. A saddle and bridle are bought at Jarrow in 1410 for 10*s.* In the next year the Finchale monks pay 13*s.* 4*d.* for a new saddle, bridle, bit, and girths, and in 1412 Coldingham priory gives 13*s.* for a sacristan's saddle. In 1413 a saddle at Oxford costs 11*s.* In 1432 Finchale buys a saddle for the prior for 12*s.* 2*d.* Two are bought by Netley Abbey in 1457 at 14*s.* 2*d.* each, and in 1470 a saddle and bridle are bought in London for 12*s.* 10*d.* In 1484 a saddle, bit, reins, and head-piece, bought by Magdalen College Oxford, cost 24*s.* In 1489 King's College gives 12*s.* 4*d.* for a 'summer saddle.' In 1516 a saddle, bridle, and trappings cost at Hulme, in Norfolk, 10*s.* In 1540 the saddle and trappings for the President of Magdalen (John Hygden, whom Wolsey put at the head of his foundation), cost 22*s.* These are the highest prices paid before 1541.

In 1423 a servant's saddle costs 6*s.* 8*d.*; in 1452 a saddle and bridle are bought for 5*s.*; in 1454 for 7*s.* In 1456 the bursar's saddle costs 5*s.*; a saddle and bridle 5*s.* 1*d.* in 1463; in 1461 two are bought at 4*s.* each. A packsaddle in 1481 costs 5*s.* 1*d.* In 1503 a saddle costs 3*s.* 4*d.* at Oxford; three saddles and bridles in 1504 are bought at 6*s.* 3*d.* each, by Oriel College; in 1505 one is bought at 2*s.* at Oxford. In 1506 a saddle and bridle cost 6*s.* 8*d.*; in 1509 two are 4*s.* and 3*s.* 4*d.* In 1509, one is at 5*s.*, and two at 4*s.* 6*d.* In 1510 a saddle and bridle are bought for 6*s.* 2*d.*, and two saddles at 7*s.* 2*d.* In 1520 three are bought at 4*s.*, and one at 3*s.* 4*d.* In 1520 a saddle and bridle at 9*s.*

The first expensive saddle bought in the later period is in 1550, when the President of Magdalen's saddle costs 23*s.* In

1553 New College buys its Warden a Spanish saddle at a cost of 28*s.* In 1557 the cost of the Magdalen President's saddle is 33*s.* 4*d.* In the next year the Provost of King's is supplied at a cost of 39*s.* In 1561 Cambridge gives 25*s.*, Oxford 32*s.* In 1562 Magdalen lays out 38*s.* 4*d.* for a saddle and trappings; in 1564, 38*s.*; in 1570, 38*s.* In 1571 All Souls pays 92*s.* 5*d.* for the Warden's saddle, and 23*s.* 11*d.* for the Subwarden's. In 1581 the President's saddle and bridle cost 59*s.* 3*d.*, and in 1582 the Warden of New College is supplied at a cost of 24*s.* for a saddle and 3*s.* 10*d.* for a bridle.

Cheaper articles are a male saddle, which is, I presume, a pillion for carrying a chest in 1541, at 8*s.*; two saddles in 1543 and 1546 at 5*s.*, and one in 1545 at 10*s.* A packsaddle is 8*s.* in 1548; a saddle with stirrups in the same year is 8*s.*; another, in 1550, is bought for 8*s.*; another, in 1551, for 10*s.* One in 1551, for 10*s.*; one in 1553, for 12*s.* 8*d.*, and another for 7*s.* 6*d.*; one in 1555 for 6*s.* 8*d.*; a saddle and bit in 1556 for 10*s.* 10*d.*, and two at 15*s.* 4*d.*; a saddle and bit in 1558 for 14*s.*, and a saddle and bridle for 16*s.* 8*d.*; four new ones bought by Corpus, Oxford, in 1560, at 8*s.* 10½*d.* each; three by the same college in 1563 at 10*s.* each; three by the same college in 1566 at 8*s.*; three Scottish saddles in 1574 by the same college at 17*s.* each, and a new saddle and bridle by the same college in 1580 for 22*s.*

The average price of the more costly saddles in the first period is 14*s.* 1*d.*; of the cheaper kind, 5*s.* 1½*d.* In the second period, the average price of the best saddles is 38*s.* 3¼*d.*, of the inferior 10*s.* 10*d.*

In my previous volumes I found no mention of stirrups in the accounts. My first entry implying these articles is in 1454, when stirrups, leathers, and a collar cost 1*s.* In 1482 the same articles cost 1*s.* 6*d.* Pairs of stirrups are very variously priced. Five pairs before 1540 are 1*s.* 2*d.*, 8*d.*, 1*s.* 1*d.*, 6*d.*, and 2*d.* In 1549 a pair of stirrups costs 2*s.* 4*d.*; in 1565, 3*s.* The set of leathers does not alter in price.

Six entries of bits before 1540, generally described as pairs,

give an average of 9*d.*, the price varying from 1*s.* 4*d.* to 4*d.*; nine after that period an average of 2*s.* 4*d.*, the price varying from 8*d.* to 6*s.*

Two reins cost 2*s.* 6*d.* in 1441, and 4*d.* in 1503, 7*d.* in 1561, 10*d.* in 1563. A bit and bridle cost 3*s.* 4*d.* in 1510, 1*s.* 2*d.* in 1531, 4*s.* 4*d.* in 1560, 2*s.* in 1566, and a bridle in 1582 3*s.* 10*d.* Two girths costs 10*d.* in 1489 and 1503, and 1*s.* 6*d.* in 1565. A pair of spurs cost 7*d.* in 1515, and 2*d.* in 1530.

Among the other conveniences of the stable are horse-combs, which generally cost from 1½*d.* to 2*d.* in the earlier period, but are much dearer later on, rising to 4*d.*, 6*d.*, 7*d.*, 1*s.*, and 1*s.* 2*d.* My accounts contain thirty-four entries of these articles. Five horse-cloths are bought in 1570 at 4*s.* each. Leather halters and headstalls cost about 6*d.* in the earlier period, 1*s.* in the later. Hempen halters are worth about 2*d.* Sieves are also common, the price varying from 2*d.* to 4½*d.* in the earlier period, and from 8*d.* to 1*s.* 8*d.* in the later.

A few fetterlocks used for tethering horses in pasture have been found. The average value of six of these articles, all in the earlier period, is 6*d.*

MILLSTONES. It may be convenient to treat of these articles here, as forming part of an industry which is a necessary complement to agriculture. Mills formed a most valuable franchise, by which the inhabitants of particular districts were compelled to grind their corn at the lord's mill under penalties, and unless the miller be maligned, to submit to much extortion at his hands. They were moved by wind or water, the former kind being exceedingly common. In my earlier volumes I was able to give much information about the material from which sails were made. In the present I have little to offer, but sails are occasionally purchased in the earlier period, and the reader may find among the sundry articles various entries of the several parts of a mill as they are bought by the owner. Thus a cogwheel costs 6*s.* 8*d.* at Lullington in 1416; two new sailyards at Candlesby 8*s.* 4*d.* in 1418; fourteen oaks are bought for a mill-frame at Takley in

1423 for 7*s.* 4*d.*; a sailyard and nails at Brightwalton in 1425 for 10*s.* 4*d.*; two mill-wheels, a cog, and a water wheel, for 29*s.* 4*d.* at Yartcombe in 1428; a cogwheel at Coleshull for 9*s.* 6*d.* in 1439, and for 13*s.* 4*d.* in 1477; a molucrum or yake of a mill at the same place for 4*s.* in 1448; a water and cog-wheel at Writtle in 1541 for 53*s.* 4*d.*

It appears however that the lessors of mills generally undertook repairs themselves. Towards the latter end of my earlier period I found that the entries of particulars, even of millstones, became scantier, though the great cost of these articles, when of the best kind, disabled or discouraged in many cases the miller from incurring the outlay.

I have however been able to collect sufficient evidence for my purpose. As before, there are great varieties in the price of these articles, and it is clear that some are local and English, while the best are those of Paris or Andernach. Those obtained in the west of England are generally cheap. So are some in the more northern midlands, in Bucks, in Durham, and in parts of eastern England. The millstones bought at Sion and at Cambridge are generally cheap. A considerable entry from Bastlow refers to sales from the local quarries.

The best millstones were very costly. One is bought at London in 1410 for 106*s.* 8*d.* One at Worminghurst in 1425 for 141*s.* 8*d.*, and three others at the same place in 1428 at 71*s.* each. Hornchurch gives 80*s.* in 1446; Lynn 80*s.* in 1449. In 1457 a stone is purchased at Lymington for 73*s.* 4*d.*; one at Oxford in 1489, described as fifteen hands in diameter, for 66*s.* 8*d.*; two at Ramsey in 1496 for 66*s.* 8*d.* and 63*s.* 4*d.*; one at an unknown place in Devonshire in 1517 for 86*s.* 8*d.*; two at Bischanger, a New College estate, for 73*s.* 4*d.* and 53*s.* 4*d.*

But the largest and most expensive purchases are made by the city of Oxford in 1567, 1572, 1574, and 1581.

In the first of these years two stones are bought at £7 10*s.* each, the carriage being £3 6*s.* 8*d.* In the next, two more, the cost of carriage being included, for £17 19*s.* 2*d.*, i.e. deducting

the same amount for carriage, at £7 6s. 3d. each. In the third, one is bought for £9 12s. 6d., including carriage, or, with a proportionate reduction, £8 3s. 2d.; and in the last for £6 10s., the cost of carriage and other charges in this last case amounting to £3 11s. 4d.

The cost to which the Cuxham bailiff was put in purchasing and conveying five foreign stones from London to Cuxham in 1330, vol. i., p. 505, was £1 14s. 10½d. But between 1567 and 1581 the city of Oxford buys six stones which appear to cost £44 5s. 8d., i.e. about £7 7s. 7d. each, the cost of carriage being estimated or declared to be £11 13s.

The price of the stones does not disagree, the rise in values being taken into account, with what might be expected from a contrast with a purchase made two hundred and forty years before; for the general ratio of prices at the two epochs does not materially differ from that found in the difference between £3 3s. 4d. and £7 7s. 7d. Unfortunately the city account does not give the particulars of the charges incurred with the same distinctness which is found in the record of the good bailiff of Cuxham, whose diligence and fidelity, an inheritance of two generations at least in his family, made me feel so much interest in his labours and so alive to the loss which his masters felt, for he was a Merton College serf, when he and all his perished in the terrible plague of 1349.

The city account is silent as to the place in which its millstones were purchased, but I conclude it was London. Now the increase in the cost of carriage since the earlier part of these accounts commented on in these volumes is at least three times. But if one multiplies by three the cost of Oldman's charges for buying and carrying five stones, the amount will be only £5 4s. 6¾d., whereas the city charges are £9 14s. for five. But in Oldman's bargain two stones only go to Cuxham, at a cost of 3s. 9d., by road. If we suppose that the whole of the Oxford five were carried by road from Maidenhead to Oxford, and making a large margin, reckon the road carriage to Oxford double that to Cuxham, and then

again multiply by three, it would add £2 16s. 3d. to the ordinary charge of carriage in the third quarter of the sixteenth century. But even this will bring the cost of conveying and preparing the five Oxford stones of 1567-81 up to £8 os. 9¼d. It is plain that the increase in the charge does not depend on any increase in the cost of the stones themselves.

The table of the price of millstones given at the end of this chapter, in which the highest price only is taken, and some which are plainly only of English or of local origin are omitted from the years in which they occur, though very deficient as compared with that in my first volume, again illustrates the rise which is so significant in the present period. I am painfully alive to the fact, that in the task which I have imposed for so many years on myself, of searching into and interpreting prices, the ground, in many details, becomes more unsteady as I near modern times. Every transaction in the earlier times was a bargain, keenly debated, and cautiously settled. Buyers discussed the price, refused it or gave it. There was no fashion in buying, no speculation in selling. The prices of corn, if I have collected them sufficiently, are a register of the seasons more precise in the information which they convey, in a concrete form, than, it is to be feared, the mass of recorded observations as to direct solar heat, rainfall and temperature are now, even when the sharpest wits set themselves to the interpretation of meteorological statistics. There is no set of facts which teaches one so much as the register of prices which it has been my business to collect and order. Dry as they seem, they yield, when put to the test, that life of the ages which is most of all forgotten, as they are examined with the view of discovering what the mass of English people were, and how they laboured and lived. Time does not change the great men of our race; perhaps they keep us in all the better parts of our being from needless or mischievous change; but as the whole people has inherited the doing and the being of its ancestry, it is of infinite interest to those who know what our people

are by what they have been, to construct the history of the past in order that we may know what is meant by the facts of the present.

It will be convenient to introduce here the facts about grinding instruments which are of minor importance as compared with mills. In 1424 a quern is bought at the high price of 10*s*. A malt mill, probably one worked by hand, is quoted under the year 1486 at 1*s*. 8*d*. In 1548 a kitchen millstone is priced at 3*s*. 4*d*., and in the Irish expedition of 1574 a number of handmills are provided at 64*s*. 6*d*. each. Between 1518 and 1582 there are six entries of mustard querns at prices varying from 1*s*. 8*d*. to 6*s*. Four before 1540 give an average of 3*s*. 3*d*.; two after that date of 4*s*. 3*d*. Quern-stones are bought in 1424 at 1*s*. 4*d*., in 1462 at 1*s*. 8*d*., and in 1495 at 4*s*. In the absence of information as to the size of these articles, it is difficult, perhaps impossible, to draw any inference from these prices.

SACKS. The capacity of the sack is often given, and is generally of five bushels. This at least is the commonest measure. In the early years the price of such sacks is nearly 11*d*. But we also find four-, six-, and eight-bushel sacks. The price of an eight-bushel sack in the earlier period is 1*s*. 3*d*., of the others 1*s*. The price of others whose capacity is not given is, in the early period, 9½*d*. After this period it is 1*s*. 6*d*., but there are no entries for the last twenty-two years. The average sack in the early period seems to have needed three yards of cloth.

BREWING UTENSILS. The trade of the brewer became general during the fifteenth century; so general, that the principal cause of my deficient entries of barley and malt consists in the fact that ale was bought in place of malt, and later, beer—that is, ale with hops. Sometimes, however, the corporation took to brewing on its own account, and there are consequently entries of brewing utensils, of barrels, and especially of hair-cloth.

Hair-cloth was used to dry malt upon. It is bought by the

ell and the yard. But unless the quality or quantity varied, no very different price results from the use of either measure, for during the earlier period the entries of hair-cloth by the yard give 5*s.* 7*d.* the dozen, and those by the ell give 5*s.* 6½*d.* A few entries after 1541 give an average of 8*s.* 3*d.* One entry by the ell in 1452, when the highest price is recorded, states that the cloth was yard wide. Two entries of oast-cloths, in 1410 and 1462, are priced at 4*s.* and 2*s.* 2*d.*

In 1431 New College purchases brewing vessels, under the names of a mash fat, for 6*s.* 10*d.*, a wort fat for 2*s.*, a 'Gilleding' tub for 2*s.* 6*d.*, and two tunnning barrels at 8*d.* each, a leaden boiler for 24*s.*, another for 12*s.*, and a great copper beer pot for 13*s.* 4*d.* In 1454 King's College, Cambridge, buys two mash fats at 24*s.* each, a 'closing' fat for 16*s.*, twenty-four 'curselyns' at 1*s.*, two 'soys' at 1*s.*, and two mash 'rothers' at 1*s.* 6*d.* each, and in 1541 a mash fat for 2*s.* 1½*d.* In 1577 a horse mill to grind malt costs the latter college £5 10*s.* 4*d.* But some corporations—for example, All Souls—regularly buy their beer.

Two fans are bought in 1409 at two different places, each at 3*s.* A vannus in 1487 at 11½*d.*, another in 1508 at 1*s.* 3*d.*, another in 1521 at 1*s.* 2*d.* A ventilabrum in 1484 costs 8*d.*, a chum in 1495, 8*d.*, and a hundred pig rings in 1418, 4*d.*; coagulum and rennet in 1463 are purchased at 4*d.* and 11*d.*

MEASURES. The statutes frequently prescribed (see above, 202 sqq.) that the township should be provided with standard measures. The accounts give occasional entries of these articles, frequently denoting that they are iron bound. They are found only in the earlier period, and are described as gallon, peck, and bushel measures. Scales and weights, especially for gold, are occasionally purchased. Thus in 1421 two pairs of gold scales are bought for 9*d.* each at Oxford, and other scales at Cambridge for the same purpose in 1424. In 1456 King's College buys a pair of scales for the treasury for 1*s.* 8*d.* In 1482 Oxford buys a pair of gold scales for 5*d.*; in 1490 a beam and

scales, &c., for lead, for 1*s.* 7*d.*; in 1495 a pair of balances for 10*d.*, and in 1504 a set of weights for 1*s.* 9*d.* In 1528 Cambridge buys two pile of weights for 4*d.*, and in 1460 Corpus, Oxford, a standish and gold weights for 1*s.* 4*d.* In 1572 All Souls purchases a pair of balances for 3*s.* 4*d.*, and a pile of weights for 8*s.* Finally, in 1575, King's College buys gold weights for 5*s.* It is clear that with so great a variety of money values, it is difficult to determine what these weights may have been, and how far accident may have enhanced the cost.

TABLE I.—AVERAGES OF HURDLES.

	Hurdles, doz.		Hurdles, doz.		Hurdles, doz.		Hurdles, doz.
	<i>s. d.</i>		<i>s. d.</i>		<i>s. d.</i>		<i>s. d.</i>
1401	2 2½	1426	1 7½	1453	2 0	1495	2 0
1402	2 2	1427	1 10½	1454	2 0	1496	1 10½
1403	2 4½	1428	1 7½	1457	1 6	1500	1 0
1404	2 0	1429	1 5½	1462	1 10½	1501	1 2
1405	1 10	1430	1 11¾	1463	2 0	1502	3 0
1406	2 11	1432	1 8¾	1464	1 11	1505	2 4
1407	1 9¾	1433	1 5	1465	2 0	1507	2 0
1408	2 2½	1434	1 10½	1466	2 0	1510	1 7
1409	2 3½	1435	1 9½	1467	2 0	1511	1 8
1410	2 3	1436	1 7¾	1468	2 0	1515	2 7
1411	2 0	1437	1 6	1469	2 0	1516	1 11
1412	2 2	1439	1 10½	1470	1 1½	1531	2 6
1413	2 5½	1440	1 9	1472	1 3	1532	2 3½
1414	1 6½	1441	1 8½	1473	2 0	1533	2 4
1415	2 0	1442	1 9½	1475	2 0	1534	2 3½
1416	1 10	1443	1 11	1476	2 0	1536	2 3
1418	2 0	1444	2 0	1478	2 0	1540	1 5
1419	2 3	1445	1 11	1479	2 0	1541	1 2
1420	1 11	1446	1 8¾	1480	2 0	1542	1 9
1421	1 9	1447	1 3	1481	2 0	1551	4 10
1422	2 0	1448	1 6	1482	2 0	1567	7 5
1423	1 2	1449	1 7½	1484	2 0	1568	7 6
1424	1 8½	1451	1 7¾	1494	2 2	1569	6 6
1425	1 8						

TABLE II.—DECENNIAL AVERAGES OF HURDLES.

	Hurdles, doz.		Hurdles, doz.		Hurdles, doz.
	<i>s. d.</i>		<i>s. d.</i>		<i>s. d.</i>
1401—1410	2 4½	1471—1480	1 10½	1541—1550	1 5½
1411—1420	2 0½	1481—1490	2 0	1551—1560	4 10
1421—1430	1 8½	1491—1500	1 9¾	1561—1570	7 1¾
1431—1440	1 8½	1501—1510	2 0½		
1441—1450	1 1½	1511—1520	2 4		
1451—1460	1 9½	1521—1530	.....	First 140 years	1 10½
1461—1470	1 10½	1531—1540	2 2	Last 42 years	4 5½

TABLE III.—MILLSTONES—HIGHEST PRICES.

The entry includes the cost of carriage.

	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>		<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>		<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>		<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
1401	60	0	1435	60	0	1464	60	0	1505	33	4
1402	50	0	1437	51	0	1471	46	8	1517	86	8
1406	60	0	1438	33	4	1482	40	0	1533	40	0
1407	50	0	1440	57	0½	1484	93	4	1540	73	4
1410	106	8	1446	80	0	1489	66	8	1552	60	0
1412	30	0	1447	33	4	1495	53	4	1565	40	0
1413	100	0	1449	80	0	1496	66	8	1567	183	4
1425	141	8	1452	33	4	1499	56	8	1572	179	7
1428	71	0	1457	73	4	1500	34	8	1574	192	6
1429	56	8	1458	38	4	1504	25	0	1581	201	4
1430	24	0	1461	60	0						

TABLE IV.—DECENNIAL AVERAGES OF MILLSTONES.

	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>		<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>		<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
1401—1410	65	4	1471—1480	46	8	1541—1550	.....
1411—1420	65	0	1481—1490	66	8	1551—1560	60	0
1421—1430	73	5	1491—1500	50	4	1561—1570	111	8
1431—1440	50	4	1501—1510	31	0	1571—1582	191	1
1441—1450	64	5	1511—1520	86	8			
1451—1460	45	0	1521—1530	.....		140 years	64	10
1461—1470	60	0	1531—1540	73	4	42 years	130	11

CHAPTER XV.

ON THE PRICE OF BUILDING MATERIALS, ETC.

Information as to the price of building materials is exceedingly copious during the period comprised in these volumes. The records of colleges and monasteries, and even those of private persons, though they may give scanty and interrupted records of provisions, and but little evidence as to agricultural operations, are full of notes as to the price of all building materials, and of the labour engaged in building operations. Besides these private accounts, there still exist copious and exact accounts of the building and repair of the numerous palaces, in the maintenance of which Henry the Eighth's extravagance was splendid and ruinous. The custom of the time put every repair on the landowner, even when his property consisted of houses in towns, and in many cases the bills tendered by artisans, and drawn up by them, are carefully checked and docketed in the collected account of each year.

The great wealth and unbroken national prosperity of the fifteenth century, disfigured as it was by the ferocious quarrels of the aristocracy, and the revolutions which changed the succession, was exhibited in a few luxuries, among which a new kind of domestic architecture was most general. The nobility and wealthy gentry began to build houses in which greater attention was paid to comfort and convenience than was supplied in those edifices whose principal purpose was defence. When trade prospered, or manufactures were general, the solid and substantial church of the fifteenth century, with its horizontal lines, lofty elevations, and elaborate tracery, was raised in the place of the lighter, more elegant, but less

costly church of an earlier age, or the ruder structures of a still more remote past. Such buildings as the Cathedral of York, most of which dates from the earlier part of the fifteenth century, the chapel of King's College, Cambridge, which was designed in the middle of the same period, and the Divinity School and S. Mary's Church, Oxford, which were constructed towards the end of the century, are types of an architecture which, to my mind, reflects the opulence, the taste, and to some extent the sentiment, of the age.

There are not many relics of the domestic architecture of the fifteenth century beyond a few collegiate buildings in Oxford and Cambridge, and some municipal offices. But the embattled home of this epoch is a great step in the direction of a more modern style. In these edifices a new material was largely used, long known indeed along the shores of north-eastern Europe, and employed for centuries in this district before it became familiar in England. Bricks, as I mentioned more than once in my earlier volumes, were not used in the fourteenth century, at least I have found no mention of them. But the eastern parts of England were in constant communication with the Hanse towns, in which, as for example in Lübeck, thirteenth and fourteenth century churches and other buildings were commonly made of brick¹. The earliest mention of bricks is in 1405 and 1406, when a small quantity was purchased at Hornchurch in Essex, probably from some ballast brought into London. The next entry is in 1438, when they are purchased at Cambridge; the next in 1442, in London. It is only however in the fourth quarter of the fifteenth century that they become common.

The bricks of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were of excellent quality, and the brickwork was admirable. Some of

¹ I cannot but conclude that the brick church in Dover Castle is a fourteenth-century structure, and I think it more than probable that the materials from which it was built were carried in ballast to Dover and employed for the purpose of building the church in the castle. I do not see how it can be conceived to be Roman work. The lighthouse is of course a different matter.

the most perfect specimens of this workmanship may be seen in the ruins of the monastic buildings at Canterbury, near the Cathedral, where arches are turned in brick with singular exactness and with very low crowns. Nothing but the goodness of the material and the complete finish of the work would have allowed such arches.

The habitations of the poorer classes were and remained mere hovels, in the construction of which no pains were taken, and no improvement was contemplated. They were probably what is known as wattle and dab, or even in some places mud huts with thatched roofs.

LATHS. The use of these articles was universal. They were employed for the completion of houses built on a timber frame, such as are still common in Oxford, for ceilings, and even for lattice work to windows. They were made of oak and beech, are described as sap and hart, or hart and sort. They are also curtys, or short and long, the difference of price between these last two kinds being comparatively slight; or bastard or single, which appears to be the same as sap laths. The inferior kind is considerably cheaper than hart laths. We also find straw and stone laths, asseres, splints and findulæ.

They are sold by the hundred and the thousand, by the bunch or bundle at Cambridge and London, where this quantity is sometimes equivalent to the half hundred (see Vol. III, 422, ii), sometimes (Vol. III, 423, ii) to the hundred, and by the load, bigute, or plaustrate, which is said to contain three thousand. If this measure be taken universally, the price was much lower in large than it was in small quantities. Sometimes great laths were much dearer than small, as at Cambridge in 1536, and unless we are to conclude that the article was much costlier in Cambridge than in London, the load in the former place must have held much more than it did in the latter, for in 1568 the Cambridge load costs 35*s.*, in Eltham 18*s.*, in London 21*s.*

There is considerable variety in the price, even where the article is of the best quality, as far as can be judged. Lath-rending was no doubt carried on, as now, in the woods, and

proximity to such small timber as would supply laths in abundance must have reduced the price. But it is not easy to account for some very low prices, as at Apuldrum and Selborne, where they are not half the price which prevails elsewhere. Selborne, to be sure, is in the immediate neighbourhood of beech woods, which were probably far more abundant and extensive four centuries ago than they even are now, and Apuldrum is in the wooded district of the Sussex Wealden, where the ancient ironworks were carried on. But beech and oak timber must have been plentiful in the neighbourhood of other localities where the article is much dearer.

The price of laths illustrates with great significance and clearness that remarkable and ubiquitous decline in general prices which is so characteristic of the last decade of the fifteenth and the first three or four of the sixteenth centuries. I shall comment on the high and low prices of this epoch further on, but the reader will notice that the price of laths is lowest in the last ten years of the fifteenth century, and remains very low till 1550. Nor does the price of this article, the chief ingredient in the value of which is labour, exhibit any notable rise as compared with that of other values, towards the close of the period. Laths by the thousand increase in price by only fifty per cent. during the last thirty years, and by the load only a little more than seventy, the growth in the latter being mainly effected by the rise in the Cambridge loads, and the inclusion of those entries in the figures from which the averages are deduced. On this topic again, I reserve my comment, till the part of my work is reached in which I purpose to deal with general prices, and their relations to the money values of many commodities.

TILES, BRICKS, AND SLATES. There is no slight difficulty in interpreting the entries and tabulating the prices of tiles; and I am not a little concerned lest in dealing with the various kinds of this article, I may have erred in some of my inferences. The names given to tiles are numerous. The word is occasionally generic, i.e. it is employed to designate any kind

of roofing other than that of thatch, and it is not easy to distinguish shapes and usages in the several terms employed.

The most obvious and common kind is that of plain tiles, with which one must generally identify such tiles as are not otherwise specifically designated. But, for example, I have been not a little reluctant to include in the first year of the present enquiry an entry from Heghtredebury, at the great price of 13s. 4d. the thousand. Where indeed a locality was at once at a considerable distance from fissile stone or brick clay of a quality good enough for tiles, one might expect high prices, but it is noteworthy that this entry is more than double the price at which the article is procured both at London and at Oxford.

Besides ordinary or plain tiles, others, described as thack, and wall tile, are quoted from York, Norwich, Cambridge, Romsey, Hulme, and Swyn. The distinction is kept up as late as 1547 at York, which also makes an entry of bastard wall tiles in 1509. There is no great difference between the price of these and ordinary tiles, though they are rather dearer, and the last entry of thack tiles from York is quoted at a very high price.

More puzzling are the various kinds of tiles employed to keep the ridge, the corners, and the gutters of the roof watertight. These tiles are known as crest, concave, roof, ridge, hupe, hepe, or hip, corner, fystoux, or festeux, and gutter. Those known as crests are generally the dearest, being often bought in the early period, and indeed occasionally through the whole fifteenth century in small parcels, but at very high prices, frequently at more than double the price by the hundred of plain tiles by the thousand. The term 'holwerke,' employed at Windsor in 1417, 1418, appears to be the same as some one of these tiles. Here the article costs the same by the hundred that plain tiles do by the thousand.

Tiles were no doubt generally of English manufacture. But Flanders tile, both small and large, is quoted at a high price at York in 1415, and at Hornchurch in 1420. 'Ogley' tiles, given under the Cambridge account of 1467, are probably derived from some locality in the Eastern counties. Later on in the period,

1574, Flanders brick, Empdon brick, described as large, and green Flanders tile, are purchased, though not, except the last, at excessive prices. In 1534 Seville tile is bought for Bridewell at the high price of 14*s.* the hundred.

Roof and gutter tiles are not so dear as crests, and it appears that all kinds of such tiles became relatively cheaper at the end of the period. In the decade 1491-1500, crests are actually dearer than they are in the last decade, being often bought singly at three-halfpence or twopence each. It would seem as though the art of manufacturing these tiles was rare or local in the earlier days, and that it became diffused in later times. I infer also that the prodigious amount of roofing material which was available after the destruction of the monastic houses must have had a notable effect upon the market, and must have greatly reduced the natural price of these articles.

Tiles are sometimes manufactured and sold on a large scale. This is the case at Wye, a manor which belonged to Battle Abbey, where in very early times, as I noted in my first volume, p. 490, tiles were made and kilned. Similar sales are quoted from Caistor in 1434, 1435, and 1445, where they are sold by the last of 10,000. Generally they are bought by the hundred or thousand, though later only they are purchased by the load, which seems to have generally contained 500, or half the thousand.

Besides tiles employed for roofing, others for flooring are mentioned in the accounts. Thus All Souls' purchases 3200 paving tiles in 1442 for the library and the vestry at the high rate of 30*s.* the thousand, these being probably ornamented or figured and glazed tiles. Probably the red tiles bought at Oxford in 1490 at 11*d.* the hundred were intended for paving purposes. They are much dearer than ordinary tiles, but the price does not indicate that there was any art or finish in them. 'Brick' tiles are bought for paving at Cambridge in 1498, at 2*s.* 2½*d.* the hundred, a higher price than that at Oxford. Again, in 1531 paving tiles are bought in London at 1*s.* 6*d.* the hundred, and in 1532 at Westminster at 2*s.* 4*d.* The

Tennis court at Windsor is paved with tiles at 2*s.* 6*d.* in 1533, and paving tile is purchased in 1534 at Bridewell for 2*s.* 4*d.* the hundred. In 1537 paving tiles cost 2*s.* the hundred at Oxford; in 1451 they cost 5*s.* 8*d.* at Dartford and 4*s.* 2*d.* at Dover, are cheap at Norwich, and are only 3*s.* at the Moor, one of Henry's hunting seats. In 1556 Magdalen College, Oxford, buys paving tiles at 8*d.* and 6*d.* the dozen, and in 1560 King's College, Cambridge, at 2*s.* 1½*d.* the score. Corpus, Oxford, in 1562 buys tiles for paving the church at 10*d.* the dozen, and Magdalen in 1560 at 1*s.* The tiles for paving the Queen's tennis court in London (1568) are described as twelve inches broad and cost 18*s.* the hundred. I have referred to the green Flanders tile of 1674. In the same year paving tile costs 6*s.* 6*d.* the hundred, and bricks for the quire at Magdalen nearly 1*s.* a piece. At Woolwich, in 1578, paving tile costs 16*s.* 8*d.* the hundred, this being the last entry of this character.

There is very little information as to the price of bricks in the early part of the fifteenth century. After the middle of the century the entries are frequent, but interrupted. They are ultimately nearly continuous. The facts are accounted for partly by the reason that many of the accounts are derived from districts in which stone was the more obvious material for building, and that in all places brick was a luxury in architecture, and, in comparison with stone readily obtained, was dear; partly because brick was not, till large structures were constructed from it, employed except for special purposes. It would have been wholly misleading if I had given in my averages, or employed for my averages, entries of small purchases, for a few dozens of bricks are often so costly that they would have confused the whole of what I had to infer. Hence I have rarely employed any entry of bricks except by the thousand, because in this kind of quantity they were employed for substantial objects. So excellent were the bricks made in the fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries, so carefully chosen was the material, and so well was that material manipulated, that they are almost if not quite indestructible, and

were competent to bear the very severe strain which the builders of the time with which I am concerned put upon that which they manufactured. The best English brick of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries has, I am persuaded, no parallel in European architecture of that and of a preceding age, and was, as my reader will infer, the costliest article with which an architect could construct a building.

The price of bricks fluctuates more than that of any other article employed for building purposes, even when the purchases of small quantities are omitted from the annual averages. This cannot be set down to locality only. Brick earth of fifteenth-century quality was as plentiful near Oxford as it was near London, and as accessible. I do not pretend to say that the art of manufacturing it was as well known in the former neighbourhood as it was in the latter. But in 1460 bricks are bought at London for 5*s.* the thousand, and in 1461 at Oxford for 10*s.* In 1462 the only entries are those from London and Cambridge, and I have already observed that brickmaking was more general, and indeed brick building, in the eastern than in the midland district of England, and here the thousand costs 5*s.* 6*d.* in Cambridge and 5*s.* in London. In 1463 bricks are 4*s.* in Sandwich. But it is also plain that the art was rapidly diffused, for in 1485 bricks are bought at the kiln by the load (probably 500 to the load) at 2*s.* by the New College bailiff, and carried at 1*s.* 4*d.* the load to the place where they were used. In twenty-four years the price had fallen from 10*s.* the thousand to 3*s.* 4*d.* The cost of carriage proves that they must have been bought some twelve to fourteen miles away.

In 1493 bricks are again bought at 10*s.* in Oxford, but only a hundred. In 1496 the same quantity is bought in the same place at the same rate. In 1500 another quantity, now eight hundred, is purchased for 10*s.* 4*d.*, and in 1501 Oxford pays 10*s.* for a thousand. These are the only instances of excessive prices in this period of eight years. In 1504 bricks are bought at Oxford for 7*s.* 4*d.* the thousand; in 1509 at 6*s.* 4*d.*, the cost of carriage

being included, as it always is in these higher prices. In 1521 the Oxford price has fallen to 4*s.*, if as I think we may generally infer that the load was half a thousand. By this time then the manufacture of bricks at or near Oxford had so far been developed, that the article could be procured at two-fifths the price of 1493. I make no doubt that we can discover in these facts the gradual growth of a local industry, which was spreading westwards, which was at first extended with difficulty, and in the face of prejudice or habit, but finally became naturalised. I may add, in confirmation of what I have stated, that in 1465, when bricks are first bought in Oxford, they are purchased at 5*s.* and 4*s.* 8*d.* the load, a quantity which at 500 to the load will give 10*s.* and 9*s.* 4*d.*, the price in Norfolk and Middlesex being 4*s.* and 3*s.* 4*d.*, and the latter (Sion) being paid for to the large amount of 76,000; that in 1486 they were bought in Oxford, the quantity being small, at 18*s.* 4*d.* the thousand, and in 1488 at 16*s.* 8*d.* for the same quantity. I have, it will be seen, been unable to use these entries even for my annual averages.

The use of bricks becomes general, and the price is fairly steady up to 1547, when Oxford again buys a small quantity at 11*s.* 8*d.* But by this time the rise in prices had been generally affected, and the work of the public buildings now given over to devastation was so good that the bricks could not, like the tiles, slates, and timber, be dislodged from their place so as to be used for new constructions. In the later part, i.e. the last thirty years, the price of bricks is about double that of the earlier average, but it should be remembered that after all deductions the industry was a new one, and that therefore the parallel between the earlier and the later prices is not quite on a level with that of the produce of more settled and familiar occupations. I find no entry of bricks in the western counties, and I am inclined to believe that the craft of brickmaking spread slowly in that direction. The purchases made on behalf of the king's palaces are enormous.

Paving bricks are first named in 1533, when they are bought at 1*s.* 4*d.* the hundred at Richmond, and 2*s.* 8*d.* the hundred at

the Moor, ordinary bricks being at these two places 4s. and 4s. 6d. the thousand. In 1542 and 1545 Magdalen College, Oxford, buys paving bricks at 6d. and 5d. the dozen. In 1544 a few are again purchased at 6d. the dozen. In 1568 the same College buys hearth bricks at 6½d. the dozen, and in 1569 paving bricks costs 8d. the dozen. Those of 1574 have been already commented on.

Slates are of very various sizes and qualities. The use of this material for roofing was general in localities where fissile oolite was easily procured, as in Oxfordshire and other midland counties. (See Vol. I, p. 493.) It is true that in the town of Oxford tiles were used indifferently with slates, though not so frequently, but in other places slates are the only material for roofing important buildings. The cost of carriage is a very important factor in the price of slates, even in places where they are generally used, and makes the interpretation of values very obscure and difficult.

Sometimes again the slates were bought after they had been shaped and holed, called *bateratio*; sometimes in the raw state (e.g. Vol. III, p. 430, iv). The size again varies, the distinction between the three kinds generally discovered in the Oxford accounts being that of 'common large,' middling, and small. The Magdalen College account informs us that 200 common large slates constituted a load. Slates are employed for roofing at Radcliffe, Heyford, Kington, Weedon, Stert, Lullington, Cambridge, Yeovil, Northleigh, Otterton, Roydon, Apuldrum, Loders, Coleshull, Woodstock, Kibworth, Hawkesbury, Banwell (near Bladon), Welford, S. Dennis (Southampton), Stamford, Sion, and Bradstone. Most of these localities are in the midland counties, but some are in the east and south. It is possible that those procured at Southampton, the Devon villages, and the Sussex manors of Battle may have been foreign slates from Angers. In 1569 Flemish slates are bought in London at 15s. the thousand, and 'Fensher' slates at 10s. In 1578 five hundred 'blue slates' are purchased at Portsmouth at the rate of 6s. 8d., a much lower price than that at which the produce of

the Stonesfield, Combe, and Bladon quarries are sold at Oxford.

Unfortunately slates are constantly sold at Oxford by the load. Now if five loads of common large always went to the thousand, it would give in Oxford 5*s.* 10*d.* the thousand in 1515, when this article is reckoned by number, and 16*s.* 8*d.* in 1524 when they are reckoned by the carriage. Again, by the load of five to a thousand common large in Oxford, under the year 1529, would be 6*s.* 8*d.*, not including carriage in this place, and under similar conditions, 6*s.* 8*d.* in 1543. At the same rate in 1552, common large would be 21*s.* 8*d.*, though in the year before, when the measure of five loads to the thousand is noted, it is 10*s.* In the latter part of the period it becomes the custom to describe roofing material in Oxford under the generic name of lateres, and the entries are not a little ambiguous. Still, I have thought it better to construct annual and decennial averages, feeling sure that if some of my entries are of difficult interpretation, they are valid as assisting the general theory of values and prices.

Where slates were used for roofing, tiles were often employed for crests and gutters. But sometimes the stone was hewn into crests and evestones. Thus evestones are bought in Oxford at 4*s.* 8*d.* the hundred in 1410; at 5*s.* 9*d.* in 1421; at 4*s.* 3*d.* in 1435; at Radcliffe in 1419 at 3*s.* 4*d.*; in Coleshull at 5*s.* in 1441; and again at Oxford in 1507 at 3*s.* 4*d.*; in 1509 and 1514 at 3*s.*; in 1510 at 5*s.*; in 1518 at 4*s.* Enyslate or evyslate for the same purpose is bought for Radcliffe in 1437 at 7*s.*; in 1457 at 4*s.*; at Beading in 1481 at 4*s.* the load. In 1574 a load of eaving slate is purchased for 8*s.* 6*d.*, and in 1570 a hundred of eaving bricks at 2*s.* 6*d.*; common bricks at the same place and time being purchased for 18*s.* 6*d.* the thousand.

In 1447 a 'parcel' of white Purbeck slate is bought for 20*s.* I do not know this measure of quantity. It is probably local and obsolete. I suspect that in the slates 'de Coleym,' purchased at Oxford in 1468, we are to understand Culham near Abingdon.

In one or two places, as at Selborne in 1451, shingles are bought for roofing at 3*s.* 4*d.* the thousand, and at Battle in 1502 at the same price and less.

Tiles and slates were fastened to the rafter laths with pins. These are bought at very various prices by two measures, the bushel (sometimes the quarter) and the thousand. Apparently the bushel generally contained four thousand, at least the proportionate prices of the two measures suggest and confirm this view. Tile pins are apparently a bye product, i.e. the manufacture was not a special business, but practised by men and even women and children in their spare time. They are always considerably dearer in Oxford than elsewhere, for though the pins are generally described as slate pins, it does not appear that slate were dearer than tile pins in Oxford, on the occasions in which the latter were purchased under the name. They are cheap in London and at Sion, at which latter place they are bought by the quarter. In the averages given at the conclusion of the chapter only tile pins are reckoned in the decennial values, though sometimes slate pins are no dearer than the others. The rise in price after 1540 resembles that of the increase in value of bricks and tiles.

TIMBER AND STONE. There are numerous entries of building materials, chiefly derived from the accounts of buildings still in existence, as at York Minster, the colleges at Oxford and Cambridge, and divers royal works, out of which, varied as the names are, it will be possible to derive some important conclusions.

The most costly kind of timber is wainscot. This is bought by the long hundred of 120, and by the piece, and denoted at that day, as it still denotes, logs of the best-seasoned and soundest oak timber, free from cracks or any other defect. Twenty-five entries of wainscot occur by the hundred between 1415 and 1476. The most remarkable fact about this article is the steady rise in the price. During the fifteenth century there are twelve entries. The lowest price is 26*s.* 6*d.* in 1415, the highest 66*s.* 8*d.* in 1450, the average being 43*s.* 6½*d.* The

average of ten entries between 1516 and 1538 is 107*s.* 8*d.* The average of three entries between 1541 and 1567 is 200*s.* The last rise is only part of the general increase of money values, and would have been more significant had the entry of 1541 been included in the earlier portion, for the hundred on this occasion is 120*s.*, while that of the other two is 240*s.*, and the rise would on such an arrangement have represented that rise from two to five which is already so familiar to us.

This remarkable increase in the price of the best timber is, I am persuaded, due to that singular land-hunger of the fifteenth century, under which the purchasing price of land rose so considerably in the period, and the return from land as an investment sank correspondingly. Clearances of woodland and enclosures were the natural remedy for such an exaltation in price. The purchase by the King's Hall, Cambridge (Vol. III, 556, ii), of forty acres of arable land at Chesterton for £50 is an indication of the price which land fetched in the middle of the fifteenth century (1461). Such land did not let at best at from more than 8*d.* to 1*s.* the acre, and the return on the purchase money must have been considerably less than five per cent, the maximum rate which land was reckoned to yield at this period. Now at a time when all prices were depressed, i.e. during the early part of the sixteenth century, that of wainscot was doubled, and during the last part of the whole period is nearly six times the price of the earlier period, during which again, comparing the middle of the fifteenth century with the beginning, the price is more than doubled. There can be but one explanation of the fact, the enclosure of waste and the clearance of forest land, unless we are to assume a growing demand for domestic decorations, the result of accumulated wealth and narrow means of enjoyment.

The same inference can be drawn from the price of wainscots by the piece. There are twenty such entries between 1406 and 1486, the average being nearly 7½*d.* Between 1509 and 1540 twelve entries give an average of 1*s.* 2*d.* Between 1541

and 1579, in which the last entry occurs, six quotations give 2*s.* 11½*d.*, or omitting the last, where the price (6*s.* 8*d.*) is enormous, nearly 2*s.* 3*d.* As may be expected, the price by the single piece is considerably higher than that of the wholesale purchase by the long hundred. It is probable that the purchaser of one or a few chose the most likely and handsomest logs for his purpose. The material was chiefly used for ornamental woodwork in churches and halls.

Another name for the best timber is estrich board. It occurs only in the fifteenth century, and almost always at Cambridge. The hundred costs a little over 33*s.* Estrich appears to differ from wainscot, for both are bought at Cambridge in 1420, when the former is dearer than the latter. Estrich board is worth 6*d.* the piece in 1409 and 1420; 7½*d.* in 1452; and 1*s.* 1*d.* in 1478, the rise being equally marked with that of wainscot. In 1416 King's Hall buys estring and estrich board, apparently at nearly the same price. I conjecture that estring and estrich were foreign oaks, as nearly all, if not all, wainscot is now.

Very little information can be derived from the price of raw timber. Oaks are frequently sold as they stand in the wood, but at very various prices in the fifteenth century, from a little over 5*d.* and 6*d.* to 6*s.* 8*d.* and upwards. Thus York Cathedral buys seven great trees at this highest price, and in 1419 purchases two great oaks at 13*s.* 4*d.* each. The dearest were those used for mills. Thus at Sidmouth in 1424 seven are bought at 2*s.* 4½*d.* each. In 1457 a great oak at Otterton cost 5*s.* 8*d.*, and in 1469, at the same place, one is bought in the wood for 5*s.*, the carriage requiring 3*s.* 4*d.* more. Two entries in the later period are purchases at 5*s.* and 3*s.* 8½*d.* But throughout the latter half of the fifteenth century timber in the rough is never bought so cheaply as in the earlier period. The same variety occurs in the price of ash-trees, which are sold at 5*d.* in 1408; at 6½*d.* in 1421; and at 3*d.* in 1439 at Takley, but two great trees are bought at Ormesby in 1458 at 11*s.*, and three at Yartcombe at 3*s.* 11*d.* the bargain. A great elm is bought for

4*s.* in 1471; another elm in 1519 for 2*s.*; and in 1561 nine great elms are purchased to form keels for the Queen's ships at 7*s.* 5*d.* each.

Besides timber standing in the wood, or felled and undressed, the accounts give prices of timber by the load or by the ton, especially in the later period. The load is (1534) 55 cubic feet, or when seasoned 50 cubic feet, 1482, 1536, 1573; but sometimes (1540, 1563) 40 cubic feet. The ton is 40 cubic feet. Such timber, when designed for navy stores, is described as compasses and knees, or compasses and straight, or ankerstorks, terms not yet obsolete. It is chiefly oak, but sometimes elm. Up to 1546 twenty-three loads of oak timber are bought at an average of 5*s.* 6½*d.* After this date numerous entries give an average of 12*s.* 8½*d.*, the rate rising from 10*s.* to 14*s.* 8*d.* and more. The purchases are principally for the royal works, and it appears that common ship or building oak did not suffer so great an exaltation in price during the later period as the finer kinds did. Perhaps the old stocks, obtained from the monastic houses, kept the prices down. Four entries of oak timber by the ton before 1548 give an average of 5*s.* 8½*d.*, five subsequently one of 10*s.* 0½*d.* An entry in 1561 gives 40 feet to the bigate of timber, as another does in 1563.

Timber is also sold by the foot and hundred (*c*), the former generally at Cambridge. By this measure the price varies from 3½*d.* (1488) to less than 1½*d.* (1528). An average of twelve entries up to 1541 gives 1¾*d.* the foot. Eleven later entries give an average of nearly 5*d.*, a rise as significant as that of wainscot. A few entries by the hundred are at an average of 2*s.* 9*d.*, except one quotation of 1507, where two hundred of great timber are valued at 12*s.* 10*d.*, and also at 1½*d.* the foot. At the short hundred this would be 12*s.* 6*d.* It appears from this fact that the purchases by the foot are of great timber, that the measure was by the short hundred, and that other purchases by the hundred refer to some different article or different quality. Another term, employed for timber, but somewhat ambiguous, is *asseres*. Thirteen entries up to 1538 of this item

give by the hundred 2*s.* 8½*d.*, seven in the subsequent period an average of a little less than 4*s.* 6*d.*

The most numerous entries however, under very various names, are those of board. It will be necessary to distinguish at least some of these varieties, which are specified as oak, elm, ash, and poplar, as thack, planck, or plank, as quarter, clap, rent, close, eves, ceiling, pentyn, &c. Again, quarters are single or double, and plank is sometimes measured by its thickness.

Thack board is returned from York, where it is employed for the minster. It varies in price from 1*s.* 8½*d.* the hundred to 6*s.*, the highest rate being found in the earliest entry (1415). The average is nearly, from seventeen entries, 4*s.* 2½*d.*

The commonest kinds of board are plank or planch and quarter board. It appears that this board was ordinarily an inch thick. Quarters are sold by the hundred, and later by the load. Plank or planch is sold almost always by the hundred. Generally the price of these articles is almost identical, plank or planch being slightly dearer. Assuming these terms to be the same in value, I have constructed, though with some misgivings, a decennial table, which gives 2*s.* 9½*d.* the hundred up to 1540, and 4*s.* 5½*d.* afterwards. It should be observed that the former average is considerably heightened by the entries in 1430 and 1435, from Takley and London, where the price for quarters is 4*s.* 0½*d.* and 5*s.* To judge from the lateness of this mode of measurement, its growth and its frequency at the end of the period, I might infer that planch and quarter board are terms of foreign origin, and perhaps that the timber was imported.

The purchase of quarters by the load commences, as far as my accounts supply me with information, in 1533, when the price varies from 9*s.* to 9*s.* 6*d.*, the price by the hundred being 2*s.* In 1540 it rises from 9*s.* 6*d.* to 11*s.* In 1562 it is 16*s.*; in 1567, 12*s.*; in 1568 from 12*s.* to 13*s.* 4*d.*; in 1573, 16*s.*

In 1561 and onwards, considerable purchases of plank of various thickness are made for the Queen's dockyards. Four-

inch plank is 12*s.* the hundred, three-inch 10*s.*, two-inch 8*s.*, 1½-inch 7*s.* to 5*s.*, one-inch 5*s.* These are London prices. Those in country places, as in Kent and Hants, are rather lower. At the same time tree-nails are bought at various prices and sizes from 36-inch at 3*s.* to 14-inch at 1*s.* 2*d.* the hundred, the price progressing by a penny the hundred inches. The expert will be able to interpret these and similar terms with an accuracy to which I cannot pretend.

Poplar and elm timber are occasionally used, the latter more frequently than the former. Poplar seems to be principally used for constructing the flood-gates of mills, and the power of elm timber to resist wet is plainly recognised. Elms are used for the keels of vessels. I have noted fir spars in the earlier part (1414), and Norway deals (1574) in the later.

There are numerous entries of rafters, scaffold-poles, joists, rods, clove-boards, pentyn boards, and similar appliances of medieval and later architecture. Sand is purchased for mortar at 4*d.* the load in the earlier, and 6*d.* in the later period. Hair, also used to mix with mortar, is very cheap, about 4*d.* the bushel, and being a bye product undergoes little or no change in price. It is sometimes (e.g. 1524) sold by the stone.

STONE. Very various kinds of stone are designated in the accounts, both rough and hewn. The former is generally called rag, and was procured plentifully and cheaply from the Headington quarries near Oxford. At Cambridge its place was taken by the hard chalk called clunch or clunstone. Ragstone varies from 2½*d.* to 1*s.* 2*d.* the load according to locality. Headington stone is worth about 7½*d.* the load at Oxford. Clunstone is worth from 6*d.* to 8*d.*

The dearest ornamental stone is that from Purbeck. In 1410, 1500 feet of this stone was bought by New College, for the purpose of completing the ornamentation of the chapel, at 33*s.* 7*d.* the hundred. The stone employed for ashlar and dressings is generally described as freestone. That used in Oxford ordinarily came from Taynton, and is bought by the foot, at from 2½*d.* to 4*d.* But it is also bought at Naylesey in

1500. Other kinds are Kent hard stone and Reigate stone, bought at Sion in 1507, 1508, 1512, 1515, 1516, 1518, 1534, 1535. Caen stone is purchased by the ton at 7*s.* in 1512 (£7 in Vol. III, p. 407, iv, is a misprint), at 5*s.* 1*d.* in 1534, and at 5*s.* 2*d.* in 1535. Here we are informed that a ton of Caen stone was 16 (cubic) feet, one of Reigate 18 feet. Hard heath stone is purchased at Windsor in 1536, grey stone and blue stone at other places.

Ashlars are bought by the foot, the hundred, and the load, sometimes singly. They are about 4*d.* the foot, 16*s.* to 18*s.* the hundred, and 6*s.* the load. But we read of great ashlar at far higher prices, and of two purchased by All Souls' in 1437, when the college was being built, at 4*s.* 6*d.* each, these being destined to be worked into images. Some of the All Souls' ashlar were purchased at Headington, others at Hinksey, villages near Oxford. The Oxford accounts also designate Tale stone and Mete stone, terms which I cannot expound. There are several entries of paving stone by the load at very various prices.

Some singular names for wrought stone, which may still survive, are supplied from the King's Hall accounts for 1416, 1417, 1419, 1421, 1427, 1428, 1429, 1449, and at Peterhouse in 1460. They are King's table, doublets, coyns, nowell, for steps, jambs, geerth, varies, moynell, ringgold, leggement, double and single bows, chamerants, perpoint, respowndes, square and form pieces, serches, join table, vouchers for windows, formelets and stanchions. A note in the year 1427 informs us that they were bought of the quarryman. They were purchased for the chapel and library. Part of the latter building is still said to exist in the first quadrangle of Trinity College at the right-hand corner. I do not pretend to interpret these terms of medieval architecture. Some are familiar to us at the present day. Others are found in the early Cambridge accounts only. Nor can I guess at Helyng stone at Otterton (1482), cress table at Oxford, and crest stone at Sion in 1515, or Pepylstone at Cambridge in 1518, though its price (11*d.* the load) is low, or

what the Purbeck paving stone of 1575 can be. The reader will best be able to discover the particulars of medieval architecture by reference to the building of Merton College bell-tower given at length in the third volume, and commented on by anticipation, Vol. I, p. 258, and at the conclusion of this chapter.

GLASS. Very few entries of the price of glass were found in the earlier period. The information is much more copious now (Vol. III, p. 465 sqq.), and the article is declining in price. It is an error to imagine that it was scarce and dear. It is not however common in the accounts till after the Tudor period, when it is found frequently.

In the later period glass is nearly always sold by the foot. In York however it is bought most frequently by the wawe and the wisp, the former containing sixty of the latter. It is purchased also in the same place by the seam and the pair, the former containing twenty-four of the latter; by the tabula, which is also found at Sion in 1521; by the case at Sion in 1514, 1518, 1529, 1534; and at Oxford in 1519 and 1542 (when we are told that the case contained 37 bunches at 1s. 9d. the bunch, and 6 c. at 10s. 9½d. the hundred, though it is not clear what this hundred is, certainly not the hundred square feet); and again in 1548; by the cradle at York in 1537; by the Theca, probably the chest or case, at Oxford in 1520, a similar measure being given at York in 1537, when it is described as a chest of wisp. The wisp of York occurs as late as 1567 and 1577. The wawe is also found at Hickling 1517; the sheaf at Durham in 1532, and the shaff at Finchale in 1482. It is highly probable that it was purchased at a far cheaper rate when taken in large quantities. At a later date it is bought by the quarrel, and it seems that six or seven quarrels went to the foot.

We read of English glass as early as 1470 and 1478, and of Sussex glass in 1514, the former being bought by the table, the latter by the load. But it seems likely that most of the glass was foreign. The accounts give Normandy, Rhenish, Brymmys, and Burgundy glass. Henry the Eighth, whose purchases were

very extensive, obtained large quantities for his numerous palaces from one Galion Hone, who is described in the accounts as the King's glasier. It is from this person also that the badges of the king and queen (Anne Boleyn) are bought, and others which will be found plentifully among the sundry articles.

There are a few entries of coloured glass. The wisp of plain glass is worth a shilling in 1457 (for the word *wawe* must be an original error or a misprint in the printed volume of the Fabric Rolls), and a red wisp in 1459 is 1*s.* 4*d.* Coloured glass is bought by Sion at 4*s.* the foot in 1519, but here the glass is painted with images, and at 8*d.* in 1523. Plain Burgundy glass is at 1*s.* 6*d.* the wisp in 1535, and 3*s.* coloured; at 1*s.* 11*d.* the wisp in 1577, and coloured at 3*s.* 4*d.*

Five entries of glass by the *wawe* give an average (the latest is at Hickling in 1517, the rest are at York, and the latest 1478) of 42*s.* 5½*d.*, the cheapest rate being in 1471. Seven by the wisp give an average of 1*s.* 2*d.*; but of these, two are in 1567 and 1577. But in the first of these years glass is not dear. Three entries by the seam are at an average of 23*s.* 5*d.*, excluding the Oxford case of 1542, the price of which is enormous, and plainly refers to some different measure from that which was customary. Six entries by the case give an average of 19*s.* 2*d.*, two by the chest being 18*s.* 7*d.*, two by the cradle 16*s.*, and one by the load 13*s.* 4*d.*

Glass is much cheaper on the east of England and near the sea than it is in the midland counties. The larger quantity consumed was probably imported from abroad. The purchases of English glass are made at York and Sion. It appears also that the price was greatly lowered just before and after the Dissolution. The price is so low at Durham in 1531, 1532, and 1533—2*d.* the square foot—that I have not ventured on including it in my averages. Similarly low prices prevail at Oxford in 1545 and 1547, and probably the glass purchased came from the dissolved abbeys. It rises in price after the great exaltation in prices, but in no degree proportionately to other values, and

does not reach the rates which prevailed at the commencement of the fifteenth century, the average being actually lower, though the cheapest period is between 1471-1540. Glass quarrels are generally 1*d.* each.

ROPE. As most of the entries of rope given by weight are relative to the construction of buildings, and of ships, and of fittings for either, I have thought it convenient to comment on the price of this article here, and on the decennial averages which I am able to draw as to the price. Rope and other kinds of cordage are, like most other articles, dear at the commencement of the period, become cheaper towards the middle, and suffer a generally proportionate rise at the conclusion. This rise would have been more marked had not the averages been obscured by numerous purchases on account of the navy during the last twenty years. The rise in articles of domestic and private use fully corresponds to that ratio of five to two on which I have heretofore commented. Throughout the period considerable purchases are made of cables and cordage, and the information is far more extensive than it was in the earlier volumes.

It is probable that much cordage and hemp were always procured from abroad. Attempts were made to compel the cultivation of hemp in England, but the fines levied on transgression, which occur frequently in the exchequer accounts, do not seem to have been effectual. At any rate, the opening of the Russian trade in the beginning of Elizabeth's reign led to a large employment of foreign cordage in the English navy. We read of *Danske* cordage in 1561, of Russian cordage in 1562, and onwards, very extensive purchases being made.¹ Sometimes the article is bought from the Muscovy company, and numerous varieties of shipping cordage are quoted. Such are latchet and oyellet lines, tarred cables, tarred warp, white rope, white haulsers, white rattline, white marlyne, trussing cord, and breeching rope. They are all as a rule bought by the hundred; though sometimes the stone of seven pounds

¹ The 'Lynne stuff' of 1563 is probably foreign.

is entered. Cord is also bought by the teys and the fathom.

Besides rope, sail twine to sew sails is occasionally found, and as a rule at double the price of cordage, or even more, as in 1482, when extraordinary purchases are found in the Howard accounts. At a later period, white and tarred twine are bought, generally by the pound, at the rate of from 74*s.* 8*d.* to 56*s.* the cwt., a considerable amount being bought by the hundredweight in 1569 at 65*s.* 4*d.* Latchet line was also bought by the coil (1569).

The navy stores included hemp, flax, and puppet oakum for caulking. This is bought at about 9*s.* 4*d.* before the rise (e.g. 1546), and 20*s.* afterwards, as in 1562, 1563 (when it is 13*s.* 4*d.* the cwt. at Portsmouth), 1573, when it is again 20*s.*, white oakum being 15*s.* in 1574. In 1577 white oakum is 16*s.*, flax oakum 10*s.*, white hemp oakum being 17*s.* and 10*s.* In 1578 hemp oakum is 17*s.*, flax 16*s.* In the earlier period hemp is generally 10*d.* the stone, and oakum 1*d.* the lb. The hemp bought at Sion in 1494 was probably dressed, as the flax was for weaving.

NAILS. As in the earlier period, the most important and frequent entries are those for lath-nails, sometimes called sprigs, though occasionally distinguished from the latter articles. Only four years are wanting in the whole 182 for entries of lath-nails or sprigs. The price of lath-nails is nearly up to that which prevailed during the last half of the fourteenth century, till the last forty years of the fifteenth. From this date it declines, and from 1461 to 1540 the average is very little higher than it was from 1261 to 1350, illustrating anew that significant decline in prices which characterises the economical history of England during the eighty years 1461-1540. The rise effected after the issue of Henry's currency is by no means proportionate to that of other articles not reaching the average of 1351-1400.

Lath-nails, as I stated in my previous volume, were manufactured in every village by the local smith, and were always

kept in stock. They were probably a bye product of the smith's craft, and the price of iron being taken into account, illustrate the depressed condition of labour after the great rise in general prices occurred. Such we shall find to be the case in almost all articles in the manufacture of which labour was the principal factor of value as compared with the cost of the material.

Lath-nails are also purchased by the sum and the bag, the former being apparently 10,000. The earliest entry by the bag is in 1450. Twenty-three entries by the bag between 1450-1541, give an average of 9s. 0½*d.*, most of the entries coming from Sion, where the price of nails, especially lath-nails is low. Two entries in 1564 give a medium price of 19s. The earliest entry by the sum is in 1487. Fifteen entries by the sum give an average, all being made between 1487-1540, of 6s. 2*d.* The sum is also used for other kinds of nails.

In the earlier years there are frequent entries of board nails, and a few of great nails, the price of the former varying from 8*d.* to 4½*d.* the hundred, that of the latter from 8½*d.* to 5s. the hundred. Sometimes these great nails are sold by the pound, as in 1442. But in 1427 occurs for the first time a price of nails by the hundred under 4*d.* and 3*d.* designations. This is at Cambridge, and the entry probably is of foreign articles. The same reckoning is made at Chesterton in 1439, and at Yarmouth in 1444, where the prices by the hundred conform to the pence. But they do not always, even in the earliest entries. At Cambridge in 1447 sixpenny nails are bought at 4s. 8*d.* and 4s. the thousand, fivepenny and fourpenny at 3s. 4*d.* In 1450 threepenny nails are bought at 2s. 6*d.* the thousand in Cambridge, and in 1454 the reckoning reaches Oxford, where we find the first entry of tenpenny at 8s. 4*d.*, of sixpenny at 4s., of fivepenny at 3s. 4*d.*, and fourpenny at 2s. 6*d.* From this time the custom becomes general, though, as I have said, the nominal value is not always attained, e.g. Woodstock in 1463. By 1480 the custom becomes almost universal, but the price falls.

In the table which follows on this chapter, I have taken nails

described as board, &c., by the thousand, the entries in the accounts being generally by the hundred. From 1480 onwards I have taken sixpenny nails by the thousand, assuming that such nails may fairly be assumed to be identical or nearly so with the board nails of the previous years. The result will be found to fairly carry out my hypothesis, and to exhibit that rise in value in carpenter's nails which is shown in the lath nails which were purchased for plasterer's work. The rise in price towards the conclusion of the period is even more slight, but perhaps the price is depressed by the large quantities purchased for royal works, especially for the navy, as it certainly is modified by foreign importations from Flanders.

Nails sold by the later designation generally go down to a penny, and up to tenpence. The first entry of tenpenny nails is at Oxford in 1481, when they are 8*s.* the thousand. Like the sixpenny nails they sink in value, being 9*d.* the hundred at Otterbourne in 1485, 6*s.* 8*d.* the thousand at Oxford in 1489, 6*s.* 4*d.* at the same place in 1490, 6*s.* 1½*d.* in 1495, &c. At Sion they are particularly cheap, as indeed all nails are near London. Thus they are at 5*s.* 8*d.* in 1512, at 5*s.* 10*d.* in 1513, at 5*s.* 8*d.* in 1514-15, at 6*s.* in 1516, at 5*s.* 8*d.* in 1517, at 5*s.* 4*d.* in 1518-19, and at 4*s.* 5*d.* in 1522. They are bought for the works at Greenwich and Westminster in 1532 at 3*s.* 10*d.*, for 4*s.* 2*d.* in 1533-34, for 3*s.* 10*d.* again in 1535, for 4*s.* 2*d.* in 1539-1543. In 1567 they cost 9*s.*, but in 1568, 6*s.* 4*d.*

There are also twentypenny nails and even twenty-fourpenny, bought for Deptford dockyard. The first entry of twentypenny nails is at Greenwich in 1532, where they cost 8*s.* the thousand. This is the general price with some slight fluctuations. But in 1540-43, they only cost 6*s.* 8*d.* In 1549 they rise to 9*s.* 4*d.* In 1557 New College, Oxford, buys them at 15*s.*, nails being much dearer in Oxford than in London. At Cambridge, in 1561, they are 11*s.* 8*d.*, at Farnham and at Woolwich 16*s.* 8*d.*, being bought by private persons as well as for the Queen's use. In 1565 they are bought at Oxford for 16*s.* and 14*s.*, in 1566 at Cambridge for 10*s.*, in 1567 at Graves-

end and St. Albans for 10*s.*, and at Oxford for 16*s.* They cost 12*s.* at Greenwich in 1568, and 17*s.* 4*d.* at Oxford. An average of nine entries up to 1543, is 7*s.* 8½*d.*; an average of twenty entries after this date is 15*s.* 5*d.* 'Twenty-four' nails are bought at Deptford at 20*s.* the thousand in 1562-3, when other nails are at the dearest.

These are the principal and most frequently recurrent kinds of nails. But there are others which must be commented on. Among these are the articles purchased for York Minster, and recorded in the Fabric Rolls. We know that during the fifteenth century great efforts were made to build this noble church, and if we can trust contemporaneous history, several expedients were adopted, not always of the most creditable kind, in order to procure the necessary funds.¹ The nails used in the structure are denoted by singular names, which occur throughout the records.

The nails used in York Minster are double, middle, and single spiking, scotsem nails, brods, tingle nails, sharplings, stonebrods, strabrods, stone nails, gullet nails, lead nails, and brags. Entries are made for twenty years between 1414 and 1559.

Of stone nails, brags are the dearest. Six entries are found of them between 1527 and 1543, always at 2*s.* the hundred. They appear to be identical with the double tens or twenty-fours of the later accounts. Judging from the price of the heaviest nails, the hundred must have weighed from eight to twelve pounds, probably the latter, and these nails must have been used where the strongest article was required.

Next in price are sharplings. Eight entries from 1455 to 1543 are at an invariable price of 8*d.* the hundred, but a ninth entry is at 9*d.* Under the year 1531 we are told that the hundred was one hundred and twenty. Next come double spiking. Fifteen entries give an average of 3*s.* 0½*d.* the thousand, but the price varies from 3*s.* 6*d.*, the highest rate at the beginning of the period, to 2*s.* 6*d.* in the later part. One entry

¹ Gascoigne. *Loci e libro veritatum.*

in 1549 is at 5*s.* Next come middle spiking, twelve entries of which between 1414 and 1446 give an average of 2*s.* 1½*d.* the thousand. Six entries of single spiking are at 1*s.* 6*d.* the thousand.

Fourteen entries of scotsem nails give an average of 1*s.* 3½*d.* the thousand. The quotations are from 1414 to 1531, and the price falls from 1*s.* 10½*d.* in 1418 to 1*s.* in the last four entries. Twelve entries of lead nails between 1414 and 1543 give an average of 1*s.* 10*d.*, the last being 2*s.* 4*d.* and higher than the rest. One entry in 1549 is 6*s.* the thousand.

Six entries of brods between 1414 and 1547 give an average of 1*s.* 2½*d.* One in 1559 is at 2*s.* 8*d.* the thousand. Six of single nails are at an average of 1*s.* between 1415 and 1527. But the price falls greatly. They are at 1*s.* 10*d.* the thousand in 1432, but only at 6*d.* in 1444-5, though they rise again to 10*d.* in 1527. Four entries of gullet nails are found at 10*d.* the thousand in 1418-19, at 8*d.* in 1444-5. Eleven entries of stone brods are at an average of 1*s.* 1½*d.*, the price falling from 1*s.* 4*d.* to 1*s.* the thousand. There is a single entry of strabrods at 6*d.* the thousand in 1419. There are the varieties of York nails, and they are almost peculiar to the city.

Many other kinds of nails occur, of which the commonest are prigs, found especially in Sussex. Twenty entries of these give nearly 1*s.* 1*d.* the thousand. Sixteen entries of roof nails by the sum give an average of nearly 6*s.* 8*d.* Seven entries of transome nails give an average of rather over 9¾*d.* the thousand. Six entries of window nails by the hundred are at 4½*d.*, three by the thousand at 1*s.* 4*d.*, the kinds being obviously different. Again, nails known as bushel nails are bought at Oxford in the sixteenth century at prices rising from 7*d.* the thousand to 1*s.* 9*d.*, the average being 1*s.* 1¾*d.* Six entries of roof nails by the thousand give an average of 1*s.* 1½*d.* Five of fotnails by the hundred are at 5½*d.*, these articles being evidently of the quality of the later sixpennies. Five entries of stone nails give a little over 10½*d.* the thousand; one at Bradstone, and it is clear of a different kind, being 2*s.* 6*d.* the thousand. Four entries of tinned nail in the earlier period are

1s. 2d. the hundred, two at a later period from the Sion accounts appear to be our modern tintacks, for they cost only 7d. a thousand, while of other tinned nails, I find twopennies at 2s. 1d. the thousand, and one entry of tinned nails, the size not given, at 4s. the hundred. Two entries of stone lath-nails are at 1s. 7d. the thousand; two of slate nails at 1s. 2d.; three of copper nails at 8d., one of straw nails at 8d. the thousand, two of tac nails at 1s., one of garnish nails at 6d. and one of 'gylt' at 6d. also the thousand, one of lat at 8d. the hundred, one of mill nails at 6d., two of splint at 3d., one of stantis at 4d., two of stud at 4½d., one of enys at 6d., one of plantel at 6d., one of water at 1s., one of breche at 6d., two of hatch at 5d., and one of vyfestrake at 10d. the hundred. There are also ten entries of tenterhooks from the Sion accounts at a little under 11d. the thousand.

Among the residue are brigander nails at 7d. the thousand, slatt nails at 8s., scupper nails for the navy at 4s. 4d., stub nails at 1s. 2d., clout nails at prices from 9½d. to 2s. 8d., stod nails at 12s. 6d., brad nails at 2s. 6d. great lath nails at 2s. 8d., reparation nails at 6s. 5d., caniculi at 10d., and tile prigs at the same price by the thousand. Tack nails, described as English, are 8d. the thousand, and brods vary from 6d. the hundred to 1s. the thousand, a late entry of the last-named defines the price by the length; three and a half inch being 1s. 2d. the hundred, three inch being 1s., and two and a half inch 10d. There is also an entry of a sum of buttinall nails at 5s. Brod nails are sold once at 1¾d. the lb.

Certain great nails are sold at 2s. 8½d. the hundred in 1419, and at 2s. 6d. and 5s. in 1465, the last to Howard for the use of Edward IVth's navy. Other great door nails are bought at 1s. 8d. and 2s. Studs to put outside doors, cost 9d. a dozen. In 1509 King's College bought two dozen at 10d. *pro ostio scholarum*; in 1526 Magdalen College bought nine dozen at 4d. Some of these ornamental nails may still exist.

Towards the conclusion of the period (the earliest entry is in 1532) the reader will find that Flemish and English nails

are purchased and distinguished. The former are a great deal cheaper than the latter.

LOCKS AND KEYS. The price of these articles varies greatly. I do not intend to refer on the present occasion to any other kinds than those which are employed on domestic and farm buildings. Many of these locks have survived in ancient structures, as churches and college libraries and muniment rooms, to the present day, and are evidence of the extent to which the locksmith's art had progressed at a period even earlier than the present. (Vol. I, p. 511.)

A granary lock is bought at Alton Barnes in 1401 for 1*s.*, a lock and key in London (1404) for 5*d.*, and again in 1410 for 7*d.* Another is bought at Hoxon in 1414 for 3*d.*, and ten at Oxford in 1422 for 5*s.* 6*d.*, probably for sets of college chambers. In 1427 three locks and keys are bought at 5*d.* by the Takley bailiff. In 1430, the Alton Barnes bailiff buys a granary and a privy lock at 5*d.* each, and eight locks and keys are purchased by New College for 5*s.* 6*d.* Next year New College purchases a lock and key for Vine Hall, one of the dependencies of the college, for 10*d.*, this being clearly a lock to the outer door. In 1433 a lock and key to a chamber door costs 4*d.*, and in 1431 forty-three locks, keys, and staples are purchased in London for New College, perhaps to put on college chambers, at a total cost of 23*s.* 2*d.* Two locks and keys are bought by the Lullington bailiff at 4*d.* each, and in 1438 a lock and key in London for 6*d.* In the same place, in 1446, two locks and keys are bought at 6*d.*, and one at 8*d.* In 1449, four locks for King's College chest cost 10*d.* each, another lock and key at London 8*d.*, and a lock and five keys at Oxford 2*s.* 8*d.* In 1453 a lock and key at Fountain's abbey costs 6*d.*, six locks and keys in London 3*s.* 7*d.* Two locks at Coleshull in 1459 are bought at 4*d.*, and an iron twist to the hall door is bought for 6*d.* In 1463, seventeen locks and keys are bought at Woodstock for 7*d.* each, and in 1467 a lock for the larder at King's College for 7*d.* In 1483 two locks are bought at Stoke at 3*d.*, two at 4*d.*, and four locks and keys at Banwell in 1484

at 5*d.* each. In 1495 five locks are bought by the Wymondham bailiff at 3*d.* each, and four in 1497 by the same person at the same price. In 1499 King's College pays the large sum of 3*s.* for a lock and key to the vestibule—in this case I conclude the room—where the vestments were kept. In 1501 six locks cost together 1*s.* 2*d.* at Stamford, and next year at the same place two locks and two keys are purchased for 8*d.* In 1508 King's College purchased for the money chest into which the legacy bequeathed by Henry VII for completing the Chapel was to be put, three hanging locks and three bolts for 7*s.*, and two other hanging, i.e. pad-locks at 1*s.* each. In the same year twelve locks and keys were purchased by Sion at 2*d.* each, and four in Southwark at 8*d.* In 1516 Oriel College, Oxford, buys a lock and two keys for the buttery for 2*s.* 8*d.*, and in 1522, the same College buys a lock and key for 11*d.*, and in 1524 a lock and key for the apple closet for 2*s.* Two locks at Cambridge in 1528 cost 2*s.* 6*d.* each, and in 1529 a lock and a hinge at Sion 3*s.* 4*d.* In 1530 a hanging lock at St. Osyth's costs 1*s.* 2*d.*, a great lock for the prior's hall at Durham, with two keys, a ring and a rose, 2*s.* 2*d.*, and in 1533 four locks and keys at the same place, evidently of ruder fabric, are bought at 3½*d.* each. In the same year we find some of the king's purchases; plate locks with the king's key at Greenwich cost 6*s.* 8*d.* each, stock locks at Richmond 8*d.*, livery locks at the Moor 8*d.*, and double-hooped stock locks 1*s.* 8*d.* Next year we find at Greenwich double-hooped stock locks with keyholes on both sides at 2*s.* 8*d.*, other kinds remaining at the price of the past year, except at the Moor, where the double-hooped locks are 2*d.* cheaper. In 1535 a stock lock costs 2*s.* 8*d.* at London, and a great stock lock 8*s.* In 1536 a great lock for the money chest costs 1*s.* 2*d.* at Oxford, and in 1538 a lock and key costs 8*d.* In 1540 livery locks and keys cost 8*d.* each; in 1541, plate locks on the gates at Dartford 6*s.* 8*d.*, five being bought; and other locks, 1*s.* 8*d.*, while a double-hoop lock and key costs 1*s.*, a spring lock and key 8*d.* at Greenwich. Locks and keys at the Moor are bought at prices from 5*d.* to 9*d.*, a spring lock at 1*s.*, and stub locks

at 4s. the dozen and in 1543 plate locks and keys are bought at Dartford for the same price at 4s. 6d. A lock and key for the street door is purchased at Dover in 1544 for 12 1/2d. Five twelve locks in 1548 at 3s. and a lock and key in 1549 for 12. In 1554 King's College buys two kitchen locks at 10s. In 1555 eight stock locks are bought in London at 12. and a lock and forty keys, probably a mail or library lock in which the forty fellows had pass keys by Magdalen College, Oxford, for 32s. 1/2. In 1572 six locks and keys are bought for the Devonport arsenal at 12 1/2d. seven locks for bridges at 7 1/2d. and a great plate lock for 3s. and in 1573 two cupboard locks with keys are bought in the same place at 12 1/2d. In 1575 Magdalen College, Oxford, pays 5s. for two locks and six keys, and 12s. for another lock. In 1580 three wainscot doors with locks and garnets are set up at a cost of 45s. 1/2. and at Greenwich twelve stud locks cost 1s. 2d. each, one plate lock 5s. 6d. and one laundry lock 2s. In the last-named place were probably kept the queen's sheets, which were served out to the workmen in her employ at the lodgings where she housed and boarded them. Next year single and double stock locks are priced 1s. 2d. and 2s. cupboard locks being 1s. 6d. each. In the same year Corpus buys a key for the founder's chapel at Winchester at a cost of 1s. 2d. In 1575 hanging and pad-locks cost from 1s. 4d. to 1s. in London, and in 1571 at the same place a stock lock costs 1s. 4d., a hanging lock 1s., a cupboard lock 1s. 4d., and a double stock lock and key 3s. 4d. In 1574 a lock and two keys for the Corpus battery is bought for 1s. 6d., and in 1576 a lock and key at All Souls' costs 2s. 6d. In 1578 stock locks at Gillingham cost 1s. 6d.; in 1579, hanging locks in London cost 10d.; and in 1580 a lock and key at Oxford 1s. Lastly, a lock and key for a study door at New College costs 7s. 4d., nearly the highest price found.

I have thought it better to give these prices in detail, as it is impossible to tabulate them, and difficult to interpret them. They indicate very various qualities and very various articles. The rule lock of the farm and the ordinary chamber was doubt-

lessly a very different affair from the locks put for the king's use on the chambers at Greenwich and Hampton, the wards in each of which were made on the model of the king's key, so that he could enter any chamber at his pleasure. Some of these locks again were carefully planned and finished for purposes of security, as those fitted to money chests and stores of valuable goods. Still, with every explanation which can be given for allowable variations, it seems that the price of locks and keys rose, either because greater finish was required in order to ensure greater security, or because the remuneration of the locksmith, unlike that of other labourers, rose with the dearness of the times.

In the earlier period comprised in my first two volumes, no locks were found at prices corresponding at all with those which may be seen in the present chapter, and verified by the table of contents and the entries of sundry articles in Vol. III, 554-582. In the early part of the present period the prices of locks and keys do not differ materially from those in the fourteenth century. The first purchase at a high price is that made by King's College, Cambridge, in 1499. Some others follow at higher rates, and then we reach the royal purchases. But shortly after the change in the value of money, it is clear that prices rise considerably.

The reader will notice a spring lock for the first time in 1541. The price is low. I cannot explain the swivel lock of 1548, or account for the very high rate at which it is purchased by Magdalen College. Still less am I able to understand why so large a price was paid for the lock to a study door in 1581.

WORKMEN'S TOOLS. It may be found convenient, in concluding this prolonged chapter on building materials, and the articles needed to complete the house or other structures of the period, to annex some comment on workmen's tools. The earlier volumes supplied but little information on the subject, but the facts are more copious in the present. I purpose treating them alphabetically. The most important entries are those from the king's or queen's naval and other stores. Generally it would appear that the workman found his own tools.

at Ormesby cost 4*d.* in 1423, thirty-nine small ones at Dartford in 1540, 3*d.* each, and three at London in 1579, 8*d.* each. The hammers used at York must have been very heavy, and could have been not less than from twenty to thirty pounds weight, perhaps much more, the price of wrought iron ranging at this time from 14*s.* to 8*s.* 8*d.*, and that of such iron as would be used for hammers being at the lower rate.

Three nippers are bought at London in 1579 at 2*s.* Sixty packneedles, probably for trussing wool, cost 3*d.* in 1486. Needles, if one can introduce them here, were bought at a halfpenny at Ormesby in 1451, most likely for sewing sails, as Ormesby was part of Fastolfe's estate, and supplied the barley and malt in which this retired captain traded. Needles are bought at 5*d.* the hundred at Sion in 1496, at 3*s.* 4*d.* the hundred for sail-making at London in 1561 and 1562, and at 3*d.* and 6*d.* the dozen in 1569. In 1573 several kinds are bought for the dockyard: twenty dozen sail needles at 6*d.*, and eight dozen at 3*d.*; six dozen square needles at 6*d.*, and three dozen at 2*s.*; three dozen steel of the best sort at 3*s.*, and three dozen Holland needles at 1*s.* 8*d.*; thirteen dozen best sail needles at 2*s.*, thirty-nine dozen at 1*s.* 8*d.*, and eight dozen, described as great, at 2*s.* 6*d.* In 1578 three dozen small needles are bought in Woolwich at 8*d.*

In 1521 two paring irons are bought at St. Osyth at 4*d.*; in 1486, six percors in Cambridge at 8*d.*; in 1401, a pair of iron pincers at Heghtredebury at 4*d.*, and in 1579 six in London at 6*d.*

Two saws are bought by the Radcliffe bailiff in 1406 at 7*d.*, a new saw in 1457 at York for 1*s.* 2*d.*, a handsaw at Stamford in 1501 for 1*s.* 3*d.*, two in 1562 at 1*s.*, and eleven in 1574 at 2½*d.*, twelve for the navy in 1548 at 1*s.*, and two long saws in London in 1555 at 2*s.* 6*d.* It is not easy to distinguish these articles or their use. In 1437 the buildings at All Souls' led to the purchase of four stone saws at 3*s.* 8*d.* each, and a whetstone for the masons' tools which cost 1*s.* 4*d.* In 1552 a stone saw six feet and twelve 'pollices' long was bought for

5s. 10d. In 1574 tenon saws cost 6d. each. I cannot guess what a 'scoyett' is, two of which are bought at Sion in 1535 at 2½d. each.

A pair of smith's bellows are bought at Cambridge in 1472 for 3s. 4d., and soldering irons in 1490 at 9d.; in 1512 (Sion) at 7½d.; others in 1515, the number not given, for 3s. 9d., but probably four, and in 1517 for 6d. These are also bought for the use of Sion. Spectacles are provided at Canterbury for stone breakers in 1541 at 2d. the pair. Lastly, two wimbles are bought at Linco'n in 1425 at 5d. each.

In my former volumes (Vol. I, p. 258) I commented on some of the particulars contained in the costs incurred for building the Merton College bell-tower, which still exists at the west end of the chapel of that college. The account is printed at length in Vol. III, pp. 720-737, and the reader can examine the details of a structure which was built in the middle of the fifteenth century. The plan was doubtlessly provided by some Fellow of the college, probably Edwards, the Fellow whom the college appointed to supervise the work and to render account of receipts and expenditure. The principal mason is Robert Janyns, who seems to have been at once builder and clerk of the works under Edwards. The scaffolding is made of poles and strong hurdles; sieves for sand are bought at 3d., hods at 4½d., and a saw at 9d.; three iron wedges, weighing together 9½ lbs., at 2d. the pound; two others weighing 13 lbs., and three more weighing 80 lbs., at the same rate. Three cranes are bought to raise the stones, one weighing 160 lbs., another 267 lbs., and a third also 267 lbs., the price of the first two being 2d. the lb., and of the third 2½d. The ironwork for the windows of the bell-tower is purchased at Chipping Norton from Thomas Smith, and amounts to 1594 lbs. at 2d. The wood employed for the structure appears to have been in the main obtained from the college estates, though sixteen elms are purchased, and certain other trees at Headington. The main part of the timber came from Horham Wood. During the course of the work, a hut, 'casa,' was built for the masons, which was thatched. These

masons appear to have been brought from some distance, and to have been licensed at a small cost to undertake work for the college. It would seem that they had been engaged on royal works, or were at least likely to be taken away for such a purpose, since among the small particulars of expense, there is the entry of a payment (1*s.* 8*d.*) to the king's servant that the masons should not quit the college work for the king's employment.

The Teynton stone is purchased generally at 2*d.* the foot, 1073 feet being purchased at this rate and 108 feet at 1½*d.* This is used to dress the rough work of the tower, for which Headington stone is employed, quarried by workmen who are paid 4½*d.* a day. The lime purchased varies in price from 1*s.* 4*d.* to 1*s.* the quarter, and the cost of making lime is put at 6*d.* the quarter. The higher price of lime appears to include carriage, the lower to be exclusive of carriage. The carriage of Teynton stone is set at 2*s.* the bigate from this place to Oxford. The cost of carrying stone from Teynton to Burford is 4*d.*, the same rate being paid from Milton and Windrush to Burford. From Whitlade to Burford it is 2*d.* the load; from Headington to Oxford the charge is generally 5½*d.* the load.

I have nothing to add to the comment which I made on the costs of this building in the first volume, except that which I shall have to state below on the charge for labour and the price of carriage.

The subjoined tables contain prices of laths by the thousand, of plain tiles, slates, and bricks by the thousand, of crests and concave tiles by the hundred, and of tile and slate pins by the bushel (the fact that the pins are used for slates being denoted by S.), of lath-nails, and board or sixpenny nails, by the thousand. The decennial averages give also laths by the load, glass by the foot, and rope by the hundredweight.

TABLE I.
ON THE PRICE OF BUILDING MATERIALS.

	Laths, per 1000.	Plain Tiles, per 1000.	Crests and Concave Tiles, per 100.	Slates, per 1000.	Tile or Slate Pins, (s) bshl.	Bricks, per 1000.	Lath Nails, per 1000.	Board Nails, per 1000.
	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
1401	6 7½	7 11	8 10	5 0	.....	.....	1 0½	4 2
1402	7 1	.....	12 6	4 0	.....	.....	1 1½	5 2½
1403	7 3½	4 8	.....	.....	0 8	.....	1 1	5 10
1404	7 9½	5 1½	3 5½	.....	.....	.....	1 2½	6 8
1405	6 11½	3 8½	.....	6 8	.....	7 6	1 1½	5 0
1406	7 8½	4 3	3 5	3 4	0 7	7 6	1 3½	5 0
1407	8 4	4 3	4 6	.....	0 8	.....	1 1½	5 0
1408	7 11	4 0	9 4	.....	0 7½	.....	1 1½	5 10
1409	7 11	.....	.....	6 8	.....	.....	1 3½	5 5
1410	5 6	4 6	5 7½	4 5	0 5	.....	1 2½	5 0
1411	6 6½	4 2	7 4½	6 0	0 9	.....	1 1½	.....
1412	7 0½	5 6	.....	6 10	0 6	.....	1 1	5 5
1413	.....	3 4	12 6	6 6½	.....	.....	1 2	5 0
1414	5 10	3 10	12 6	.....	.....	.....	1 2½	5 0
1415	7 2½	5 7½	2 9½	.....	.....	.....	1 3½	.....
1416	7 1	.....	.....	4 6	.....	.....	1 2½	3 11½
1417	6 4	5 0	11 0	.....	0 8	.....	1 2½	5 10
1418	5 0	5 0½	.....	8 4	.....	.....	1 4½	4 7
1419	7 10½	5 7½	6 2	4 0	.....	.....	1 3	4 7
1420	6 9½	4 8	4 6½	4 0	0 10	.....	1 1½	3 9
1421	7 6	5 9	.....	4 9	.....	.....	1 0	4 7
1422	7 11	4 9	6 5	6 4	0 6	.....	1 0½	4 4½
1423	6 11½	4 2	6 7½	8 10	0 8	.....	1 1½	5 2½
1424	8 0	4 0½	8 4	6 0	.....	.....	1 2½	5 2½
1425	8 10	8 3	8 4	6 6	51 5½	.....	1 4	5 5
1426	6 10½	5 11	12 6	7 6	0 6	.....	1 3½	5 0
1427	8 4	7 0	4 0	4 0	0 10	.....	1 1½	5 0
1428	6 6	5 6	5 9	6 4½	0 6	.....	1 1½	4 4½
1429	6 9½	5 0	9 10½	6 11½	0 6	.....	1 1	5 0
1430	7 5	5 5	5 10	6 4	0 6	.....	1 2	5 0

	Laths, per 1000.	Plain Tiles, per 1000.	Crests and Concave Tiles, per 100.	Slates, per 1000.	Tile or Slate Pins, (s) bshl.	Bricks, per 1000.	Lath Nails, per 1000.	Board Nails, per 1000.
	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
1431	7 6	8 7	11 3	5 7½	.....	.....	1 0½	5 0
1432	7 1	5 4½	7 4	4 9	.....	.....	1 1½	5 0
1433	7 1	4 2	11 3	5 0	.....	.....	1 0½	.....
1434	6 8	5 5½	8 4	6 9	.....	.....	1 0	5 0
1435	5 0	5 4½	12 6	8 2	.....	.....	1 2½	4 7
1436	6 10	6 4½	4 2	.....	0 5½	.....	1 1½	.....
1437	6 1½	5 1½	9 5	7 0	0 5	.....	1 1½	3 4
1438	6 5½	4 7½	9 4	.....	0 6	6 4	1 1½	4 4½
1439	7 8	4 6½	12 4½	6 0	.....	.....	1 3	4 2
1440	7 6	3 6	3 6	.....	0 8	.....	1 2½	.....
1441	6 6	4 1½	3 4	5 0½	0 6	.....	1 2½	4 9½
1442	6 3	5 0	11 8½	4 8½	0 6	6 8	1 1½	3 4
1443	6 10	5 6	10 5	4 8	0 8	.....	1 0	.....
1444	7 4	4 6½	12 6	5 4½	1 4	.....	1 2	4 2
1445	5 0	5 3½	10 5	3 11½	0 8	.....	1 0	5 0
1446	6 8	3 0	12 6	6 0	.....	.....	1 1	5 0
1447	6 6½	3 8	10 0	4 5	.....	.....	1 1½	4 4½
1448	6 6	5 0	7 3	5 0	1 0	.....	1 0½	4 7
1449	7 9	7 4	9 4	3 4	0 8	5 9	1 2½	5 0
1450	7 3½	6 8	.....	3 0	0 10½	.....	1 0½	5 0
1451	7 7	5 6	7 11	3 8	1 0	.....	1 1	5 0
1452	7 4½	5 4	11 1	5 8	0 8	.....	1 2½	.....
1453	5 5	5 7½	14 8	12 8	.....	4 6	0 11½	.....
1454	5 11	8 0	.....	.....	0 9	.....	1 0	4 2
1455	6 10	10 0	.....	3 0	0 7	7 2	1 1½	5 0
1456	5 11½	3 10	10 2	4 4½	0 8	.....	1 0½	3 4
1457	8 5½	5 1	13 0	3 6½	0 7	.....	1 0½	4 2
1458	5 10½	4 4	3 8	5 5	0 6	4 8	0 10	.....
1459	6 1½	5 5½	12 6	2 7	.....	.....	0 10½	4 2
1460	6 1	4 8½	.....	.....	.....	5 0	0 10	.....
1461	5 0	4 2½	.....	.....	.....	10 0	1 3	.....
1462	5 10	.....	.....	.....	.....	5 3	0 9½	.....
1463	7 3	6 0	.....	3 0	.....	4 0	1 4½	4 7
1464	6 8	6 2½	.....	.....	.....	6 0	0 9½	.....
1465	6 8	4 8	.....	.....	.....	3 11½	1 3	.....
1466	6 6	5 5½	.....	.....	0 6	4 0	1 2	.....
1467	9 3	7 9½	14 8	2 8	.....	4 0	0 9½	.....
1468	8 6	6 0½	12 6	2 3	.....	.....	1 3½	.....

470 ON THE PRICE OF BUILDING MATERIALS, ETC.

	Laths, per 1000.	Plain Tiles, per 1000.	Crests and Concave Tiles, per 100.	Slates, per 1000.	Tile or Slate Pins, (s) bshl.	Bricks, per 1000.	Lath Nails, per 1000.	Board Nails, per 1000.
	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
1469	6 3	6 10 $\frac{1}{2}$	.....	.....	.....	6 10 $\frac{1}{2}$	0 7	.....
1470	6 9 $\frac{1}{2}$	5 0	8 4	.....	1 4	4 6 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 0 $\frac{1}{2}$	.....
1471	8 0 $\frac{1}{2}$	6 3	.....	4 7	.....	6 8	.....	.....
1472	7 2 $\frac{1}{2}$	5 9 $\frac{1}{2}$	16 8	5 2	.....	.....	0 8 $\frac{1}{2}$	4 2
1473	6 10	6 10	.....	.....	.....	4 0	0 8	3 4
1474	7 3	5 8 $\frac{1}{2}$	.....	.....	0 6	.....	1 0	.....
1475	6 6 $\frac{1}{2}$	5 6	.....	.....	.....	.....	1 2	.....
1476	7 9	7 1 $\frac{1}{2}$	.....	4 2 $\frac{1}{2}$	0 11	.....	1 0	.....
1477	9 0	5 8	.....	5 0	.....	.....	0 11	.....
1478	6 3 $\frac{1}{2}$	6 0	9 10	3 4	.....	6 4 $\frac{1}{2}$	0 11	4 2
1479	9 0	4 4	12 6	.....	1 0	.....	1 1 $\frac{1}{2}$	.....
1480	7 0	3 11 $\frac{1}{2}$	.....	3 0	.....	6 0	0 10 $\frac{1}{2}$	¹ 5 0
1481	6 8	5 1	8 0	.....	.....	.....	0 10 $\frac{1}{2}$	4 2
1482	10 0	7 0	16 8	4 0	.....	4 0	1 2 $\frac{1}{2}$	4 2
1483	.....	6 8 $\frac{1}{2}$	12 6	.....	.....	.....	1 0 $\frac{1}{2}$	.....
1484	7 0	6 10	.....	4 8	.....	.....	0 10	.....
1485	6 10 $\frac{1}{2}$	5 4 $\frac{1}{2}$	10 5	.....	0 5 $\frac{1}{2}$	6 8	1 1	5 0
1486	8 10	12 0	7 8	.....	.....	5 4 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 2	.....
1487	7 2	5 0	.....	.....	.....	.....	0 9	.....
1488	6 4	4 3 $\frac{1}{2}$	.....	.....	1 2	.....	1 0	5 4
1489	5 0	4 10	12 6	.....	0 6 $\frac{1}{2}$	.....	0 11 $\frac{1}{2}$	4 2
1490	3 10	5 9 $\frac{1}{2}$	8 4	.....	0 8	5 0	0 10	4 6
1491	.....	.....	12 6	2 9 $\frac{1}{2}$	.....	.....	.....	.....
1492	3 4	5 3	.....	.....	.....	.....	0 11	3 4
1493	7 6	.....	.....	3 0	.....	10 0	0 11 $\frac{1}{2}$	.....
1494	5 0	6 2 $\frac{1}{2}$	.....	3 4	s 1 1	.....	.....	4 2
1495	6 10	.....	.....	9 0	s 1 0	.....	0 9 $\frac{1}{2}$	4 2
1496	3 4	4 6	.....	8 11	0 6	10 0	0 9 $\frac{1}{2}$	2 1
1497	4 2	.....	.....	5 0	.....	5 8	0 10	4 1
1498	3 4	4 0	.....	5 4	.....	6 4	0 10	3 8
1499	4 2 $\frac{1}{2}$	5 0	16 8	5 7	.....	5 9	1 1	.....
1500	.....	5 10	.....	4 0	s 1 4	10 4	0 9 $\frac{1}{2}$	4 2
1501	4 10	.....	8 4	7 0	0 8	10 0	0 9	4 0
1502	4 3 $\frac{1}{2}$	5 5 $\frac{1}{2}$	8 0	5 0	0 6 $\frac{1}{2}$	6 6	0 10 $\frac{1}{2}$	4 2
1503	4 1 $\frac{1}{2}$	4 2 $\frac{1}{2}$	.....	.....	1 0	5 10 $\frac{1}{2}$	0 9 $\frac{1}{2}$	3 1 $\frac{1}{2}$
1504	5 9 $\frac{1}{2}$	4 4	.....	6 0	0 8	7 4	0 10 $\frac{1}{2}$	4 2
1505	4 1	5 5 $\frac{1}{2}$	.....	5 4	.....	.....	0 10 $\frac{1}{2}$	6 0
1506	5 0	6 4	.....	4 6 $\frac{1}{2}$	s 1 0	.....	0 8 $\frac{1}{2}$	4 7

¹ Sixpenny nails from this date.

	Laths, per 1000.	Plain Tiles, per 1000.	Crests and Concave Tiles, per 100.	Slates, per 1000.	Tile or Slate Pins, (s) bshl.	Bricks, per 1000.	Lath Nails, per 1000.	Board Nails, per 1000
	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
1507	4 8	5 0	8 4	4 1	0 5	.....	0 9½	3 6½
1508	5 6½	5 3½	7 8	3 4½	s 1 0	5 4	0 9½	4 4
1509	4 7½	5 7½	5 7	5 0	.....	6 1	0 10½	3 9
1510	6 6½	5 8	.....	.....	.....	.....	0 9½	4 2
1511	4 5	10 0	.....	4 7	.....	.....	0 9½	.....
1512	3 4	5 0	4 3½	.....	0 6	3 1	0 8½	3 9
1513	.....	5 0	8 4	6 5	0 5½	5 4	0 8½	3 4
1514	4 5½	5 0	4 8	4 4	10 9	.....	0 8½	3 4
1515	5 2	4 8	8 6	5 10	10 11	4 0	0 9½	3 4
1516	5 10	5 0	.....	5 1½	0 5	4 0	0 10	3 4
1517	6 1	5 0	5 7	6 1½	0 5	.....	0 7½	3 9
1518	7 0	7 0	8 4	.....	0 5	5 2½	0 10	3 4
1519	7 6	5 7½	8 4	3 0	0 5	6 1	0 8½	3 9
1520	5 10	4 0	.....	6 8	1 0	5 6	0 9	4 2
1521	5 5	9 8	.....	6 0	1 0	4 0	0 10	4 2
1522	.....	5 7	.....	.....	.....	6 0	0 8½	3 6
1523	.....	5 0	.....	.....	0 6	.....	0 8	3 4
1524	5 10	5 3	6 5	6 0	0 5½	6 10½	0 8½	3 9
1525	4 5	4 3	4 2	7 0	1 0	3 10	0 10	4 2
1526	.....	4 4	.....	8 6	1 0	.....	0 10	4 2
1527	5 11½	5 5½	7 8	.....	.....	.....	0 11½	.....
1528	6 1	10 0	8 4	10 0	s 1 0	.....	0 10	4 2
1529	5 2½	6 6	8 4	8 8	0 6	6 0	0 9½	3 7
1530	5 0	.....	.....	.....	.....	5 4	0 10	4 2
1531	5 5	5 2	7 8	8 4	.....	.....	0 9½	4 1
1532	4 5½	5 0	5 0	.....	.....	5 4½	0 9	2 5
1533	5 10	4 10	4 10	6 8	0 8	4 10½	0 8½	2 9½
1534	3 6	4 11½	4 9½	.....	0 7½	5 0½	0 8	3 0
1535	5 4	5 0	5 2	.....	0 9	5 5½	0 7	2 3
1536	4 3½	4 11	6 2½	.....	0 8	6 6½	0 11	2 8
1537	5 10	4 6	7 8	.....	s 1 0	.....	0 11½	4 2
1538	7 1	5 1½	.....	3 7½	1 0	6 7	0 10	4 2
1539	5 3½	5 5	.....	.....	0 8½	5 2½	0 9	3 4
1540	5 5	4 8½	.....	4 4	0 9½	4 11	0 10½	3 8
1541	5 0	4 11½	5 1½	5 8	.....	4 11	0 9½	3 2
1542	5 10	4 8½	6 6	4 8	0 10	5 3	0 11½	3 0
1543	4 10	4 7½	4 3	8 0	s 1 0	5 0	0 11	3 4
1544	3 4	6 0	6 3	.....	1 0	.....	0 9½	3 1½

	Laths, per 1000	Plain Tiles, per 1000.	Crests or Concave Tiles, per 1000.	Slates, per 1000.	Tile or Slate Pins, s. bush.	Bricks, per 1000.	Lath Nails, per 1000.	Board Nails, per 1000.
	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
1545	3 10	6 0	.....	6 0	.....	7 8½	0 9½	4 1
1546	5 10	.....	.....	4 0	51 0	.....	0 10½	4 2
1547	5 7	5 2	5 0	6 10	51 0	11 8	1 4	4 2
1548	6 10½	9 1½	8 0	8 8	.....	10 8	1 2½	3 9½
1549	6 5½	6 8	7 0	.....	.....	.....	1 0½	4 9½
1550	5 10	7 8	8 4	9 4	0 11	.....	1 1	4 4
1551	13 8	9 4	16 8	9 4	1 2	.....	1 1½	5 3
1552	8 11	8 6	.....	.....	1 8	15 0	1 6	4 7½
1553	8 7	8 2	8 4	.....	1 0	.....	1 0	3 11½
1554	.....	9 6	.....	.....	.....	.....	1 2	5 0
1555	.....	.....	.....	.....	51 0	.....	1 2½	4 8½
1556	9 7	9 4	8 4	.....	1 4	.....	1 2	4 4
1557	9 9	9 6½	.....	9 6	51 2	10 4	1 3½	4 6
1558	10 0	9 0	.....	.....	51 2	.....	1 2½	4 11½
1559	9 7	.....	.....	9 4	1 1	.....	1 2½	4 4
1560	10 5	11 6	8 4	.....	1 0	15 0	1 5½	4 8
1561	10 5	14 4	.....	.....	1 0	.....	1 5½	4 8½
1562	11 8	11 0	13 6	.....	1 0	11 0	1 2	4 10½
1563	10 0	15 0	.....	15 6	52 0	14 2	1 5½	4 10½
1564	.....	15 5	.....	14 0	1 0	.....	1 2½	4 10
1565	10 4	12 4	.....	15 0	1 8	15 0	1 4	4 8
1566	11 1	.....	.....	14 5	1 8	15 7	1 2	4 5
1567	.....	10 4½	9 2½	15 0	1 8	11 0	1 4½	4 3
1568	10 0	9 2½	8 1	15 0	1 0	9 9½	1 2½	4 8½
1569	10 3	10 4	8 4	15 2	.....	9 4½	1 2½	5 0½
1570	11 8	11 1	8 4	12 6	1 1	11 2½	1 2	4 11½
1571	8 10½	13 6½	20 0	15 0	.....	12 4	1 4½	4 8
1572	9 6	13 5½	.....	15 0	.....	14 0	1 3½	5 0
1573	7 7	11 4	.....	15 0	1 1½	12 6	1 4½	5 0
1574	10 0	11 8	.....	15 0	2 4	12 4	1 6½	4 8
1575	10 6	12 10	.....	14 4	1 10	.....	1 5	5 0
1576	11 8	13 7½	20 0	18 0	52 0	13 11½	1 4	5 0
1577	11 1	11 10	.....	16 0	1 0	11 5	1 4	4 3*
1578	9 1	11 1	12 6	10 0	.....	11 3	1 3	4 2
1579	10 3	12 6	.....	16 0	.....	12 9	1 4	5 0
1580	12 0	12 0	.....	17 0	2 0	12 10	1 4	4 10
1581	15 0	11 0	8 4	16 0	2 4	12 0	.....	.....
1582	9 10	.....	11 11	14 0	.....	.....	1 4	5 0

DECENNIAL AVERAGES. BUILDING MATERIALS.

	Laths, per 1000.	Laths, per load.	Plain Tiles, per 1000.	Crests and Concave Tiles, &c., per 100.	Slates, per 1000.	Tile Pins, per bushl.	Bricks, per 1000.	Planch or Quarter, per 100.	Glass, per foot.	Rope, cwt.	Lath Nails, per 1000.	Board and Sixpenny, per 1000.
	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
1401-1410	7 5	.....	4 9½	6 9½	5 0½	0 7	7 6	.....	1 0	15 1	1 2	5 4½
1411-1420	6 7½	.....	4 10½	9 6½	5 9	0 8½	.....	2 8	0 8	12 10	1 2½	4 9½
1421-1430	7 6½	.....	5 7	7 6½	6 4½	0 7	.....	4 0½	0 8	14 7	1 2	5 0
1431-1440	6 9½	.....	5 3½	8 11½	6 2½	0 6	6 4	5 0	.....	13 4	1 1½	4 5
1441-1450	6 8	.....	5 0	10 1½	4 6½	0 8	6 2½	2 6½	1 0	12 5	1 1½	4 7
1451-1460	6 7½	.....	5 9½	10 3½	5 1½	0 8½	5 1	2 10½	.....	13 4	1 0	4 3½
1461-1470	6 10½	.....	5 9½	11 10	2 11½	0 11	5 4½	2 8½	0 6½	11 4	0 11½	4 7
1471-1480	7 6	.....	5 8½	13 0	4 2½	0 9½	5 9	2 4½	0 4½	12 0	0 11	4 5
1481-1490	6 7½	10 0	6 3½	10 7½	4 4	0 8½	5 4½	2 3½	0 6½	12 11	0 11½	1 4 6½
1491-1500	4 8½	9 1	5 1½	14 7	5 2½	0 6	8 0	2 10	.....	11 5½	0 10½	3 8½
1501-1510	4 11½	10 1½	5 3½	7 7	5 0½	0 8	6 9½	2 2	0 4½	12 4½	0 9½	4 2½
1511-1520	5 5½	10 2½	5 7½	6 10½	5 3	0 6½	4 9	2 2½	0 5½	12 4½	0 9	3 6½
1521-1530	5 5	10 2½	6 2½	7 0	7 8½	0 9	5 4	2 7½	0 5½	15 11	0 9½	3 10½
1531-1540	5 3	10 3½	4 11½	5 10½	5 9	0 8½	5 6	2 2	0 4	15 0	0 9½	3 0½
1541-1550	5 4	11 6	6 1½	6 3½	6 7½	0 11½	7 6½	2 5½	0 5	18 3	0 11½	3 9
1551-1560	8 9½	14 2½	9 5½	10 5	9 4½	1 2½	13 5	5 7	0 7½	38 7	1 2½	4 7½
1561-1570	10 8½	22 5½	13 2½	9 6	14 7	1 3	12 1½	4 11	0 7½	26 0	1 3½	4 11½
1571-1582	12 4½	22 0½	12 3½	14 6½	14 5	1 9½	12 6½	4 10½	0 6½	24 5	1 4½	4 10½
First period	6 3½	10 0	5 5½	9 4	5 3	0 8	6 0	2 9½	0 7	13 2½	0 11½	4 3½
Second period	9 3½	17 6½	10 1½	10 1	12 0½	1 3½	11 3	4 5½	0 6½	26 9½	1 2½	4 6½

¹ Sixpenny nails from this date.

CHAPTER XVI.

ON THE PRICE OF METALS.

IN Vol. III, pp. 369-384, will be found numerous entries of metals. The principal items are prices of lead and pewter vessels, sold almost invariably by weight; solder; and brass or copper utensils, also sold by weight: but there are a few entries of gold, and several of silver, raw and in the form of plate, either plain, parcel-gilt, or wholly gilt.

GOLD. I have found only three entries of gold by the ounce. These are in 1462, in 1482, and in 1579. In the first of these entries it is bought at 30s., for the purpose of making a gold chain, the charge for fashioning 19½ ozs. being set at five marks, i.e. £3 6s. 8d., the material being valued at £29 5s. The price of silver purchased for making spoons in 1458, the nearest entry of raw silver, is 2s. 8d. the ounce: and if the proportion of each of these articles was of equally fine quality, it was that of eleven and a quarter to one. In 1292, Vol. I, p. 594, it is rather more than twelve and a half times. Again, in 1482 an ounce and a half of gold is purchased at the rate of 48s. In 1475 silver plate is purchased at a little more than 4s. the ounce, and this would give a proportion of about twelve to one. In 1579 thirty-six ounces of gold are bought, unwrought, at 55s. the ounce. Two years before, unwrought silver was purchased at the same place at 4s. 10½d. the ounce. This gives a proportion again of a little over eleven and a quarter times the rate of 1462. Such proportions are in accordance with Lord Liverpool's estimate quoted above, p. 199. In 1557 gold angels are valued at 10s. and 11s. each. But it is difficult to draw any inferences about the value of gold coins

during the epoch of the debased currency. In 1481 five and a half hundreds of gold leaf are bought for the use of York Cathedral at 6*s.* 6¾*d.* the hundred. The gold leaf of the middle ages was very stout, but I have no means for determining what this hundred meant.

SILVER. Entries of silver plate are numerous—so numerous that I have ventured on giving decennial averages, three decades only being unrepresented. But raw silver is also not unfrequently purchased. Thus in 1401 a large quantity, 58 lbs. 5 ozs., is bought and sold at an average of 28*s.* 3*d.* the pound. In 1402 another quantity at 2*s.* 8*d.*; in 1404 more at 3*s.* In 1426, 1428, and 1431, the Corporation of Norwich buy silver, in order, on two occasions at least, to decorate the Mayor's sword, at 2*s.* 8*d.*, and in the first of these years a few ounces, designated as 'de Amelyng,' which may be the name of the dealer, at 2*s.* 10*d.* In 1451 I find it again at 2*s.* 8*d.*, and at the same rate in 1458. In 1465 a silver tablet is valued at 2*s.* 8*d.*, the mass being six pounds in weight. In 1498 and 1504 the price appears to be 3*s.* 4*d.*, though not quite clearly. Old spoons, however, are sold in 1510 at this price. But again, in 1515 silver plate, probably old, is sold in Oxford at 2*s.* 11*d.*, and a small quantity certainly bought at 3*s.* In 1519 two ounces are purchased at 3*s.* 5½*d.*, but gilt plate is not much dearer next year. In 1523 old silver is sold at 3*s.* 4*d.*, in 1535 silver is bought at 3*s.* 7*d.* But in 1537 white plate is sold at 3*s.* 4*d.* In 1557 old silver sells at 4*s.* 8*d.*; in 1560 at 5*s.* 4*d.*; in 1573 at 5*s.* In 1577 a large quantity of unwrought metal is bought, 85 lbs. 3 ozs., at 4*s.* 10½*d.*, and in 1582 old metal is sold at 5*s.* 2*d.*, prices in these later years closely approximating to the intrinsic value of the currency.

Silver plate, plain or white, parcel-gilt or gilt, is also sold almost without exception by the ounce. A large quantity (36 lbs.) of gilt plate is bought in Oxford in 1425 at prices varying from 3*s.* 6*d.* to 3*s.* 3*d.*, a smaller quantity (30 ozs.) of plain plate at 3*s.* In 1454 spoons are bought at 2*s.* 11*d.* and 4*s.*, the latter, probably gilt, at Cambridge. In 1458 spoons are bought

at a little over 2*s.* 10½*d.* In 1462 gilt cups at 5*s.* and 4*s.* In 1464 silver plate, said to weigh 69 lbs. 19 ozs. 6 dwts., is bought at 3*s.* the ounce, four ounces more at the same price, and a pair of gilt snuffers at 4*s.* In 1465 a silver jewel is bought at Cambridge, 4 lbs. 4 ozs. in weight, at 2*s.* 10*d.* In 1469 two silver-gilt basons are purchased at Tattenhall at 6*s.* the ounce. In 1475 thirty ounces of plate at Cambridge cost 4*s.* 0¾*d.* the ounce, and in 1481 parcel-gilt salts are bought at 4*s.* 8½*d.* But in 1486 Oriel College buys a great silver-gilt bowl at 3*s.* 7*d.* In 1498 Cambridge (King's) appears to hand over 15½ ozs. of silver at 3*s.* 4*d.* to the smith in order to make twelve spoons, to have paid 4*s.* for labour and for gilding, and 7*s.* 4*d.* more for silver in excess of that served out. A great bowl called the Cardinal's hat is bought in 1500 at 3*s.* 10*d.* Next year church plate, 80 ozs., is purchased at 3*s.* 8*d.*, and gilt staves at 4*s.* 6*d.* the ounce. In 1514 a silver goblet is bought at 4*s.* 4*d.* In 1515 two pair of candelabra at 4*s.* 2*d.*; in 1518 a chalice at 4*s.* 4*d.*; in 1520 a parcel-gilt salt at 3*s.* 10½*d.*; in 1523 five cups at 4*s.* 8*d.*; in 1524 three spoons at 3*s.* 10*d.*; in 1529 an ale cruse at 4*s.* 8*d.* In 1530 gilt plate costs 4*s.* 8*d.* at Durham, and 4*s.* 6*d.* at Oxford. In 1549 plain plate is bought at from 5*s.* 4*d.* to 6*s.*, and gilt at 6*s.* 2*d.* In 1551 some gilt plate was bought for Elizabeth's use at Hatfield at 8*s.* 8*d.*¹ In 1557 parcel-gilt candlesticks are bought at 6*s.*, and incense vessels at 5*s.* 8*d.* In 1561 gilt spoons cost 7*s.* and 6*s.* 8*d.* the ounce; in 1571 a chalice is purchased at 5*s.* 10*d.* In 1574 plain plate, 30 lbs. 7 ozs., ranges from 5*s.* 4*d.* to 5*s.*, and in 1577 the same kind is 4*s.* 8*d.*, gilt being 6*s.* Lastly, communion cups cost 5*s.* 6*d.* an ounce in 1570, and a chalice 5*s.* 4*d.*, while a gilt double bell salt in 1582 was bought at 6*s.* 4*d.* Between the beginning and end of the period the price is therefore about doubled. But something must be allowed for fashion and workmanship.

LEAD. The entries of this metal are very numerous, though they are not by any means continuous. In the earlier part of

¹ This is the highest price found, but it was at the worst epoch of the bad money.

the period it is constantly sold by the pig or fotmael of 70 to 73 lbs., by the stone and the pound, the stone being frequently of 12 lbs. weight. It is also sold by the sow (Vol. III, pp. 373-4, 378-81) of between eight and nine hundredweights, and by other local or ancient weights. But the commonest is the fother, and later on the hundredweight. It is plain too that this article is bought in pigs or rolled, the plumber being hired either by day or piece to melt or roll his employer's purchases, when the raw metal is bought.

Lead fluctuates very considerably in price, and is naturally much dearer in small than it is in large parcels, unless the smaller masses made part of the purchase, as at York in 1404, when a few stones are purchased in addition to twelve fothers, the former being at the same price as the other. The variation in price is also occasionally due to the locality, though in 1425 lead is cheaper by the fother at Oxford than it was at York in 1404. In the early period it is cheapest in 1499, when it is bought in Cambridge at £1 19s. the fother. But during the period between 1460 and 1530 all articles were cheap. On the other hand it is, like most other articles, dear at the beginning of the fifteenth century.

Rolled lead, during the earlier part of the period, is about 80 per cent. dearer than lead in pigs, in the later not more than thirty. The rise in the price of pig-lead however is closely analogous to that which is visible in other prices, i.e. about seven to three. Both kinds indeed are for a long time much cheaper (see Vol. I, p. 605) than they were in the last half of the fourteenth century, when the average was £6 8s. 4d. the fother, the price having been doubled after the plague, and having decreased slowly as time passed on. Lead in pipes was, of course, the dearest form of the article.

Lead was cheapest on the whole in London. It was weighed, perhaps made subject to a staple market, at the Leadenhall, a locality in London which is now quite rid, I believe, of this trade. The purchases made on behalf of Henry VIII are always tested and weighed at the Leadenhall assize. After

the destruction of the monasteries, the general rise in prices was naturally arrested, as far as lead was concerned, a large quantity of old lead getting into the market. Thus in 1548-9 it was sold in Oxford, other prices being high, at from £4 to £4 12s. 6d. the fother. In the next year, however, it was bought by York Minster at £7 13s. 7d., and in 1550 at Durham at £6. But the price in Oxford in the latter year was £5 1s. Oxford swarmed with monasteries, and the spoil must have been abundant and cheap.

In 1559 the rise in the price has been finally effected. Lead, though the place of the purchase has been lost from the account, is from £11 to £12 the fother in pigs. In 1561 it is £14 12s. 6d. in sheets, a price at which it generally remains to the close of the period, though, as the table at the conclusion of this chapter will show, with some variations.

PEWTER OR GARNISH. The accounts of collegiate and monastic institutions give abundant entries of the price of pewter vessels, called also garnish. There seem to have been two or three kinds of pewter ware, plain or gross, and finer or counterfeit. The article is also called electrum and latten, and is frequently bought in large quantities by the pound, at from 3d., 3½d., and 4d. in the earlier period, at 5d. when the price began to rise, and at 7d. to 9d. towards the close of the whole period. The old metal is regularly taken in exchange and allowed for by the dealer in new goods. It appears that counterfeit pewter ware was modelled on a regular pattern, all the parts and pieces of which were on a set. Sometimes the garnish, as in 1509, was said to be of the 'silver fashion,' a form of entry which implies that silver vessels, dishes, and plates were used by opulent persons. Two of such garnishes, weighing together 138 lbs., were bought by Magdalen College, Oxford, in the year referred to above. Similar purchases were made at Oxford in 1513, and at Durham in 1531. In the latter case we read of dishes, salts, plates, and doublers. But probably the pewter ware of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries did not commonly include plates, the use of plain or

hollowed wooden trenchers, and even coarse pottery, having been common.

It is almost superfluous to add that there is hardly any object in which the improvements of mining, smelting, and manufacture have produced such marked results as they have on the production of the commoner metals. The cheapness and ease with which food is procured, exhibited in the comparatively small increase in the price of corn, as contrasted with divers other values, and the consequently prodigious increase in the rent of land, are due to one set of facts, the still smaller rise in the modern prices of the commoner metals is due to other facts, which will be obvious to the reader.

SOLDER. The very common use of lead for roofing and for conducting water necessitated the frequent use of this article for jointing and repairing leaden articles. Solder or tin, stannum and stagnum, are found in most of the years comprised in this enquiry. In the earlier part of the period the article is about 3*d.* a pound. In the later period it rises to 7*d.* or 8*d.*, the change being markedly conspicuous in 1549-50, though there is some increase previously. In the later part of the period it is frequently bought by the hundredweight. It seems that the difference in the price of solder and pewter is due to the fact that the latter was fashioned. It also appears that the solder of the middle ages contained far more tin than that of modern usage, not only from the price at which tin and solder are respectively sold, but from the fact that the two names are frequently applied indifferently to the same material.

TIN. There are several entries of this metal under this name. Thus, at York in 1402 and 1404, and at Windsor in 1405, it is bought at 3*d.* a pound, or at 28*s.* the hundredweight. In 1407 it is purchased for Denbigh Castle at 28*s.* and 32*s.* 8*d.* the hundredweight. In 1415, 1418, 1419, 1421, 1422, 1432, 1433 it is purchased again at York at 28*s.* In 1417 it costs 21*s.* the hundredweight at Windsor. But the king, being Duke of Cornwall, was perhaps buying it at his own stannary price. In

1441 and 1444 the price at York is 26s. 5½d.; in 1442 26s. 3½d. In 1456 and 1457 it is again 28s. at York. In 1459 it falls as low as 18s. 8d. In 1470 it is at the enormous price of 74s. 8d.; in 1471 it is 33s. 5½d.; in 1472 it is 37s. 4d. the hundredweight, at which price it stands in 1478, 1481, 1485, 1497, and 1498. In 1503 it costs 28s. at Oxford; in 1504, 42s. at York. In 1512 it is 56s. at Oxford, where it is double the price of solder. In 1515, 1521, 1525 it is 37s. 4d. In 1529 it is 37s. 4d. at Sion, and 46s. 8d. at York, being at the latter price in 1530 at Oxford, and in 1535 at York.

In 1559 tin is 65s. 4d. the hundredweight; in 1569, 56s. In 1571 it is bought in large quantities for the queen's use at prices varying from 50s. to 58s., the average being 54s. 7d. The average of the thirty-six entries between 1402 and 1535 is 33s. 10½d., that of the three latest entries is 58s. 8d. nearly.

Tin was beaten into leaf; for we find at Sion, in 1512 and 1517, entries of tinfoil at 2d. and 3d. the dozen, and in 1570 at 4d. in London.

BRASS AND COPPER. These are principally purchased in the form of manufactured vessels or other articles, in the later part of the period occasionally in an unmanufactured state. Bell-metal is also found. The entries of such brass and copper vessels, numerous enough to supply me with decennial averages for a dozen pounds of such manufactured articles, show a curious correspondence between the price of the ounce of silver and the dozen pounds of solder, pewter, and brass or copper vessels, the pewter dozen being slightly the dearest and the solder being cheapest of the three, though all being worth more, both in the early and later period, than the ounce of silver.

In the later part of the period copper is sold by the hundredweight or quintal, the two quantities being identical. The price is 74s. 8d. in 1566, 1574, and 1576. There are two entries by the quintal in 1570 at 63s. 4d. and 40s. Copper plate is also sold in 1577 at 102s. 8d. the hundredweight, or 11d. the pound; and copper nails in 1561 at 1s. 4d. the pound.

Brass wire is bought at 4*s.* the stone in 1509, and at 5*s.* in 1527. It costs 5*d.* and 4½*d.* the pound in 1512, 9*d.* in 1539 and 1543. The stone probably contained twelve pounds.

Old brass, of which there are three entries in 1496, 1510, 1515, is sold on each occasion at 1½*d.* the pound; in 1551 it fetches 4*d.*; in 1563, 3½*d.* and 5½*d.*, the last being a sale of organ pipes. In 1568 it is 3*d.*; in 1547 it is sold at 19*s.* the hundredweight; in 1578 at 25*s.*

In 1455 thirteen and a half pounds of 'Mullobrass' are bought by the Coleshull bailiff at 3*d.* the pound, and three halfpence a pound is paid for casting the material. I have not been able to find what the material is.

Bell metal is occasionally found. In 1437 a 58 lb. bell costs 15*s.* In 1472 York Minster buys two bells, one of 7½ cwt. 6 lb. at 32*s.* the hundredweight, another of 17½ cwt. at 26*s.* 5*d.* In 1499 a 64 lbs. bell costs 17*s.*; in 1507 a bell weighing 37½ lbs. is bought at 4½*d.* the pound, and the old metal of the discarded bell (33 lbs.) is sold at 2*d.* In 1524 a hundredweight of bell metal is priced 26*s.* 8*d.*; in 1533 1½ cwt. 10 lbs. are valued at 48*s.* In 1534 and 1536 bell metal is worth 4*d.* a pound; in 1563, 6*d.*; in 1570, 8*d.*; in 1572, 6*d.*, and in 1574 a hundredweight is put at 26*s.*

In the subjoined tables, the first column in the first table is the price of lead by the fother in pigs; the second is the same article rolled; the third is the price of solder by the dozen; the fourth and fifth that of pewter and brass or copper vessels, the latter distinguished by the letter *c* prefixed to the entry. The second table is of decennial averages, with the addition of similar averages for silver or silver plate.

TABLE I.

AVERAGE PRICE OF METALS.

	Lead in pigs, fother.	Lead rolled, fother.	Solder, doz. lbs.	Pewter, doz. lbs.	Brass vessels, doz. lbs.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
1401	.....	6 16 9	2 6	.....	.....
1402	4 6 8	.....	3 0	.....	.....
1403	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1404	4 6 6	.....	3 0	.....	.....
1405	.....	.....	3 0	.....	.....
1406	.....	7 7 0	.....	.....	.....
1407	4 0 10	.....	3 3	.....	.....
1408	4 14 9	.....	.....	.....	.....
1409	.....	5 16 2	2 6	.....	.....
1410	.....	5 16 2	.....	3 0	.....
1411	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1412	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1413	.....	5 11 2	2 9	4 0	3 0
1414	.....	9 7 4	3 0	.....	.....
1415	.....	.....	3 0	.....	.....
1416	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1417	.....	.....	2 3	.....	.....
1418	4 5 7	.....	.....	.....	.....
1419	5 10 0	.....	3 0	.....	.....
1420	4 5 6	.....	3 0	.....	.....
1421	3 18 0	.....	3 0	.....	.....
1422	2 12 4	.....	3 0	.....	.....
1423	.....	6 12 0	.....	.....	.....
1424	5 8 4	.....	.....	.....	.....
1425	4 1 8	.....	2 5	.....	.....
1426	.....	7 16 0	3 0	3 3	.....
1427	.....	7 16 0	3 0	.....	.....
1428	5 13 4	.....	.....	.....	.....

	Lead in pigs, fother.	Lead rolled, fother.	Solder, doz. lbs.	Pewter, doz. lbs.	Brass vessels, doz. lbs.
	<i>£ s. d.</i>	<i>£ s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>
1429	.....	6 11 0	3 0	.....	.....
1430	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1431	.....	6 16 3	.....	.....	.....
1432	5 17 0	.....	3 0	3 0	.....
1433	3 12 4	.....	3 0	.....	.....
1434	.....	.....	3 0	.....	.....
1435	.....	7 16 0	3 0	2 9	.....
1436	.....	7 16 0	3 0	.....	.....
1437	5 0 0	.....	.....	.....	.....
1438	.....	6 12 0	4 8	.....	.....
1439	4 12 0	.....	.....	.....	.....
1440	4 11 8	.....	3 9	.....	4 7
1441	.....	7 7 0	2 10½	.....	4 0
1442	.....	6 9 2	2 9	.....	.....
1443	.....	.....	.....	3 0	.....
1444	.....	6 7 10	.....	3 0	3 6
1445	.....	.....	2 10½	3 0	.....
1446	.....	.....	3 3	.....	.....
1447	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1448	.....	.....	2 9	3 6	.....
1449	.....	.....	.....	3 0	c 4 0
1450	3 18 0	5 17 0	.....	.....	.....
1451	.....	.....	3 0	.....	.....
1452	.....	8 13 6	3 0	.....	4 3
1453	.....	9 2 0	.....	.....	.....
1454	.....	.....	.....	3 0	.....
1455	.....	.....	.....	.....	4 6
1456	3 2 0	.....	.....	.....	.....
1457	2 18 6	.....	3 6	.....	.....
1458	.....	.....	.....	3 0	.....
1459	3 19 0	.....	3 9	.....	.....
1460	.....	.....	2 6	.....	.....
1461	.....	.....	.....	3 0	.....
1462	.....	.....	3 0	.....	3 6
1463	4 2 6	.....	3 9	3 6	.....
1464	3 4 2	.....	.....	.....	.....

	Lead in pigs, fother.	Lead rolled, fother.	Solder, doz. lbs.	Pewter, doz. lbs.	Brass vessels, doz. lbs.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
1465	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1466	.....	.....	3 0	3 6	3 0
1467	2 12 0	.....	.....	3 3	.....
1468	.....	5 6 8	3 0	.....	c 7 0
1469	.....	6 0 6	.....	.....	.....
1470	3 5 10	.....	8 0	3 5½	.....
1471	3 7 11	.....	3 9	3 6	4 0
1472	3 13 4	.....	4 0	3 6	.....
1473	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1474	.....	.....	.....	4 0	.....
1475	.....	.....	.....	6 0	3 0
1476	.....	6 16 6	.....	.....	.....
1477	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1478	.....	.....	4 0	.....	.....
1479	2 18 6	5 9 0	2 6	3 0	.....
1480	4 8 0	.....	3 3	5 0	4 6
1481	3 4 6½	.....	3 4	.....	.....
1482	3 13 4	.....	4 3	3 8	.....
1483	4 0 8	.....	4 9	3 9	.....
1484	3 14 0	.....	3 3	3 6	.....
1485	3 11 8	.....	3 6	3 6	.....
1486	4 9 9	.....	3 0	3 6	3 0
1487	4 0 0	.....	4 0	3 6	3 0
1488	.....	.....	3 0	3 3	.....
1489	4 7 1	.....	.....	.....	.....
1490	4 2 4	.....	.....	.....	.....
1491	3 6 8	.....	.....	.....	.....
1492	.....	.....	.....	4 0	.....
1493	4 1 6	.....	.....	.....	.....
1494	.....	6 6 8	2 6	4 6	.....
1495	.....	.....	2 0	.....	.....
1496	.....	5 1 0	3 0	4 4½	4 0
1497	3 2 8	.....	4 0	4 0	.....
1498	3 11 6	.....	3 3	4 3	.....
1499	1 19 0	.....	4 0	4 0	.....
1500	2 9 8	.....	4 6	4 6	.....

	Lead in pigs, fother.	Lead rolled, fother.	Solder, doz. lbs.	Pewter, doz. lbs.	Brass vessels, doz. lbs.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
1501	.....	.....	4 0	4 3	3 0
1502	3 1 6	.....	3 0	.....	4 0
1503	.....	6 16 6	3 6	4 1½	3 3
1504	3 0 6	4 17 6	.....	.....	.....
1505	.....	.....	3 0	.....	.....
1506	4 2 8	.....	2 8	4 4	3 3
1507	3 15 0	.....	2 1	4 3	.....
1508	3 15 9	.....	2 6	.....	4 0
1509	3 16 8	.....	3 9	4 8	4 0
1510	.....	.....	3 8	4 11½	3 0
1511	3 6 0	.....	3 6	.....	.....
1512	4 1 9	6 16 6	6 0	5 0	.....
1513	2 18 6	6 16 6	3 6	4 6	.....
1514	3 13 0	.....	4 0	.....	.....
1515	3 12 0	.....	3 11	5 1½	4 3
1516	2 12 0	.....	.....	5 0	c 5 0
1517	4 5 0	.....	4 0	5 6	.....
1518	3 5 0	.....	3 9	5 3	.....
1519	.....	.....	4 0	5 0	2 0
1520	.....	.....	3 6	5 11½	.....
1521	4 0 6	.....	3 9	7 0	.....
1522	3 15 9	.....	.....	4 6	.....
1523	4 17 6	4 17 6	4 0	5 6	5 0
1524	.....	5 17 0	4 0	5 0	.....
1525	3 15 0	6 10 0	4 6½	4 9	3 6
1526	.....	7 16 0	4 6	5 0	.....
1527	.....	.....	5 0	5 6	.....
1528	.....	5 16 2	4 0	5 0	.....
1529	3 10 0	.....	4 6	4 10½	3 0
1530	.....	6 16 8	5 0	4 3	.....
1531	4 2 6	.....	4 3	5 0	.....
1532	5 18 9	.....	4 1	5 0	.....
1533	4 0 3	.....	4 1	4 9	3 3
1534	5 0 0	5 17 0	4 0	5 0	3 6
1535	3 9 9	6 4 11	4 3	4 11	3 0
1536	4 13 4	.....	4 2	4 10	3 0

	Lead in pigs, fother.	Lead rolled, fother.	Solder, doz. lbs.	Pewter, doz. lbs.	Brass vessels, doz. lbs.
	<i>£ s. d.</i>	<i>£ s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>
1537	4 1 8	.....	5 0	4 0	3 0
1538	.....	7 3 0	.....	5 3	.....
1539	3 6 8	.....	4 6	5 0	c 3 0
1540	.....	.....	3 6	5 0	6 0
1541	4 0 0	.....	3 9 $\frac{1}{2}$	5 0	.....
1542	5 15 5	.....	4 0	5 6	c 7 0
1543	4 12 4	.....	5 9	4 5	.....
1544	.....	4 17 6	4 1	5 0	5 0
1545	.....	6 3 8	3 4	5 0	.....
1546	4 6 8	.....	.....	5 0	3 0
1547	.....	5 17 0	4 10 $\frac{1}{2}$	5 0	c 8 0
1548	4 6 3	.....	4 2	6 4	.....
1549	.....	7 14 3	7 3	7 4	4 6
1550	5 10 6	.....	6 6	9 3	.....
1551	.....	.....	.....	8 2	4 0
1552	.....	13 3 0	7 2	11 6	.....
1553	.....	.....	7 0	8 6	5 0
1554	.....	.....	8 0	.....	.....
1555	.....	.....	6 0	.....	.....
1556	6 16 0	.....	7 7	.....	.....
1557	.....	.....	5 2 $\frac{1}{2}$	7 4	.....
1558	5 4 0	7 16 0	7 3	6 0	6 0
1559	6 10 0	11 10 0	7 0	7 9	.....
1560	9 8 6	.....	7 3	10 0	8 6
1561	.....	14 12 0	8 6	9 0	6 6
1562	11 10 0	14 12 0	7 2	9 9	7 7
1563	.....	.....	6 10	8 10 $\frac{1}{2}$	.....
1564	11 4 0	.....	6 6	9 0	.....
1565	.....	.....	.....	8 9	6 0
1566	9 13 0	.....	7 3	9 0	7 0
1567	9 10 0	12 0 0	5 4	9 0	.....
1568	10 18 4	12 0 0	5 1 $\frac{1}{2}$	.....	7 6
1569	9 0 6	14 12 0	6 11 $\frac{1}{2}$	8 0	6 9
1570	9 17 6	13 0 0	7 6	8 3	c 12 0
1571	8 13 4	13 0 0	7 0	.....	7 0
1572	11 14 0	13 13 0	7 0	.....	10 0

	Lead in pigs, fother.	Lead rolled, fother.	Solder, doz. lbs.	Pewter, doz. lbs.	Brass vessels, doz. lbs.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
1573	7 15 9	13 13 0	7 6	8 0	.....
1574	9 15 10	14 12 0	6 3	8 0	4 6
1575	.....	11 13 0	7 0	7 0	.....
1576	9 13 4	12 10 3	7 0	.....	.....
1577	9 16 8	.....	7 0	7 9	.....
1578	9 15 0	14 12 0	8 0	7 6	11 0
1579	10 0 0	.....	7 0	.....	.....
1580	9 15 0	13 6 8	7 0	8 0	.....
1581	.....	.....	8 8	8 0	.....
1582	.....	.....	7 6	.....	.....

TABLE II.

DECENNIAL AVERAGE PRICE OF METALS.

	Lead in pigs, fother.	Lead rolled, fother.	Solder, doz. lbs.	Pewter vessels, doz. lbs.	Brass or copper vessels, doz. lbs.	Silver plate, oz.
	<i>£ s. d.</i>	<i>£ s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>
1401—1410	4 7 2	6 9 0	2 10½	3 0	.....	2 9½
1411—1420	4 17 0	7 9 3	2 10	4 0	3 0	.....
1421—1430	4 5 2	7 3 9	2 11	3 3	.....	2 9½
1431—1440	4 14 7	7 7 10	3 3	2 10½	4 7	2 8
1441—1450	3 18 0	6 12 9	2 10½	3 1½	3 10	.....
1451—1460	3 6 6	8 17 9	3 1½	3 0	4 4½	2 11
1461—1470	3 6 1	5 13 7	4 1½	3 4	4 6	3 3
1471—1480	3 11 11	6 2 9	3 6	4 2	3 10	4 0½
1481—1490	3 18 2	.....	3 7½	3 6½	3 0	3 2
1491—1500	3 1 10	5 15 10	3 2	4 2½	3 6	3 6½
1501—1510	3 12 0	5 17 0	3 1½	4 5	3 7	3 5½
1511—1520	3 9 2	6 16 6	4 0½	5 2	3 9	3 9½
1521—1530	3 19 8	6 11 2	4 4½	5 1½	3 10	4 2½
1531—1540	3 19 7	6 1 10	4 2½	4 10½	3 6	3 6½
1541—1550	4 15 2	6 3 1	4 9	5 9½	5 6	5 8
1551—1560	6 19 6	10 16 4	6 11½	8 5½	5 7	6 0½
1561—1570	10 18 10	13 9 4	6 8½	7 5½	7 7½	.....
1571—1582	9 13 1	13 9 11	7 3	7 5½	8 1½	5 8½
First 140 years	3 14 9	6 14 0	3 5½	3 10½	3 9½	3 4½
Next 42 years	7 19 2	10 19 8	6 5	7 3½	6 8½	5 10

CHAPTER XVII.

ON THE PRICE OF LABOUR.

THE deficiency of information as to agricultural operations, and as to farm products in the period before me, is again exemplified in the record of such labour prices as are relevant to the agriculturist's operations. The prices of farm labour are tolerably copious and continuous during the first seventy years of the fifteenth century, are found occasionally up to the first third of the sixteenth, and thereafter cease. Only one kind of agricultural labour is found almost uninterruptedly—that which I have called unskilled labour, the value of which, as we shall find, corresponds closely to that of the mason's and thatcher's, or of his help, though it is slightly higher.

But I see no reason to conclude that the general inference as to the prices of labour which I shall be able to derive so abundantly from the record of wages paid to artisans, could vary materially when I contrast agricultural wages with those earned by carpenters, masons, and others. The day labourer in husbandry, whose necessary services the legislature attempted to secure at moderate cost by the various statutes of labourers in the first instance, and finally by the Act of 6 Eliz., earns always rather more than the artisan's help, but about fifty per cent. less than the artisan, and though, towards the conclusion of the period, the payment for his services rises rather more than that of the mason's or thatcher's labourer does, it rises so little, relatively to other prices, that I am constrained to believe that the hind's wages became, towards the end of the sixteenth century, hardly sufficient for subsistence, and that the enact-

ment of a poor-law was necessarily involved in the lamentable change of condition which he experienced.

In my earlier volumes I was able to tabulate certain kinds of labour, viz. the threshing of a quarter of wheat, barley, peas or beans, and oats, according to the various great districts into which England might be divided. I am disposed to believe that as such a division of the country was useful and suggestive then, so it would have been, even if the evidence were forthcoming, superfluous now. The fifteenth century was, as I have often shown, the golden age of the English labourer. Prices were low, and subsistence was plentiful. But the price of land was high, and the price of labour was also high. Land was greatly distributed, or held by very numerous tenants, even when it was not purchased, on very easy terms; for a substantial and prosperous yeomanry was founded during the troubles of the great war of succession, and on the suicide of the English aristocracy of the old régime. After the Tudor settlement the country became even more prosperous, though the government was despotic, till the extravagance of Henry the Eighth, the disturbance of the social system, owing to the destruction of the great monastic corporations, and the creation of a rapacious, insolent, and greedy aristocracy, and most of all the issue of a base currency at a most critical period in the economical history of England, caused widespread suffering, and, as we shall see, put the heaviest burdens, as might indeed be expected, on the labouring poor.

During the prosperous epoch of English labour, the price paid for the service of the labourer was uniform as well as high. I detect but little difference in the wages of the husbandman, wherever he was hired, from the extreme east to the farthest west of England, from the north to the south. In this uniformity there is one marked exception. The wages of labour are always much higher in London and its neighbourhood than they are elsewhere during the whole of the fifteenth century, and the early part of the sixteenth. In the table of prices given below, which consists of payments for artisans' labour, it

will be found that I have designated London prices by marking certain figures with an asterisk. In the later period this distinction almost disappears. The price of labour rises indeed, but does not rise correspondingly in London and in its vicinity. The wages of the country artisan are increased, not indeed proportionately to the rise effected in the price of the first necessities of life; but the advantage of London wages is no longer visible. The London artisan shares the low estate of his country fellow-workman, and his condition is, therefore, disproportionately deteriorated. All suffer, but he suffers most.

It is a sophism sometimes entertained by the working classes, and always founded on very superficial and temporary observation, but constantly urged by interested capitalists in the prospect of higher profits, and by some landowners in the prospect of higher rents, that an epoch of high prices is an epoch of good wages, when high prices are the result of sudden and increasing demand. High wages may be the consequent of an exceptional demand for labour, though not invariably so, as we may see from the history of wages during the last half of the eighteenth, and the first forty years of the nineteenth centuries. But the occasional exaltation of wages due to such a demand and to deficient supply, is as nothing to the real exaltation of wages which follows on an increase in their purchasing power, in the steady growth of industries, and in an ever extending market for produce. When high prices are derived from scarcity only, or from a derangement of money values, or from great social convulsions, or from abnormal fluctuations in credit and prices, the exaltation of wages is slight, or at best temporary, and the depression which inevitably follows is severe and long. In evil times no one suffers so much as the labourer, and especially the poorer labourer, and never in the history of English labour did the workman suffer more than in the epoch which commences, roughly speaking, with 1545, and continues up to and beyond the year with which these volumes close. The history of the English people

is to be found in the history of their material condition, and as they have suffered in past times, seriously and permanently, from causes to which they contributed nothing, so it is possible that in later times they may be misled by that 'passionate confidence of interested falsehood' of which Adam Smith speaks; which is at this time striving to mislead English workmen under the specious names of reciprocity and fair trade into retrograde opinions, in order, that the selfish interests of an existing generation of manufacturers and landowners, who are grasping at larger profits and recovered rents, may make gain out of ignorance on the one hand and sophistry on the other. We shall have occasion to see how little high money values and high wages correspond, from the irrefutable testimony of historical prices, and may be perhaps able to infer as to what is the true interest of the working classes, and indeed of all, on the occurrence of analogous events in the future. Writing as I do, in the middle of a passage over the Atlantic, I cannot but be reminded of the voyage which nearly four centuries ago the Genoese navigator first took over the unknown sea, and of a venture which was to bring so much misery and so much benefit to mankind. It is the common practice to charge the discovery of the new world with the great change of prices which ensued in the old. But if I am able to interpret the facts aright, I shall show that, although sooner or later the great additions made to the stock of the precious metals must have been followed by an advance of prices, the economical revolution of the sixteenth century in England should be traced to a multiplicity of causes in which the mineral produce of the new world played a secondary, a remote, and an unimportant part, as compared with the great social events on which I have been constrained to comment so frequently.

In my former volumes I distinguished the labour of the thresher from that of the harvest hand and the regular labourer, because the time at which the thresher's work was done was optional with the employer, that of the harvest hand was at the discretion, at least in a greater degree, of the

labourer, while that of the ordinary labourer in husbandry represented the average demand for the services which a farm hand might supply. In my present volume, as I have stated above, the price of ordinary farm labour is nearly continuous, and differs so slightly from that of other unskilled labour, hired to assist artisans, that it might be, concurrently with the latter, treated as virtually continuous. These facts, together with occasional and supplementary entries of similar or analogous labour, will enable us to interpret, with sufficient accuracy, what was the condition of the agricultural labourer before and after the great rise in prices. It may be observed here, that the custom of hiring labour by the day is more general during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries than it was in the thirteenth and fourteenth, mainly because the practice of cultivating land was abandoned by the great landowners and wealthy corporations, and the labour which they hired was occasional or casual.

The price at which the quarter of wheat was threshed and winnowed is on an average $4\frac{1}{2}d.$ The price, as is stated, varies a little with the locality, standing at $3d.$ in most country places, and at $5d.$ or even more in the neighbourhood of London, as at Hornchurch in Essex, or Sion in Middlesex. In the later part of the period which supplies these entries it is rather dearer, but it appears that such charges as are entered are incurred for small quantities, when a higher price would naturally be paid. The average price paid for threshing a quarter of barley is $2\frac{3}{4}d.$, for peas, beans, and vetches $3\frac{3}{4}d.$, for oats $2\frac{3}{4}d.$ Certain entries from Hickling in Norfolk are omitted. The record does not state that the labourers were fed, but the payments made render this inference necessary. It was constantly the case that the labourers employed by corporations were maintained, while at work, at the lower table, but the cost was small, and sometimes appears to have been given in. When it is separately estimated it is reckoned at from $1d.$ to $2d.$ the day.

The average price at which an acre of wheat was reaped, bound, and stacked, was $9\frac{1}{4}d.$, of barley $9\frac{1}{4}d.$, of oats $8\frac{1}{4}d.$ Sometimes the cost of carriage is reckoned in the rate per acre.

On some occasions this item does not count or even at all exalt the price. Sometimes it raises it from 3*d.* to 4*d.* an acre. The entry in all probability refers simply to the labour incurred in carrying the corn by the landowner's cart to the barn or stack. Cheap as carriage was in the middle ages, it is impossible to doubt that the cost incurred over any distance would have been in excess of that entered. But in the medieval homestead the arable land lay close to the farmer's home.

The average cost of mowing an acre of hay is 8½*d.* This rate seems to imply the mere labour of cutting. When it is made as well as cut the payment ranges from 1*s.* to 1*s.* 6*d.* the acre. When it is also carried the price of the service in the solitary entry which I have found rises to 1*s.* 8*d.* These prices of reaping and mowing will be found to closely correspond with those of 1351-1400 in Vol. I, p. 321.

In twenty-four years between 1546-1582 inclusive, Corpus Christi College, Oxford, rented Magdalen mead from that College, for the purpose of supplying its own stables, which lay at the rear of what is now called Biham Hall. Sometimes the College pays for mowing, making, and carrying the sixteen acres which are contained in the mead. An average taken from twelve such entries gives 85*s.* 2½*d.* for the service, the highest price between 1551 and 1577 being 102*s.* 10*d.* in 1562, and the lowest 60*s.* in 1551. At the earlier of these dates the rise in the price of labour had taken full effect, and therefore it may be concluded that the rates paid were on the new standard. It is clear, then, that so wide a range of payment must have been based on a bargain in which an estimate of the hay crop was calculated by both the parties, and the payment made was according to a valuation of the labour to be expended in cutting, making, and carrying it about half a mile from mead to stable or yard. In seven years the cost of mowing and making only is given, when the average is 46*s.* 9½*d.* In 1546 it is lowest, 33*s.* 4*d.*; in 1574 it is highest, 60*s.* In one of these years, 1572, the cost of mowing and making is 47*s.* 8*d.*, that of carrying 37 loads at 5*d.* is 15*s.* 5*d.*, giving, if 37 loads

were the entire crop, 63*s.* 1*d.* for the whole cost of making, mowing, and carrying the produce. But it does not evidently follow that the whole crop is included in the carriage, for in 1574, when the cost of mowing and making is 60*s.*, the College is debited with only 10*s.* for carriage, which, in a year when the crop was evidently heavy, cannot represent the whole produce. In the years 1558, 1580 the price of mowing only is given, when it is 27*s.* 7*d.* and 14*s.* In the years 1578, 1580, the cost of making and carrying is given, when the items are respectively 39*s.* and 56*s.* 6*d.*, and in the second year the whole charge of this hay harvest is 69*s.* 6*d.* Lastly, in 1582, there is only the entry of the cost of making thirteen loads of hay at 1*s.* 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.*, i.e. 19*s.* 3*d.* The reader will find in pp. 301, 302 what was the price of hay in these years, 1546–1582 (one excepted, 1556), with the decennial average. The average of mowing, making, and carrying the sixteen acres will therefore be nearly 5*s.* 4*d.*, of mowing and making 2*s.* 11*d.*, of mowing only 1*s.* 3 $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.*, of making and carrying nearly 3*s.* These calculations give 1*s.* 3 $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.* an acre for mowing, 1*s.* 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ *d.* for making, and 2*s.* 5*d.* for carrying the produce¹.

Harvest work is also paid by the day. Fifteen entries in the earlier period give 4*d.* when the labourer is fed, four during the same period give 6*d.* when he is unfed. It appears that when the labour was undertaken there was no difference between the payment of men's and women's labour. Mowing appears to be paid on even a higher rate. But making hay, peculiarly women's work, was paid at 3*d.* All these entries are in the early part of the fifteenth century.

The price paid for ploughing by the acre ranges from 8*d.* to 1*s.* 2*d.* 'Rebinatio' at Sutton-at-Hone (Kent) costs 1*s.* 2*d.* an acre; 'Warectatio' at Ashley 10*d.* At Beding (Sussex) in 1480, twice 'eryng,' i.e. ploughing, and sowing barley, is effected at 1*s.* 8*d.* an acre, hoeing at 2*d.*, rolling at 1*d.*, while eryng, sowing, and harrowing wheat costs 11*d.* an acre. In 1508,

¹ Magdalen mead must always have been the very best natural pasture, and have nearly always carried a very heavy crop. Hence the rate of mowing is relatively high.

at Cambridge, ploughing costs 9*d.* an acre, weeding 2*d.*, the second 'assatio' of barley 9*d.*, a single 'assatio' of peas 9*d.*; while 'having in,' which appears to mean harvest labour, is effected at 10½*d.* an acre over 53 acres. In other cases hoeing is paid at from 2½*d.* to 4*d.* a day, and weeding at from 3*d.* to 4*d.*

Thirteen entries of digging by the day give an almost uniform price of 4*d.* In 1420 the labour is hired at 3*d.*, in 1435 at 2*d.*, but in the latter food is certainly, in the former probably, included. In 1551 this labour is hired at 5*d.* and 4*d.*, in 1552 at 5*d.*, in 1555 at 7*d.* (when wheat was at 22*s.* 0½*d.*), in 1558 again at 4*d.* (wheat is at 9*s.* 3½*d.*), and in 1559 at 7*d.* (wheat 11*s.* 0¾*d.*). These figures seem to suggest that employers took advantage of cheap years to reduce the price of labour.

Ditching was probably, as now, an exceptional accomplishment of the farm hand. It is paid at from 5*d.* to 4*d.* the day, the former more frequently. But it is generally paid by the rod, pole, or perch, an average of thirty-one entries giving 3*s.* 8*d.* for this quantity. These range between 1403 and 1491. The labourer at the dung cart is paid at 3*d.* or 4*d.* a day; and on one estate, Lullington, scattering dung is paid at 5*d.* the hundred heaps. The hedger is paid better, at about 4½*d.* a day; from sixteen entries, between 1405 and 1548, the price rising proportionately at the latter part of the period, the entries giving an average of 7*d.*

Women's work is generally paid at from 2*d.* to 3*d.* (once, 1515, 4*d.*) a day. Two entries in 1563-4 give 6*d.* and 5*d.* Boys' labour in frightening birds and driving the plough horses is at 1*d.* or 2*d.*

The disgusting labour of cleaning cesspools is put at 4½*d.* a day up to 1535, when the last of the earlier entries is found, and 8*d.* afterwards. The mole-catcher when employed by the day gets from 5*d.* to 6*d.* Malt-making is paid at 4*d.* a day in 1405; labour in the marsh in 1406 at 4*d.*

Other prices of work done by piece are closely analogous to the day rates paid for agricultural and unskilled labour. Such, for instance, is the making of faggots by the hundred. Faggots

are doubtlessly of very different sizes. But the price paid declines. Between 1404 and 1420 it is never below 10*d.*, and once it is 1*s.*; from 1424 to 1449 it is 8*d.*; from 1526 to 1547 it is 6*d.*, once 7*d.* In 1550 it is 8*d.*, in 1551 and 1559 it is 7*d.* In 1560 an exceptional payment of 2*s.* is made. In 1568 it is 10*d.*, in 1572 and 1574 8*d.* again, and in 1580 10*d.* Making kiddes or kiddles costs 6*d.* in 1414. Splitting astells is paid in fourteen entries at from 3*d.* to 4*d.* the hundred, generally the former. Malt-making is paid at from 6*d.* to 4*d.* the quarter; making hurdles at 6*d.* the dozen, cutting 'cirpi' at 6*d.* the load, and mowing reeds at 7½*d.* to 8*d.* the hundred bundles. These are all early prices. Burning lime is also paid in the earlier period, and in Sussex, at 10*d.* the quarter, though it is occasionally much lower. The higher prices probably include the cost of fuel¹.

The weekly wages of a labourer who is fed at the common table vary from 1*s.* 9*d.* to 1*s.* His maintenance is valued at from 1¼*d.* to 2*d.* a day. These again are early dates. I shall refer below, in treating of the wages paid to workmen on royal works, to the cost incurred by the Crown during the reign of Elizabeth for boarding and lodging workmen.

Several entries occur as to the cost of washing and shearing sheep by the hundred. The price varies greatly, not only from year to year, but in different places in the same year. The following are decennial averages for such decades as occur, reckoned in pence and decimals by the hundred sheep. The entries are for fifty-five years in all.

	<i>d.</i>		<i>d.</i>		<i>d.</i>
1401—1410	23.08	1461—1470	17.5	1541—1550	32.14
1411—1420	24.63	1471—1480	13.81	1551—1560	24.0
1421—1430	18.15	1481—1490	12.0		
1431—1440	19.61	1501—1510	34.45		
1441—1450	14.37	1531—1540	36.17	General average	22.49

The highest charges are those in the first forty years of the

¹ Faggot-making by the day is from 4*d.* to 5*d.* (Vol. III, p. 611, ii), and therefore a workman was supposed to be able to cut and bind fifty faggots a day.

sixteenth century, especially at Oxford, though one entry at Cambridge in 1509, when sheep are washed at 4*d.* the score, and shorn at 8*d.*, is beyond all parallel.

Agricultural labour was also paid by the year, always however with allowances either of corn, or food, and livery. A few examples are given as specimens in Vol. III, p. 660 sqq., chiefly from Horncchurch. The rates do not differ materially from those which will be found in the former volumes; and, as may be inferred from the wages paid to domestic servants in the same places, and given in the same part of the third volume, the money wages paid to hired servants do not rise towards the conclusion of the period. The increase, in short, such as it was, in the payments made for labour, was effected, as divers incidents might suggest to us, only because the old rates were absolutely insufficient to maintain life. The speedy necessity which arose for a poor law proves that even so slight an aid was, in the altered circumstances of the English labourer, wholly unequal to the emergency. My reader will see that the price of agricultural labour is 4*d.* from 1401 to 1540; is only slightly raised during the next decade; is, taking the last forty-two years 6½*d.*, or if the last thirty-two years only are taken, rises to 7*d.* But it will be remembered that I have compared prices throughout on the averages of 1401—1540, and 1541—1582.

Besides money wages, when the labourers were not fed, they received portions of food called nonsheyns and jentacula, and allowances of beer called biberia, or beverages. These do not appear,—I do not affirm that they were dropped,—in the later period. But it may, I think, be safely inferred that the maximum rise in the wages of agricultural labour during the last forty-two years of the present period was from eight to thirteen, while, speaking generally, the rise in the ordinary necessities of life was from three to seven. Such a disproportion is quite sufficient to account for the destitution of the working classes, especially those in husbandry, and to explain the causes which made the relief of destitution a necessity. One may even go further, and conclude that as the prices paid for unskilled labour

were, as we have seen, low, so employment, unless under a regular hiring, as a farm hand, living in the master's house, was precarious, and that consequently the husbandman's condition was even worse than it appears.

The legislature had at last succeeded in permanently degrading the agricultural labourer. For more than two centuries it had striven in vain to do so. The oft-enacted statute of labourers had failed of its purpose, for it is impossible for law to fix prices of labour, or indeed of any product which is absolutely necessary for the conduct of society, and in which any choice of accepting prices is left to the vendor of the article. Now, however, a set of circumstances had arisen which enabled the legislature to achieve that indirectly which it had failed to effect directly. The statute of apprenticeship, under which artisans and traders were compelled to pass through a period of servitude, and all other persons were constrained to accept the conditions of farm labourers, was enacted at a time in which customary prices were hopelessly deranged, poverty was general, employment was scanty, and discontent was too dangerous to be allowed overt expression. It is probable that Elizabeth and her advisers imagined that the distress was temporary. It is certain that well-meant but futile endeavours were made to alleviate the condition of the farm labourer, especially by providing—a statute which instantly became inoperative—that he should be, in part at least, a peasant occupier, perhaps a peasant proprietor. But a much more important step was taken in making him the residuum of all other labour. Henceforth the artisan class was artificially limited, the agricultural labourers were artificially increased. The number of those who sought employment grew steadily and rapidly. But employment became more scanty, partly through the poverty of employers, partly through the extension of sheep farming. The practice of enclosures became also general, and the commonable rights of the peasant were stinted. It was now no longer difficult for the magistrates in quarter sessions to enact that hard and fast rate of wages which the legislature for two centuries had vainly

endeavoured to fix, to make wages nearly permanent, and always low. In this way the English peasant became, what has never been seen before in any settled community, a serf without land. This he has remained for three centuries, and in his constantly degraded condition (from which immigration into towns and a slight emigration to the colonies and the United States has been a partial escape) lies one of the permanent difficulties at present (1881) in the forecast of British agriculture. For it is clear that when all are degraded, and some escape, the best, the most enterprising, and the most capable will fly, and the worst will remain behind; to be an increasing burden, or an increasing danger, and at the last of a decreasing value¹.

ARTISANS' LABOUR. The information which I am able to afford as to the wages of artisans is far more copious, varied, and continuous than that which is forthcoming in relation to agricultural labour. It is derived from a great number of localities, and represents the price paid by all classes of persons, from the king to the ordinary subject. I have given at the latter end of the entries of labour prices in the third volume, some special wages paid by the Crown. These, concurrently with certain others, which will be found in the body of the other evidence on labour prices, will be dealt with separately when the ordinary rates have been discussed.

The most copious entries found in the accounts are those of carpenters' wages. The annual price of this service, often extracted from wide and varied information, is continuous, evidence being wanting for no year in the accounts. As in my previous volumes, I have given a table of the highest prices in every year, and another of average prices for the whole number of entries. Sometimes the entry is marked by an asterisk. This is intended to denote that the wages paid are in London or its vicinity. Till the great rise of money values occurs, prices in London and the neighbourhood are always higher than elsewhere. The fact applies to other kinds of labour besides that of the carpenter.

¹ On the proclamation fixing rates of wages, see above, p. 120.

In all kinds of mechanical labour, it is occasionally difficult to determine whether the labourer was not fed as well as paid. Sometimes the fact that he is maintained at the common table of the college, the monastery, or the king's house is declared, and this while he is paid the full rate of wages¹. At other times it is clear that the cost of maintenance is deducted from his wages, which are thereupon a penny or twopence a day less than the ordinary rate. Occasionally it seems that the labourer is regularly boarded all the week through, and has all the advantages, while he is employed, of those who are on the foundation of the college or monastery. Such, for example, is the case at Hickling priory. Wages in Norfolk are generally high, and reasonably so, for Norfolk had been and remained the principal manufacturing county in England. But at Hickling the money wages, even of artisans, are abnormally low. The labourers have regular commons in the religious house. I have therefore been constrained to omit all the Hickling entries from my averages.

Again, it is not to be expected that common carpenters' work², hired in country places for ordinary farm purposes, or analogous objects, and therefore pretty continuous all the year through, would be paid at as high rates as were offered to workmen employed in framing the floors and roofs of collegiate and monastic buildings, or for carrying on royal works. A country carpenter, living on the spot, and rarely employed, if employed at all, on finer and more difficult work, would not get such good wages as the founder of All Souls paid when he was constructing the buildings of his college; Merton College, when it was building its bell-tower; Bishop Waynfleet, when he was engaged in similar work at Beeding or Oxford; or Henry the Eighth, when he entered on the extensive and costly constructions of his numerous manors and palaces. Such

¹ See e.g. Vol. III, p. 597.

² It will be obvious that, as all houses, except those of the rich, were constructed on timber frames, and faced with lath and plaster, the services of the carpenter were in constant requisition.

charges are illustrated in the highest prices paid in the year. Still the difference is not very considerable. It amounts, as will be seen, to almost a penny a day in the first part of the period. It almost ceases to be significant in the second part; for although the difference between maximum and ordinary rates is more considerable than it was in the earlier period, the local advantage passes away, the benefit of special employment similarly disappears, and the difference is to be generally traced to the fact that the artisan is paid better when he is engaged for a short time or occasionally. The rise in the wages of the mason, bricklayer, sawyer, and tiler, is less than that acquired by the carpenter, whether one takes the maximum or average rates of the latter kind of labour. The reason is plain; the former kind of artisans are paid, as a rule, for work which is continuous and prolonged, the carpenter only for odd and occasional jobs.

Every kind of artisan's work, if on an extensive scale, was superintended by a master in the craft. He is the master carpenter or the freemason. In the account books of Henry the Eighth, kept by Needham, and preserved in the Rawlinson collection, the principal artisans in each craft audit such parts of the accounts as deal with labour, and sign every page of the book. There is, I think, reason to believe, as I have said elsewhere in this volume, and before, that the arts of reading and writing were far more widely imparted before the Reformation than they were afterwards. The clerk of Chatham was a very universal person in the times which preceded the Reformation; he became a very rare personage afterwards. The hostility of Cade to the diffusion of primary education is a gross anachronism, for which the later chroniclers, and not Shakespeare, are responsible. In the earlier times the wages of the master artisan do not differ greatly from those of the ordinary craftsman. They are perhaps twenty per cent. in excess. In the later period they are considerably larger.

It is probable that in many cases such masters in the craft supplied the plans for the building. The art of architecture

was very widely diffused in the middle ages, and plans were readily supplied. In many cases monk or college fellow superintended the building; as they did at Merton tower, when Edwards probably designed the structure; and as Wykeham did nearly a century before, when, after having planned the building at Windsor Castle, he constructed those of his college, or of Adderbury Church. Still there were occasions on which a regular architect is employed. Thus in 1435, the abbot of Edmondsbury (Vol. III, p. 599, iii) hires an architect for the new building (perhaps they may be still identified) at £10 a year for himself and his man, with board and livery. The engagement further provides that the board and livery of the architect is to be that of a gentleman (*generosus*), that of his servant to be that of a yeoman or servant (*garcio*). If the architect be absent from the work for more than two days in each quarter he is to be fined 5*d.* a day, his servant 3*d.* for the same breach of contract. The abbot, by direction of the house, is to employ masons at his discretion at 3*s.* a week in winter, 3*s.* 4*d.* in the summer. It is clear that beyond the rank assigned to him, the architect (allowance or estimate being taken for his board) does not get very much in excess of the masons employed under him; for taking the higher rate of payment at rather more than half the year, the mason will have in wages about £8 10*s.* the year (and it is probable from the prices levied on absence, that the number of working days in the year was reckoned at 300), and that out of the fee of £10 the master was supposed to receive £6 5*s.* and the servant £3 15*s.* The board of the architect could not be reckoned at more than 3*d.* a day, of the servant than 2*d.*, while the livery, if one infers from analogous conditions, would be 20*s.* for the architect, and 7*s.* for the servant. Such an estimate will give from £11 to £12 for the former, and about £7 for the latter. But the hire of such an official must have been exceptional. I have found no similar arrangement in other and similar documents. The nearest parallel is that of the principal mason of Cambridge, who in 1428 receives an annual fee of 16*s.* 8*d.* besides his daily or weekly wages, and

that of Janyns, the principal mason at Merton College, in 1448-50, who has 20s. a year in the same manner¹.

The student of medieval labour prices cannot, I think, but be struck at the low rate of remuneration paid for exceptional skill, that namely of the architect, or builder, or artist. The cost of construction was not enhanced by great professional fees allotted even to those who designed the finest and most finished structures of the age. The cause, I suspect, is principally to be found in the general diffusion of such artistic skill as the age possessed—a skill which in certain departments of art has not been rivalled, and is even now an object of servile and often incompetent imitation. The technical knowledge of the time, though not apparently scientific, was, as far as practical results are concerned, of a very high order, as one can see even now in the architecture and illuminations of the time. But the carver of the ceiling of Magdalen College chapel and hall receives only 8*d.* a day for his labour in 1517 and 1520, though his name, John de Colonia, seems to imply that he was a foreigner, and probably a person of special skill. In 1543 a similar artisan gets no more. Later on the labour of such an artificer does not rise beyond 1*s.* So the work of the embroiderer of copes and of the tailor who fashions and mends them is paid at similarly low rates, while friar Gerard in 1526 is employed for sixty-three days at Oxford in writing books at 4*d.* a day, though he was doubtlessly fed at the College table. The clerks at the royal works, who keep the books and check the labour which is hired and paid for, receive no more than ordinary artisans do, and often are paid less. Such low rates of remuneration for special skill must have rendered it possible that considerable works should be undertaken at very small charges. I have commented in my earlier volumes on the absence of all intermediaries. Purchasers of such articles as were needed for buildings dealt immediately with producers, when they did not, as they frequently did, manufacture the necessary materials themselves. Hence the interpretation of

¹ The master mason at York (1421, Vol. III, p. 593, 1) receives £10 a year.

cost becomes comparatively easy; and the student of prices will find that high or low wages of labour were entirely unaffected by any commission paid to middle men.

It is probable that good workmen had to be sought for. My readers will find that efforts were made to prevent artisans already hired by private persons for extensive works from being imprest for the king's service (Vol. III, p. 732), and charges were incurred in presents to the officers of the court and the king's works. The wages paid by Chichele for building All Souls are nearly as high as those customary in London. There is reason to believe that some of the charges incurred for labour by other corporations were dictated by the necessity there was, or appeared to be, to keep specially useful or important artisans to their bargain. Perhaps even at an early date the crown was a better paymaster than the subject. The carpenters at Windsor, four in number (Vol. III, p. 587, ii), are each paid *6d.* a day for the whole number of days (365) in the year, from Michaelmas 1408 to Michaelmas 1409. But though the increase of wages was significant to the recipient, it was comparatively unimportant in the aggregate of expenditure.

My reader will find (Vol. III, p. 589, iv, and onwards) what was the rate of wages paid when the labourer was boarded, and what was the cost of board. In 1414 the latter is at an average of $8\frac{1}{2}d.$ a week, in 1416 $9\frac{1}{4}d.$, in 1417 $8\frac{1}{2}d.$, in 1418 $9\frac{1}{4}d.$, in 1419 $9\frac{3}{4}d.$, in 1420 $8\frac{1}{4}d.$, in 1423 $9\frac{1}{2}d.$, in 1424 $9d.$, in 1425-7 $9d.$, in 1436 $8d.$ In 1438, the famine year of the fifteenth century, it costs $1s. 6d.$ a week. It would seem the King's Hall, by which three charges are incurred, contracted for their labourers' board. I have taken the averages from all kinds of labour, but the maintenance of the artisan is more costly than that of the common or unskilled labourer. Thus in 1438 the former costs $2s.$ a week, the latter $1s.$

The rate at which the mason and other artisans are paid does not differ much from that at which the carpenter's services are hired. On an estimate of the first 140 years the wages of the mason, the tiler, and the plumber do not vary beyond a

fraction from those of the carpenter; and had the higher rate, occasionally paid to the latter, been reckoned, would not have differed at all. The mason and tiler are paid at the same rate, the plumber, of whose wages I have only been able to give decennial averages, and among these, not for the first decade, gets a little more money than his fellow-craftsmen, but the rise during the last forty-two years in the three kinds is almost exactly identical; from 6*d.* a day to 9½*d.* The thatcher's service, which was supplied roughly by the ordinary farm hand, is notably less than that of the tiler or slater. The wages of the mason's labourer and the tiler's, slater's, or thatcher's help are almost exactly identical with those of unskilled labour, and may be taken as illustrative of them.

Sawyers were paid by the couple. It is probable that in all cases where this labour is hired the upper sawyer in the pit was paid on an average 7*d.* a day, the lower 5*d.*, the cost of the two hands being generally at a shilling a day, though sometimes slightly lower or slightly higher. But on an average it stands at a shilling. The rise, however, is a little less than that of other artisans, being a fraction below 50 per cent.; the rate at which the rise generally arrives. Almost equally frequent with the day labour of the pair of sawyers is the piece rate paid for sawing a hundred (*c*) of timber. This is a penny a hundred higher on an average than the wages of the pair by the day. It would seem, however, that a pair of sawyers, to judge from the rate, were supposed to be able to saw a hundred feet of timber per diem. The rise during the last forty-two years is less for this piece-work than for any kind of labour; for while thirteen pence a hundred is paid during the first part of the period, only sixteen pence on an average is earned in the second.

On reducing these averages to eighths of a penny for the periods between 1401-1540 and 1541-1582, on taking the former as a denominator and the latter as a numerator, and on adding all the numerators and all the denominators together, the gross sum amounts to $\frac{552}{800}$, which will be found to be nearly two to three, the latter quantity, from a general estimate of the

various kinds of artisan and supplementary labour, being the rise during the last forty-two years. In the same period, the rise in the price of wheat was a little more than from three to seven.

It has been stated above (p. 439 sqq.) that the use of bricks becomes general towards the conclusion of the fifteenth century, and is common in the sixteenth. The first entry of the bricklayer under that name is in 1476, when this service is hired at Oxford. It is next found in 1503, and at the same place. I do not discover it again till 1518. But after this date it is very common, and from 1532 it is nearly as frequent a kind of labour as that of the mason, being paid at about the same rate of wages. I do not find that the bricklayer is ever paid by piece-work.

Though my accounts supply me with very little information as to the early employment of bricklayers (and it is probable that at first they are included under the name of masons, i.e. *latomi* and *cementarii*); there is no doubt, from the earlier entries of bricks, and from the fact that many brick buildings are in existence of the fifteenth century, that this artisan was known before his name is recorded. But Henry the Eighth was the first English king who built extensively in brick, and it is certain that in his reign the art of making good bricks and of laying them in a workmanlike manner reached perfection. No brickwork is so good as that done in the first half of the sixteenth century, whether we consider the quality of the material, or the skill with which the building was constructed. In all likelihood the best bricklayers came from the Low Countries, as the art of brickmaking was early carried on there, and introduced from thence into Europe. But for a long time, as the reader may infer from the cost of bricks, this kind of architecture was by far the most expensive. Perhaps the great cost of building in brick recommended it to that most extravagant of English kings, Henry the Eighth.

There are a few other prices of artisan's labour which should be commented on. Eighteen entries of glazier's wages by the

day between 1418 and 1535 give an average of $6\frac{1}{4}d.$, one of the entries in 1442 being taken from London. Four entries after 1540 give $10\frac{1}{2}d.$ Eleven entries of plasterer's work by the day give an average between 1404 and 1532 of nearly $5\frac{1}{8}d.$, six in the latter part of the period an average of nearly $11d.$ Three entries of painter's work give $6d.$, twelve of the dauber's (many of the entries coming from London) give $6\frac{1}{2}d.$ between 1417 and 1534, one afterwards $8d.$ The wheelwright gets $4d.$ in 1405, $6d.$ in 1437, and $1s.$ in 1581; the lathmaker $5\frac{3}{4}d.$ between 1421 and 1505, $10d.$ in 1582; the pavior $7d.$ in 1427, $10\frac{1}{2}d.$ in 1575; the goldsmith $6d.$ in 1519.

Some work is paid by the piece. Twenty entries of laying tiles by the thousand give an average of $1s. 5\frac{3}{4}d.$ between 1403 and 1482. This labour is paid at $2s. 8d.$ in 1570. Slates are laid at an average of $3s. 2\frac{3}{8}d.$ the thousand between 1430 and 1482, of $8s.$ in 1570. Slates are 'battered' at $1s. 6d.$ the thousand in 1432, battered and laid at $2s. 4d.$ in 1444. Tiles are made at $2s.$ the thousand in 1434. Laths are rent at $1s. 7d.$ the thousand in seven entries between 1401-1493, and at $2s. 6d.$ in 1568. These prices of labour by the piece represent a rather higher increase than that discoverable in wages paid by the day; but the labour was probably exceptional, interrupted, and demanded special skill.

In Vol. III, pp. 644-660, I have printed certain rates of wages paid by the Crown for labour on various royal works. The source of these is certain volumes contained in the Rawlinson MSS. of the Bodleian Library. Those of the reign of Henry VIII were kept by one Needham, a surveyor of the king's works; those of Elizabeth's reign are navy and ordnance accounts.

The king had the right of claiming the service of any artisan who might have been already under contract with a subject, and, as it appears, of impressing labour at all times and places. The persons who were employed in the service of pressing were paid highly, e.g. Vol. III, p. 657, ii, the pressmen received $5s.$ a day for their services. Sometimes this official is open to a bribe, when the interruption of building operations, owing to

the enforced abduction of artisans, is found inconvenient to those who have already hired the labour. The artisans thus impressed received travelling money at the rate of a halfpenny per mile in coming to the work and returning to their homes ; and in Elizabeth's time were boarded, lodged, and occasionally provided with sheets. The boarding is contracted for quarterly, as is also the lodging, and the former represents, no doubt accurately, the cost of finding food for an able-bodied man, whose allowance of victuals was abundant¹. These prices, fluctuating from quarter to quarter, are valuable indications at once of the market value of provisions, and of the charges to which a labourer would be put in procuring adequate subsistence. They thus enable us to see how wholly insufficient the customary rates of wages had become for the comfortable subsistence of the labourer. I shall advert to them below.

The accounts during the reign of Henry VIII are for 1532-3, 1533-4, 1534-5, 1536-7, 1539-40, 1540-1, 1541-2, 1542-3. During that of Elizabeth they are for 1561-2, 1562-3, 1567-8, 1568-9, 1569-70, 1570-1, 1571-2.

The account for 1532-3 is exceedingly interesting, not merely as a record of the prices of labour, but because it gives so much information about the coronation of the Queen (Anne Boleyn), and the ambiguity of that personage's position in the early part of the year 1533. The honest controller Needham is puzzled as to how to describe her. In one page she is the queen, in another she is the marchioness. The accounts also contain much information as to the costs incurred for housing the infant, afterwards the great queen, Elizabeth, and later on, as to the preparations made for the coming of that other child, with which Anne miscarried, perhaps through jealousy or dread.

The various artisans are superintended by some principal personage called warden or master, who is paid at a somewhat

¹ There is still extant in the Bodleian Library a manuscript book, once the office copy kept in the Admiralty, and traditionally reported to have been the property of James Duke of York, in which prices of labour, rates for distance, and values of many stores are recorded.

higher rate than his fellows. The name of one of these, Jacklyn, the master carpenter, is preserved, and four of these principal artisans sign every page of the account book, as I have already observed. The work is hurried, the men working extra hours, often by night as well as by day, and on holidays and Sundays. The number of extra hours is registered, and paid at $1d.$ for the artisans and $\frac{1}{2}d.$ for the labourers. In the accounts the Sundays and higher holidays are marked by a cipher, the day's work by a cross, and frequently, when extra work is done, the cross is doubled, or when it is done on holidays the cross is written over the cipher. The work goes on simultaneously on all the royal manors for which Needham's services, as controller, were required. The wages vary, but correspond pretty closely to the rates paid in London, and all sorts of workmen are employed. There are carpenters, tilers, sawyers, masons, joiners, bricklayers, plumbers, plasterers, smiths, daubers, matlayers, slaters, wire-drawers, gardeners, milners or millwrights, lock-smiths, hard-hewers (paid by the week), glaziers, organ-builders, carvers, palers, inbowers, miners, butt-makers, and gong-farmers, the last being employed in keeping the latrines clean. The joiners are almost invariably foreigners. These people receive daily wages from $8d.$ to $6d.$, common labour being paid sometimes at $5d.$, more frequently at $4d.$ The hard-hewers get from $4s.$ to $3s. 4d.$ the week¹.

Some kind of work is done by the piece, that of the sawyer frequently, as elsewhere, by the hundred (*c*). But tiles are pinned at $2\frac{1}{2}d.$ the thousand, paving at $2d.$ the yard, smith's work on iron at $1d.$ the pound, painting at $1d.$ and $2d.$ the yard, setting lattice at $2\frac{1}{2}d.$ the foot, casting and laying lead at $4d.$ the hundred (*c*), casting only at $2d.$, wiring windows at $4d.$ the foot, making bricks—the dimensions of which are, $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, $4\frac{3}{4}$ inches broad, and $2\frac{3}{8}$ inches thick—at $2s. 8d.$ the thousand (the king finding fuel), making laths at $2d.$ the hundred (*c*), sometimes $3d.$, working up old iron at $\frac{1}{2}d.$ the pound,

¹ Work on holidays (Vol. III, p. 652) was paid at higher rates than that of ordinary work.

painting in 'byse' and gilding at 1*s.* 8*d.* the yard, gilding pendants at 10*d.*, lath-making at 5*s.* the load of 30 hundreds, felling and squaring timber at 8*d.* the ton, and forging iron at $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.* the pound. The clerk is paid at lower rates than the artisans, as are also the tailors, i.e. the persons employed to check the quantities done by piece, and the carriages engaged. There is on the whole no marked difference between the prices paid by Henry, and by his subjects. The works are undertaken on the following manors or palaces:—Bridewell, Dover, Greenwich, the Tower, Westminster, Windsor, Woking, Ampthill, Bishop's-Hatfield, Chatham, Eltham, the Moor, Richmond, Hunsdon, Canterbury, Dartford, Barking, Enfield, Leeds Castle, Ostonhanger, and Grafton, at all of which places the king kept establishments, and incurred prodigious expenses. Nor are these all, for we know that he possessed Hampton Court and Sheen besides. The places enumerated above were all superintended by Needham.

Most of the expenses incurred by Elizabeth were on her navy, though in one or two of the years there are accounts for charges incurred at the palaces of Eltham and Greenwich. The year is divided into quarters, and the rates of wages when workmen are not fed range in artisans from 1*s.* to 9*d.*, and in labourers from 8*d.* to 6*d.*, the latter being the most common rate.

The contracts for victualling the men are as follows per week per man:—

	1st quarter.	2nd quarter.	3rd quarter.	4th quarter.
1562	4 0	4 0 $\frac{1}{2}$	4 1	4 1
1563	4 2 $\frac{1}{2}$	4 7	4 7	—
1570	3 10	4 0	4 0	—

These are the rates at Deptford and Gillingham. They vary a little at Portsmouth. In these three years the price of wheat was 10*s.* 11 $\frac{1}{4}$ *d.*, 19*s.* 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ *d.*, and 9*s.* 10*d.*, the latter being the cheapest year since 1558, the year of the Queen's accession. Fifty years before, 1*s.* a week was considered liberal board for a labourer. Lodging is almost invariably 2*d.* a week, and the

washing of a pair of sheets costs 1*d.* The contract is that the men should have feather beds, each bed being occupied by two persons. Occasionally an allowance of 6*d.* per diem was made for food, and the labourer was then left to find his own provision.

Piece-work is not common. But forging iron is paid at 9*s.* 4*d.* a cwt., i. e. at 1*d.* a pound. Sawing at 1*s.* 7*d.* and 1*s.* 8*d.* the hundred, hewing timber at 1*s.* 2*d.* the ton, laying tiles at 2*s.* 4*d.* and 2*s.* 8*d.* the thousand, painting at 1*s.* 4*d.* white, 1*s.* 8*d.* green, and 2*s.* red, the yard, laying slates at 8*s.* the thousand. These prices are low, and bear out what has been said so many times as to the scanty rise of wages in comparison with the great and general rise of other prices.

The names of artisans in Elizabeth's time are even more numerous than those in her father's. It may be noted that apprentices appear far more frequently and are associated with various artisans. They do not earn much less than their masters, who of course appropriated the wages paid to them. The clerks are not paid better proportionately than they were thirty years before. The gong-farmer disappears in the more refined name of the mazar scourer.

In Vol. III, pp. 660-663, a few instances are given of the wages paid to domestic servants. The money wages received by such persons do not rise at all. I have added to the list an account of the payment made to officers employed in the navy in 1547. The captain is paid at the rate of £91 5*s.* the year, the lieutenant at £36 10*s.* The captain of a smaller vessel is paid £24 7*s.*, the porters and master gunners £12 3*s.* 4*d.*, the ordinary gunners £9 2*s.* 6*d.* These persons were of course fed as well as lodged, and were infinitely better paid than any other persons, and far more highly than they are, relatively speaking, now.

In the subjoined tables, the first column in the annual series is that of the carpenter's wages, at the highest rate per day, the second the average payment of the same artisan, the third the wages of the mason, the fourth of the mason's labourer, the fifth and sixth of sawyers by the couple and by the hundred (*c*)

feet, the seventh, eighth, and ninth of the tiler, the thatcher, and the man serving each; the tenth to the thirteenth is the cost of threshing and winnowing a quarter of wheat, barley, beans, peas, and oats; the fourteenth is that of mowing an acre of hay; the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth those of reaping an acre of wheat, barley, and oats; the eighteenth and last is that of the ordinary unskilled farm hand.

The second table is that of decennial averages, as far as procurable, of these kinds of labour, with the addition, in the schedule of artisan's wages, of the plumber¹.

¹ The debate between the English and French heralds, by John Coke, printed by the Société des anciens textes Français, Paris, 1877, as an appendage to a French work of a century earlier, to which Coke's production is a sort of reply, has the following suggestive passage, put by the writer into the mouth of the French speaker after the statement that French artisans generally live in towns:

'It is not so in England, for your clothiers dwell in great farms abroad in the country, having houses with commodities like unto gentlemen, where as well they make cloth, and keep husbandry, and also grass and feed sheep and cattle, taking thereby away the livings of the poor husbandmen and graziers. Furthermore, in England, some one man keepeth in his hands two or three farms, and where hath been six or eight persons in every farm, he keepeth only a shepherd or wretched herdman and his wife.

'Likewise, many gentlemen, for their private commodities, enclose a mile or two about their houses, destroying thereby not only the farms and cottages within the same circuits, but also the good towns and villages near adjoining, so that for these reasons, marvel not, though we far exceed England in riches, number of people, good towns, and villages,' p. 105. I have modernised the spelling only.

TABLE I.
THE AVERAGE PRICE OF LABOUR.

The sign * denotes London prices.

	Carp. highest.	Carp. average.	Mason.	Mason's labourer.	Sawyers, pair.	Sawing, per 100 ft.	Tiler.	Thatcher.	Man.
	d.	d.	d.	d.	s. d.	s. d.	d.	d.	d.
1401	6	4 $\frac{3}{4}$	6	4	1 0	.....	* 8	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	3
1402	* 8 $\frac{1}{2}$	5 $\frac{1}{4}$	5	4	.....	1 5 $\frac{1}{2}$	* 8	4	3
1403	* 8	6	* 8	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 2	.....	* 8	4	3
1404	5 $\frac{1}{4}$	4 $\frac{1}{4}$	4 $\frac{3}{4}$	4	.....	1 0	4 $\frac{3}{4}$	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	3
1405	* 8	5 $\frac{1}{4}$	* 8	5	1 2	.....	5	4	3
1406	* 8	5	6	4	1 0	1 2 $\frac{1}{2}$	* 8	4	3
1407	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	4 $\frac{1}{4}$	.....	.....	.....	.....	6	4	3
1408	6	5 $\frac{3}{4}$	5	.....	0 10	.....	5	5 $\frac{1}{4}$	3
1409	6	6	6	2	0 10	.....	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	5	3
1410	* 8	6	6	2 $\frac{1}{4}$	* 1 4	1 4	* 8	5	3
1411	* 8	6	6	4	1 0	.....	6	4 $\frac{1}{4}$	2
1412	5	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	.....	.....	.....	1 6	* 8	5	3
1413	6	5 $\frac{1}{4}$	5	4	.....	1 2	6	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	3
1414	6	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	.....	.....	1 0	.....	5	5	3
1415	6	5 $\frac{1}{4}$	6	.....	1 0	.....	.....	6	3 $\frac{1}{2}$
1416	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	5	6 $\frac{1}{4}$	4	.....	1 3	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	3
1417	6	6	6	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 0	1 3	6	4 $\frac{3}{4}$	3
1418	6	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	6	.....	1 0	.....	6	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	3
1419	7	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	6 $\frac{1}{4}$	3 $\frac{1}{4}$	1 0 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 2	6	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	3
1420	8	5	6 $\frac{1}{2}$	5	0 10 $\frac{1}{2}$	.....	.....	4	3
1421	* 8	5 $\frac{1}{4}$	6	4	.....	1 4	* 8	4	3
1422	6	5	5	.....	1 0	.....	6	4	3
1423	* 8 $\frac{1}{2}$	6 $\frac{1}{4}$	6	.....	0 9	.....	.....	4 $\frac{1}{4}$	3 $\frac{1}{2}$
1424	6	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	5	3	0 11	1 4	5	4	3
1425	8	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	6	4	.....	1 2	6	4	2
1426	* 8	5 $\frac{3}{4}$	6	.....	1 0	1 2	5	4	3
1427	6	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	5	4	1 0	1 5 $\frac{1}{2}$	5	5	3
1428	* 8	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	6	4 $\frac{1}{4}$	1 2	1 3	.....	5	4
1429	* 8 $\frac{1}{2}$	6	6	* 5 $\frac{1}{2}$	0 10	1 2	6	5	3
1430	6 $\frac{1}{2}$	5 $\frac{3}{4}$	5	.....	1 0	.....	5	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	3 $\frac{1}{2}$

TABLE I.
THE AVERAGE PRICE OF LABOUR.

The sign † denotes that corn or hay are also carried.

Threshing and winnowing quarter of				Mowing grass (acre).	Reaping (acre)—			Unskilled labour.	
Wheat.	Barley.	Beans and Peas.	Oats.		Wheat.	Barley.	Oats.		
d.	d.	d.	d.	d.	d.	d.	d.	d.	
3	2	.....	1½	8	6	8	5	3	1401
3	2	.....	1½	7	9	8	9	3	1402
3	2	.....	1½	7	7	8	8	4	1403
3	2	3	1½	7	6	8	9	4	1404
4	2½	.....	2½	7	8	.....	7½	4	1405
5	2½	.....	3	6½	6	.....	.....	4	1406
5	3	.....	2½	6½	8	.....	7½	3	1407
4	2½	3	2½	7	6	8	6	4	1408
4	2½	3	2½	6½	7	8	7	3½	1409
4	2½	3	2½	7	6½	6½	6½	3½	1410
4	2½	3	2½	7	6½	5½	6	3	1411
3½	2½	3	2½	6½	7½	6	8½	3	1412
3½	2½	3	2½	6½	6½	6	6	3½	1413
3½	2½	3	2½	6½	7½	.....	7	4	1414
3½	2½	3	2½	7½	7	.....	6½	4	1415
4	2½	3	2½	7	7	.....	6½	3	1416
3½	2½	3	2½	7	7½	.....	7½	3½	1417
3½	2½	3	2½	7	8	.....	7	4	1418
3½	2½	2½	2	6½	7	.....	7	2½	1419
3½	2½	2½	2½	7½	8½	8	8	3½	1420
3½	2½	2½	2½	8	7	.....	7	3	1421
3½	2½	4	2½	7½	7	12	10	3	1422
4	3	3	2½	8	7	.....	.....	3	1423
3½	2	2½	2	10	.....	.....	.....	3	1424
4	2½	4	2	10	.....	7	.....	4	1425
3	2	.....	1½	18	.....	.....	.....	4	1426
3½	2½	.....	2½	.....	9	10	9	4	1427
3½	2½	3	2½	8½	.....	8	.....	3½	1428
3	2	.....	1½	6	.....	.....	.....	4	1429
3½	2½	2½	2	10	† 14	† 8	.....	4	1430

	Carp. highest.	Carp. average.	Mason.	Mason's labourer.	Sawyers, pair.	Sawing, per 100 ft.	Tiler.	Thatcher.	Man
	<i>d.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>d.</i>
1431	6½	5½	5½	4	.....	1 2	6	4½	3½
1432	6	5½	.....	.....	1 0	.....	6	5½	4
1433	6	5½	5½	3	0 10	.....	6	4	3
1434	* 8½	6	5½	4	.....	1 4	6	6	3
1435	* 8½	5½	6½	.....	.....	1 2	5	4½	3
1436	* 8½	6	6½	* 5½	* 1 3	1 4	6	4½	4
1437	* 8	6	6	4	1 2	.....	6	4	3
1438	* 8½	6	6	3	* 1 2½	.....	* 8	5	3
1439	* 7½	6	6	3	.....	1 2½	6	5	3
1440	7	5½	6	4	1 0	0 10	* 8	5	4
1441	* 8½	6	6½	4	.....	1 1½	7	5	.....
1442	* 8	5½	7½	.....	1 0	1 2	* 8½	6	4
1443	* 7½	6½	6½	4	1 0	1 2	* 7½	5	3
1444	6	5½	6	4	.....	1 2	.....	6	5
1445	* 8½	5½	6	3½	0 11	1 3	5½	6	5
1446	* 8½	5½	6	4	1 0	1 2	6	5	4
1447	* 8½	6	5½	4	1 0	1 2	6	5½	4
1448	* 8½	6	5½	5	1 1	.....	6½	3½	.....
1449	* 8½	6	6½	5	1 0	.....	.....	5	4
1450	6	5½	6	4	1 0	1 1½	6	4	3
1451	6	6	6	4	.....	1 2	5½	.....	.....
1452	* 8	6½	7½	4	1 0	.....	6½	5	4
1453	* 8½	6½	6	* 5½	0 10	1 0½	7½	6	.....
1454	6	5½	5½	4	0 10	1 2	6	4	3½
1455	6	5½	5	4	.....	.....	6	.....	.....
1456	6	6	6	4	1 0	1 0	5½	.....	.....
1457	6	5½	6	4	.....	.....	5	6	4
1458	6	6	6	4	.....	1 0	8	6	3
1459	* 8	6½	6	4	1 0	* 1 3	6½	6	3
1460	* 8	6½	* 8	* 5	1 0	1 0	7	6	3
1461	6	6	6	4½	.....	1 0	7	.....	.....
1462	* 8	6½	* 8	4	1 0	1 0	6	.....	.....
1463	* 8	6	6	4	1 0½	.....	5	5	.....
1464	6	5½	.....	4	.....	.....	5	.....	.....
1465	5½	5½	6	.....	1 0	1 1	5½	.....	.....
1466	* 8½	6½	7½	4	.....	.....	6½	.....	.....
1467	6	5½	6½	4½	1 1	1 0	7	4½	3½
1468	6	6	6	4	1 0	.....	6	.....	4

	Carp. highest.	Carp. average.	Mason.	Mason's labourer.	Sawyers, pair.	Sawing, per 100 ft.	Tiler.	Thatcher.	Man.
	<i>d.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>d.</i>
1469	* 8	6	6	4	0 11	.....	6	.....	.....
1470	6	6	6	4	1 0	0 11	6	.....	.....
1471	6	6	6½	4	1 3	.....	6	5	4
1472	6	6	6½	5	0 11½	.....	6	6	.....
1473	6	5½	6½	3½	.....	.....	6	5	4
1474	6	5½	6	4	.....	.....	6	.....	.....
1475	6	6	5½	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1476	7	6½	6½	4	1 0	.....	6½	.....	.....
1477	6	6	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1478	6	5½	6	4	0 11	.....	6	6	4
1479	6	6	6	4	.....	1 0	6	5	4
1480	6	5½	6	5	.....	1 0	5½	4	3
1481	6	6	6	4½	1 0	1 0	6½	...	.....
1482	6	5½	5½	4	0 10	.....	5	.....	.....
1483	6	6	6	4	.....	.....	6	.....	.....
1484	6	5½	.....	4	0 10½	1 0	6	.....	3
1485	7	6	4	4	0 10	1 0	5½	.....	3½
1486	6	6	6	4	.....	1 0	6	.....	.....
1487	6	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	6	4
1488	7	6	6½	4½	0 11½	.....	6½	.....	.....
1489	* 8	6½	7	* 5	.....	.....	7½	6	4
1490	* 8	6½	6	4	1 1	.....	5½	.....	3½
1491	6	6	.....	.....	0 8	.....	6	.....	4
1492	6	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	6	6	3
1493	6	6	6	4	1 0	1 0	6	6	4
1494	6½	6	6	3	.....	.....	6	.....	3
1495	6	5½	.....	.....	.....	.....	5½	.....	4½
1496	7	6½	6	4	1 0	.....	5½	.....	4
1497	7	6½	5½	4	1 0	.....	6	5½	4
1498	6	6	5½	4	1 0	1 0	.....	5	3½
1499	6	6	5½	4½	1 2	.....	6	5	4
1500	6	5½	5	3	0 10	.....	5½	5	2
1501	6	5½	5½	3½	1 0	.....	6	6	4
1502	* 7	6	5½	4	1 0	1 0	6	5	3
1503	6	5½	6	4	1 0	.....	5½	5	4
1504	6	6	6	4	1 0	.....	6	.....	4
1505	6	6	6	4½	.....	.....	6	.....	5
1506	6	6	6	4	0 10	.....	6	.....	4

Threshing and winnowing quarter of				Mowing grass (acre).	Reaping (acre)—			Unskilled labour.	
Wheat.	Barley.	Beans and Peas.	Oats.		Wheat.	Barley.	Oats.		
<i>d.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>d.</i>	
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	4	1469
3½	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	3½	1470
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	4	1471
2½	2½	2½	2½	.....	.....	.....	.....	4	1472
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1473
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1474
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1475
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1476
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1477
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	4	1478
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1479
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	10	.....	.....	1480
3	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	4	1481
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	4	1482
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	4	1483
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1484
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	4	1485
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1486
3	2	3	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1487
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	3½	1488
.....	1½	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	3	1489
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	4½	1490
.....	.....	.....	.....	7	.....	.....	.....	5	1491
.....	.....	.....	.....	7	.....	.....	.....	.....	1492
6	.....	.....	.....	7	.....	.....	.....	4	1493
6	.....	.....	3	.....	.....	.....	.....	5	1494
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1495
4	2	.....	1½	.....	.....	.....	.....	4	1496
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1497
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	5	1498
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	4	1499
3½	3	2	3	.....	.....	.....	.....	4	1500
4	3	.....	3	.....	.....	.....	.....	4	1501
4	3	.....	3	.....	.....	.....	.....	3	1502
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	4	1503
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	4	1504
7½	4	.....	2½	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1505
6½	3½	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	4	4	1506

	Carp. highest.	Carp. average.	Mason.	Mason's labourer.	Sawyers, pair.	Sawing, per 100 ft.	Tiler.	Thatcher.	Man
	<i>d.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>d.</i>
1507	6	6	6	3	.....	.....	6	.....	.....
1508	6	5½	6	4	1 0	1 0	6	.....	4
1509	6	6	6	4	0 8	1 0	6	.....	.....
1510	6	5½	6	3½	.....	.....	5½	.....	.....
1511	6	6	6	4½	1 0	.....	.....	5	4
1512	6	5½	6	4	.....	1 0	6	.....	4
1513	6	6	6½	4	.....	1 0	6	5	4
1514	* 8	6½	5½	4	.....	1 0	6	5	4
1515	8	6½	6	4	0 10½	1 0	7	6	4
1516	10	8	6	4	.....	.....	5½	.....	.....
1517	6	5½	.....	.....	.....	1 0	.....	.....	.....
1518	8	6½	6½	3½	1 1	.....	6	.....	4
1519	7½	6	6	4	1 0	1 0	6	.....	4
1520	6	6	6	* 5	1 0½	1 0	6	.....	4
1521	6	6	6	4	1 0	1 0	6	.....	4
1522	6	6	6	4	.....	1 0	6	.....	4
1523	6	6	6	4	1 0	.....	6	.....	4
1524	8	6½	6	4½	1 0	.....	6	.....	4
1525	6	6	6	4	1 0	.....	6	6	4
1526	8	6½	6	4	.....	1 0	6	.....	4
1527	6	6	6	5½	1 2	.....	6	.....	.....
1528	6	5½	8	4	.....	.....	6½	.....	4
1529	6	6	6	5	1 1	.....	6	.....	4
1530	6	6	6	4	.....	.....	6½	.....	4
1531	* 8	6½	7	4	.....	0 11	6	.....	.....
1532	* 8	7	6	.....	.....	* 1 2	* 8	.....	.....
1533	* 8	7	* 8	5	.....	* 1 2	6	.....	.....
1534	* 7½	7	6	.....	1 0½	1 0	7	7	4½
1535	* 9	7	7	.....	1 1	.....	6	.....	.....
1536	* 9	6½	7	4	1 1	.....	6½	.....	.....
1537	* 9	6½	6½	4	0 10	.....	6	.....	5
1538	* 12	7½	6½	4½	1 1	1 0	6½	.....	5
1539	8	7	7	4	0 11	1 0	6	.....	4
1540	7	6½	6	4	1 1	1 0	7	.....	4
1541	8	6½	6	4	1 2	1 0	6	.....	4
1542	* 10	6½	7	5	1 0	1 6½	6½	6½	4½
1543	* 10	6½	6½	4	1 1	.....	6½	.....	.....
1544	* 10	7	6½	4	1 2	.....	6½	.....	4

[illegible]

	Carp. highest.	Carp. average.	Mason.	Mason's labourer.	Sawyers, pair.	Sawing, per 100 ft.	Tiler.	Thatcher.	Man.
	<i>d.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>d.</i>
1545	* 10	6½	7	4	1 2	1 0	6½	.....	4
1546	7	6½	6	4	0 11½	1 0	6	.....	4
1547	7	6½	7	5	.....	.....	7	.....	4
1548	* 10	7½	7½	6	1 3	1 0	* 12	.....	4
1549	* 10	8½	7½	7	1 2	1 1	8	.....	6
1550	8	7½	7½	5	.....	.....	7	.....	5
1551	14	10½	10½	5	1 7	1 2	9½	.....	7
1552	10	9	9½	5	1 7	1 4	9	.....	7
1553	18	12½	10	7	1 8	.....	12	.....	6
1554	10	9½	10	7½	1 4	1 2	8	.....	6
1555	10	9	10	8	1 3	1 7	10	.....	6
1556	* 12	10	10½	7	1 8	1 2	9	.....	6
1557	9	8½	10	6	1 3	1 4	9	.....	6
1558	10	8½	8½	6	1 2	1 9	8	.....	6
1559	10	9	10	8	* 1 8½	1 2	9	.....	6
1560	16	12½	12	8	2 0	.....	10	.....	7
1561	12	10½	10½	8	1 9	.....	11½	.....	8
1562	12	11	11½	8	1 7	1 7	11	.....	8
1563	11	9½	11	7	1 2	1 6	10	.....	6
1564	13	10½	10½	7	1 8	1 6	10	.....	8
1565	* 12	11	11½	7	1 8	.....	10½	.....	8
1566	* 12	9½	9½	8	1 8	1 10	12	.....	10
1567	12	11½	12	8	1 10	1 6	12½	.....	.....
1568	12	10½	10½	8	1 6	1 6½	10	.....	6
1569	12	11	11½	8	1 9	1 7	11	.....	8
1570	12	10½	12½	6	1 6½	.....	10	12	10
1571	12	11½	10½	7½	1 7	1 2	.....	.....	.....
1572	12	11½	11	8	1 9½	.....	10	.....	8
1573	12	11	11½	8	1 11	.....	10	.....	8
1574	12	11	11	8	1 6½	1 4	10	.....	.....
1575	12	11½	11	8	1 11	.....	12	.....	6
1576	12	11	11	8	1 8	.....	.....	.....	.....
1577	12	11½	11½	8	1 9	.....	11	.....	8
1578	12	11	10½	8	1 6	.....	.....	.....	.....
1579	12	11	11½	8	1 6	.....	12	.....	8
1580	12	11½	11½	8	1 5	.....	14	.....	9
1581	14	12½	12	9	2 0	.....	.....	.....	.....
1582	12	12	12	9	1 6	.....	12	.....	9

[illegible]

TABLE II.
DECENNIAL AVERAGE PRICES OF LABOUR.

	Carp. highest.	Carp. average.	Mason.	Mason's labourer.	Sawyers, pair.	Sawing, per 100 ft.	Tiler or slater.	Thatcher.	Man.	Plumber.
	<i>d.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>d.</i>
1401—1410	7	5½	6	3½	1 0½	1 3	6½	4½	3	...
1411—1420	6½	5½	6	4	1 0	1 3½	6	4½	3	7
1421—1430	7½	5½	5½	4½	0 11½	1 3½	5½	4½	3	7
1431—1440	7½	6	6	3½	1 1	1 2	6½	4½	3½	4½
1441—1450	7½	5½	6½	4½	1 0	1 2	6½	5½	4	6½
1451—1460	6½	6	6½	4½	0 11½	1 1	6½	5½	3½	8½
1461—1470	6½	6	6½	4	1 0	1 0	6	4½	3½	6
1471—1480	6	5½	6½	4½	1 0½	1 0	6	5½	3½	6
1481—1490	6½	6	5½	4½	0 11	1 0	6	6	3½	6
1491—1500	6½	6	5½	3½	0 11½	1 0	5½	5½	3½	7
1501—1510	6	5½	6	4	0 11½	1 0	6	5½	4	7½
1511—1520	7½	6½	6	4	1 0	1 0	6	5½	4	6
1521—1530	6½	6	6½	4½	1 0½	1 0	6	6	4	6½
1531—1540	8½	7	6½	4½	1 0½	1 0½	6½	7	4½	7
1541—1550	9	7	6½	4½	1 1½	1 1½	7½	6½	4½	7½
1551—1560	13	10½	10	6½	1 5	1 4	9½	...	6½	8½
1561—1570	12	10½	10	7½	1 7½	1 7	10½	12	8	9½
1571—1582	12½	11½	11½	8	1 8½	1 3	11½	...	8	12½
First 140 years.	6½	5½	6	4	1 0	1 1	6	5½	3½	6½
Last 42 years.	11½	10	9½	6½	1 5½	1 4	9½	9½	6½	9½

TABLE II.
DECENNIAL AVERAGE PRICES OF LABOUR.

Threshing and winnowing quarter of				Mowing grass (acre.)	Reaping (acre)—			Unskilled labour.	
Wheat.	Barley.	Beans and Peas.	Oats.		Wheat.	Barley.	Oats.		
<i>d.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>d.</i>	
3½	2½	3	2½	7	7	7½	7½	3½	1401—1410
3½	2½	3	2½	7	7½	6¾	7	3½	1411—1420
3½	2½	3	2½	10¾	8	9	6½	3½	1421—1430
4½	2½	4½	2½	12½	12½	10½	10	4	1431—1440
4½	2½	4	2½	9	11½	12½	10½	4½	1441—1450
4½	2½	2½	2½	7½	10½	10	...	4½	1451—1460
3½	2½	3½	2½	8½	10	10	...	4½	1461—1470
2½	2½	2½	2½	...	...	10	...	4	1471—1480
3	2	3	2	...	...	...	...	3½	1481—1490
4½	2½	2	2½	7	...	...	...	4½	1491—1500
5½	3½	6	2½	9½	12	6	...	3½	1501—1510
4½	2½	3	2½	5½	...	...	...	3½	1511—1520
4½	3¾	2	3½	6	...	...	...	4½	1521—1530
5½	3½	4	4	7½	...	...	8	4	1531—1540
5½	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4½	1541—1550
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	6	1551—1560
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	7	1561—1570
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	7½	1571—1582
4½	2½	3¾	2½	8½	9½	9½	8½	4	First 140 years.
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	6½	Last 42 years.

CHAPTER XVIII.

ON THE PRICE OF FISH.

THE various kinds of fish consumed by our forefathers in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries will be found in Vol. III, pp. 310-334. There are a few added in p. 696. The information is far more copious than that contained in the first two volumes, and given in Vol. II, pp. 552-557. Before the Reformation the religious houses consumed vast quantities of fish, and a fish diet, partly by ecclesiastical rule, partly by the necessities of the case, occupied a more or less prolonged part of every year with all. After the Reformation the discipline of the Anglican church continued to prescribe a fish diet on fast days and in Lent, partly as a means for sustaining a national industry, that of the fisherman, whose craft was supposed to be a peculiarly fit prelude to that of service in the royal navy, partly as a relic of ancient rule. Most of the prices which have been collected are of sea fish, salted for keeping, and purchased towards the autumn, generally at Stourbridge fair, near Cambridge, for winter and Lenten diet. We shall however find a few examples of fresh fish. As a rule, fresh fish was kept in stews or ponds, which were invariably dug in the neighbourhood of monastic houses, probably of colleges. The monks indeed are reputed to have introduced several kinds of fish into English waters, notably the grayling of the Shropshire and Hereford streams.

HERRINGS. This is the commonest kind of fish. They are occasionally bought fresh, when the purchase was near the sea, sometimes by tale, by the hundred, the thousand, and the last, as for instance at Yarmouth in 1405. The cade of red herrings,

however, and the barrel of white are the commonest quantities. I have assumed that the cade, the mase, and the kymfe or kemp of red herrings were identical in quantity, as they are nearly the same in price at the localities where these terms are found. The barrel of white herrings is nearly double the price of the cade of red on an average. It is, of course, to be expected that fish purchased at a long distance from the sea would be dearer than that obtained in places near the coast. But the difference is not very important, and is necessarily corrected by the averages.

All kinds of herrings, and indeed of other fish, are dear at the beginning of the fifteenth century, but prices are at their lowest during the forty years 1481-1520 inclusive. As we have seen before, this is a period during which all prices are depressed, and there is good reason to believe that the epoch of low prices is due to abundance. After the general rise in prices, this kind of food is relatively cheap, especially those kinds which owe their value almost entirely to the fisherman's labour. The rise in red herrings is about from three to five. The hundred of cod is even less enhanced. But the price of barrelled white fish and barrelled salmon is nearly doubled. I cannot but infer that, while the manufacturer and dealer were able to take advantage of the rise in prices, the fisherman, like most of the order of labourers to which he belonged, was not equally fortunate or competent.

Occasionally, but infrequently, the barrel of white herrings is found to be as cheap as the cade of red, possibly cheaper. Thus, in 1450, when the price of both was low, the average of white herrings is 5s. 6d., that of red 6s. But the white herring is purchased at Cambridge only, the red at Oxford also, and thus the cost of carriage is added. Herrings are also called, possibly in some particular condition, 'corpions,' Vol. III, p. 323, ii. I am not sure that capechons III. 313, iv. is the same word.

The herrings are almost invariably full, i.e. in roe or milt. Those which have spawned are called shotten, and are much cheaper. I have not reckoned shotten herrings in the averages.

Besides herrings, sprats, called by this name, and also *sperling* and *ephemerides* or *epimeri*, are found. In the accounts of Magdalen College, Oxford, soon after the beginning of the sixteenth century, I found them called '*appuae*,' a word which much puzzled me, till I thought of the revival of letters, the study of Greek at Magdalen, and the harmless pedantry which gave the Aristophanic name *ἀφῡαι* to the homely sprat. In the latter part of the period the use of smoked and salted sprats disappears. The barrel of herrings appears to be (Vol. III, p. 311, i.) two kilderkins.

SALMON. This fish is frequently purchased, but generally salted, and by the barrel. Fresh salmon are however found at Canterbury in 1404 at the enormous price of 7*s.* each; at Bicester and Cambridge in 1439, where the prices range from 10*d.* to 1*s.* 9*d.*; at Oxford in 1450 at from 1*s.* 4*d.* to 1*s.* 10*d.*; at Netley Abbey in 1455 at 1*s.* 4*d.*; at Cambridge in 1461 at 1*s.* 3*d.*, and in 1463 at 1*s.* 2*d.*; at Oxford in 1471, a cheap year, at 5*d.*; at Wymondham in 1492 at 1*s.* 2*d.*; at Cambridge in 1495 at 8½*d.*; at Wymondham in 1497 at 1*s.*; at Thornbury in 1507 at 3*s.* In 1529 the king pays 1*s.* each for five fresh salmon. In 1530–1533 Durham purchases large quantities of fresh salmon and grilse at by no means low prices, both by the single fish and the seam of a dozen fish. In 1554 fresh salmon at Oxford cost 1*s.* 8*d.* each; in 1556 1*s.* 10*d.*; in 1559 2*s.* 2½*d.* In 1562 Cambridge pays 2*s.* None of these prices, except those of 1404 and 1507 (the latter is the cheapest year of the whole period, by the way), equals the price paid for the Thames salmon of 1313–21, Vol. I, pp. 610–12, and none comes near that of the Gloucester salmon of 1327 (*ib.* p. 610) except that of 1404, which exceeds even that.

Salmon was far more commonly sold salted, and by the barrel. The barrel was divided into two kilderkins, four firkins—this word is spelt very variously—and eight eytten-dales, also with some variations. In later entries the barrel is called *doleum*, a pedantic word, the use of which caused me some difficulty at first. But though *doleum* should mean

252 gallons, it plainly is the same with the barrel. At Salisbury in 1406, and at Pershore in 1462, 1463, 1465, and 1471, I find salmon purchased by the pipe. Here it appears that the pipe was the double barrel, for the butt (III, 315, iv) is plainly half the pipe, and is the same as the barrel. Even with this explanation the price is high, but the Severn salmon were always of the best quality, and commanded the highest price. It is possible that the Salisbury purchases were from the Severn.

I have found no salt salmon by the barrel between 1421-1440 inclusive. But in 1427 nine salt salmon are bought at 1*s.* each, and in 1437 four at 1*s.* 8*d.* If my reader will turn to Vol. I, p. 613, he will find that I have been able to make use of information as to the number of salmon in a barrel, supplied by an entry of the year 1395 from Bexley. The Cambridge fish, however, unless the price in the years above quoted was very high—and the price of the single fish seems to suggest the fact—must have been far larger than those of 1395, or the price of the barrel would be very exceptional. Still, the early years of the fifteenth century were dear, for I find the barrel of salmon 41*s.* 8*d.* in 1406, and 32*s.* 2*d.* in 1441. The Bexley barrel of 1395, containing four dozen salmon, was 32*s.* Dried salmon, I presume, is sold by the cord in 1500 at Cambridge. The quantity seems to be the same as the barrel. It is very possible, salt and fresh salmon being a favourite food of our ancestors, that high prices deterred purchasers. Salmon are very liable to disease in our own time, and most likely they had no immunity four centuries and a half ago. In 1561 and 1579 the Cambridge barrel is described as Berwick salmon.

The price of salt salmon by the barrel rises rapidly at and after 1549, and becomes very high in 1570-7 and 1579. It is likely (as salmon streams were franchises, over which as we know from the times of the Great Charter the owners exercised vexatious rights, and ventured on arbitrary usurpations) that the rise in the price of this article of diet was due to the action of the owners of fisheries.

STURGEON. There is a foolish notion that this fish wherever caught was the property of the crown, a *res fisci*, like Juvenal's turbot. It is plain however from my accounts that salt sturgeon, and occasionally fresh, were frequent and, to judge from the price, highly estimated articles of diet.

Salt sturgeon in the early period by the barrel is often nearly double the price of salt salmon. But in 1404 it exceeds it only by a little. In 1405 it is 56s. 5d. at Writtle; in 1406, 51s. 10d. at Salisbury; in 1418, 53s. 10d. at Cambridge; in 1523, 48s. at the same place; in 1444, 50s. at Writtle; in 1445, 64s. at Norwich. But in 1489, between which date and that given just above no entry occurs, it is only 20s. 8d.; in 1491, 20s.; in 1494, 23s. 4d., 35s., and 38s. 11d.; in 1499, 33s. 4d. It is 22s. 4½d. in 1501, 27s. 4d. in 1502, 36s. 8d. in 1520; but gets much dearer in 1521 and onwards, being bought by Sion in 1521 and 1522 at 41s., in 1524 at 42s., in 1525 at 73s. 4d., in 1526 at 43s. 4d., in 1527 at 42s., and for Mary Tudor's household at 48s. 8d. In 1531 it is at 28s. 5d., in 1532 at 35s. and 41s. 4d. After this date there is no entry.

Sturgeon is also sold by the round, at 6d. in 1468, at 1s. in 1490; in 1497 at 10½d.; in 1502 at 1s. 2d.; in 1507 at 10d.; in 1508 at 10d.; in 1513 at 1s. 1½d.; and at 1s. 2d. in 1517. All these prices come from Cambridge. In 1538 the round at Oxford is 1s. 10d. In 1486 it is sold by the piece at 8d., and in 1488 at 10d. These are also Cambridge purchases. A single sturgeon is sold for 6s. 8d. in 1406, and another for 9s. 4d. in 1449, and at 1s. in 1528, unless the latter entry means a round or piece.

EELS. This fish was a favourite article of food with our ancestors, both when fresh and when salted. It may be convenient to take the former kind first.

Six hundred fresh eels are bought at Canterbury in 1404 at 40s. the hundred, probably the long hundred of 120. They must have been of very large size, for in 1406 182 eels cost only 2s. 11d. at Salisbury. Again, in 1431 3200 eels are bought at Castre at 6d. the hundred. In 1449 sixty eels cost

9*d.* at Heveningland. In Oxford, 1462, one eel costs a penny. In 1466 forty great eels cost 2*d.* each at Colchester; and in 1468 five score at Cambridge are bought at a little over 4*s.* 10 $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.* the score. In 1472 six score at the same place are purchased at about 2*s.* 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ *d.* the score. In 1475 Cambridge buys six score at 2*s.* 6*d.*, and next year a hundred for 23*s.* 4*d.*—i. e. if it be six score, at about 3*s.* 0 $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.* In 1478 five score and eleven are bought at 4*s.* In 1481 twenty eels cost 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.* each, and seventy-four, which we are told weighed 95 lbs., were bought at 2*d.* each. This would imply that the average weight was about 1lb. 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ oz. In 1484 fresh eels cost 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.* each at Cambridge; and at the same place, in 1487, 83 cost 13*s.* 4*d.*, that is, a little less than 2*d.* each. In 1489 at Cambridge five score eels are bought at 4*s.* 8*d.* the score. In 1498 a hundred eels at Cambridge cost 26*s.* 8*d.*, i. e. at six score about 4*s.* 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.* the score. In 1507 six fresh eels are bought at Thornbury in December for 3*s.* 4*d.*, a very high price, and in 1508 fifty-five, weighing 74 lbs., are bought at Cambridge at 2*d.* a pound. In 1509 six eels cost 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.* each at Hickling; in 1511 a quarter of a hundred are bought for 1*s.* 6*d.*; in 1516 three cost 3*d.* each, and a quarter of a hundred 2*s.* 10*d.* in 1518. In 1517 the price is the same, twenty are bought for 9*d.*, two hundred at 2*s.* the hundred, and a quarter for 2*s.* 4*d.* In 1519 two hundred, called Browets, are bought for 2*s.* 8*d.*, half a hundred for 11*d.*, and twenty, called 'les Bakus,' for 1*s.* These entries are all from Hickling. In 1522 twenty fresh eels cost 2*s.*, and eighteen more the same sum at Oxford. At Durham in 1530 ten cost 6*d.* each. In the same year six dozen fresh eels are bought at York at a penny each. In 1531 a dozen eels at Durham cost 1*s.* 2*d.*, and nine dozen at York 5*s.* 8*d.* In 1532 seven dozen cost the Durham monks 4*s.* 4*d.*, and in 1533 eight dozen are bought for 4*s.* 10*d.* At Lewes in the same year sixty-nine great eels are bought for 39*s.* 6*d.*, and 2200 others for 10*s.* 6*d.* In 1549 twenty-four baked eels are purchased at Oxford for 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ *d.* At Bury (St. Edmunds) thirteen sticks of fresh eels cost 3*s.* 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.*, and in 1571 five dozen, apparently fresh, are bought

at Oxford at 6*s.* the dozen. These are the entries in my accounts; and, from the few cases in which the weight is given, it appears that this kind of food was costly, as much as four times the price of meat being once recorded. It is probable that, when the resources of the Colleges were lessened as general prices increased, while rents were absolutely or almost stationary, the establishment was forced to stint its luxuries.

Salt eels were purchased by the barrel¹, and its subdivisions by the stick; in Durham by the gag, which a note (Vol. III, 327, iii.) informs us was six, and by tale. The price is very various, but generally high. An entry at Cambridge, under the year 1545 (Vol. III, 329, iv.), states that the barrel contained thirteen score.

Barrelled eels are found with tolerable frequency during the fifteenth century, but purchases in this form become rare and finally cease in the sixteenth. The price varies greatly, but is always highest when the eels are designated as 'stub.' This is the case at Sion in 1448, when 98 called stubling are bought for 156*s.*, i. e. at 1*s.* 7½*d.* each. In 1489 a barrel of stub eels costs 53*s.* 4*d.*; in 1491, 56*s.* 8*d.*; in 1496, 50*s.*; in 1499, 53*s.* 4*d.*; in 1522, 63*s.* 4*d.*; in 1524, 46*s.* 8*d.* The employment of this term is confined to Sion, except in 1496, when it is used at Selborne, and probably is one of the London market. It may be noted that King's College, Cambridge, generally buys its barrelled eels in London, as for instance in 1554 and 1555. In 1554 the barrel contained 260 eels at a little over 2*d.* each, each eel probably weighing a pound. Eels are also sold by the stick: at Cambridge in 1451 at 2*s.* 4*d.*, at 3*s.* 4*d.* in 1453, and at 4*s.* in the same place in 1466, where, if we may judge by the price of eels by the barrel, the stick was one-fifth of the barrel; in 1470 at 3*s.*, when it appears to be a dozen; at Stoke in 1481, when it is 2*s.* 6*d.*, the eels being described as small; in

¹ By 2 Hen. VI, cap. 15, the barrel of herrings and eels was thirty gallons, the butt of salmon eighty-four. See also 22 Ed. IV, cap. 2, by which salmon is to be packed in butts of eighty-four, barrels of forty-two, and firkins of twenty-one gallons; herrings in barrels of thirty-two, half-barrels, and firkins; eels in barrels of forty-two, half-barrels and firkins.

1491, again at Cambridge, when it is 4s. 5d.; in 1562, at Bury St. Edmunds, at 3s. 6½d., where salt eels by the dozen are at 10s. 9d., and the entry probably is of small fresh fish¹.

In 1530-33 eels are bought at Durham by the gag, which we are told in 1532 (Vol. III, p. 327 iii.) was six in number. These eels must have been very large, for the price, 4s. 4d. in 1530, 4s. 10½d. in 1531, 6s. 0½d. in 1532, and 4s. 6d. in 1533, appears to be the same as that paid for a firkin. But eels are also sold by the dozen, by the score, and by the hundred. Fourteen entries by the score, all at Cambridge, between 1466 and 1534, give an average of 4s. 2½d., the highest price being 5s. 7d. in 1482, the lowest 3s. 4d. The dozen is clearly of two qualities or sizes. The largest, described as Holland eels, are 6s. 3d. at Cambridge in 1558, 8s. in 1560 at Oxford, 10s. 9d. at Cambridge in 1569, 10s. at Oxford in 1564, 8s. in 1565, and 6s. in 1571 also at Oxford; while the smaller fish sell at 1s. 8d., 1s. 7d., 2s., 1s. 10d., and similar sums. Fifteen entries by the hundred between 1427 and 1532 give an average of 23s. 8¾d. On one occasion, in 1456 at Cambridge, eels are bought by the soke or soken at 8s. 8d.

Salt congers are bought in 1404 at 3s., in 1406 at 1s. 1¾d., in 1451 at 6d. each, in 1456 at 1s., in 1527 at 1s. 7d., in 1534 at 4s. 8d., and in 1537 at 5s.

LING, COD, &c. The fish on which our ancestors most depended for winter and lenten fare were the various kinds of cod obtained by distant and deep-sea fishing off the coast of the Orkney and Shetland Islands, and Iceland. With the hope of securing a part of this lucrative trade in Iceland, at first monopolised by the Scarborough fishermen, the men of Bristol, as we are informed by the author of the *Libel of English Policy*², made use in the early part of the fifteenth

¹ In 1560 Magdalen College, Oxford, buys salt eels of Holland produce at 8s. the dozen. Perhaps the stubs were of this origin, and the London fish were imports.

² I am informed by Mr. Thompson of the British Museum, that the authorship of this work is to be assigned almost certainly to Adam de Moleyns, Bishop of Chichester and Lord Privy Seal, who was murdered Jan. 9, 1450, at Portsmouth. See Gascoigne, *Loci e libro veritatum*.

century of the mariner's compass, and ventured on the terrors of the tempestuous Northern Ocean. Their courage was successful.

The names given to the different kinds of salt cod-fish are very numerous. Besides cod, ling, and salt fish, we find cheling or kelyng, lob fish, stock fish, Bednel fish, orgays, orkays, organ (by which it appears is meant fish from the Orkneys or Orcades), hard fish, fungiae (interpreted by the accounts to mean cod or stock fish), hake, mulvell, dogdrave, haburdens or aburden¹ (also interpreted to be identical with cheling and dogdrave), green fish, mud fish, morucae, Scarborough fish, Cornish fish, scrayes; Helmerden fish, Iceland fish, great, mean, or middle, and least ling, tail, small and seal fish, but fish, made fish, blote, old ling, staple, salsamenta, great Holland fish, sawl fish (which I suspect to be a misspelling for salt fish); Shetland fish, Salt Island fish, and Islandici, which are, I presume, the same as Iceland fish. Some of these names may still exist in the trade. In the royal accounts (Wardrobe) the whole are grouped under one name, Mores.

The measures by which these kinds of fish are bought are various. The commonest is by number, and then most frequently by the hundred (*c*), though less and larger quantities are frequently found. They are also bought by the warp, especially at Cambridge, and the couple or pair at the same place. It seems that these two measures are identical. They are also bought by the burden at Pershore and Netley Abbey. Stock fish is also purchased for the navy by the last of 1000. The use of the warp is continued nearly through the whole period, though it is infrequent towards the conclusion, when the hundred is by far the commonest measure. The cheapest kind of salt fish is throughout stock fish, next hard fish and cod. The dearest is ling, especially that described as orgas or organ ling. But the price varies greatly from year to year, and even in the same year, and it is obvious that each parcel of a hundred

¹ These fish are almost certainly cod from Aberdeen. See Macpherson's *Annals*, i. 436, note.

fish was separately valued according to its size, though the article is called by the same name with that which is sold at much higher or at much lower prices.

The hundred appears to be 120. This is the quantity given to it at Salisbury in 1406. Such a number is also implied in an entry like that from London under the year 1574, where 'nine hundred five score and nine' fish (stock) are bought at 3*d.* each. But in 1499 the Sion account describes the hundred as ten score and three, an unintelligible note.

Generally the warp of salt fish, common or ordinary ling, even when described as orgas ling, and lob fish is about 1*s.* 4*d.* The warp of cod is not more than a third the price. But even when, as in 1415, the same kind of fish is bought by the warp and by the hundred, there is no relation discoverable among the prices.

The price of cod does not rise so largely towards the latter end of the period as that of ling does. But it is difficult to draw instructive or indeed suggestive averages from the entries. Thus in 1460 Sion buys 120 orgas ling, paying £11 for the whole, and three other kinds of cod, viz. mulvell, fungiae, and haburden, the first at 108*s.* 8*d.* the hundred, the next at about 29*s.* (the ordinary price of cod, or stock-fish, as the word is explained in 1458), and the third at 4*s.* 2*d.* the score, or at 25*s.* the long hundred, and in 1494 gives £14 13*s.* 4*d.* for 84 orgas ling. The prices of the other fish are intelligible, but those of the ling are wholly unapproached till 1547, when the rise in money values is being effected, and the hundred of ling is worth £10 10*s.* at Cambridge. Subsequently, in 1550, Peterhouse, Cambridge, buys a quarter of a hundred of organ ling at £20 the hundred, a price which is never reached again, though in 1560 King's College pays £16 for organ ling, as it does again in 1575, £15 in 1579, and £15 10*s.* in 1582. I have therefore felt much hesitation in constructing my annual tables of ling and cod, though I feel confident that the decennial and general averages will, the figures correcting each other, give a fairly exact account of the cost to which a household was put in

purchasing the principal kinds of cod-fish which were salted for winter and lenten diet. It will also be plain that fish was by no means cheap¹ when compared with other kinds of provisions, and that it did not suffer after the middle of the sixteenth century a rise which, on the whole, corresponds with the rise in meat and corn, as well as in other analogous articles.

FRESH AND SHELL FISH. Besides salmon and eels, several kinds of fish are mentioned in the accounts. If I am right in supposing that dentrices and denticuli are identical with pike and pikerell, this fish is one of the commonest named in my entries. There is an idle story often told, and in particular repeated in ordinary books, nay even made the subject of a rhyme, that the pike was brought into England for the first time in the reign of Henry the Eighth; and Albin, in his work on esculent fishes, gives 1537 for the date of this introduction, observing also that carp had been brought into England at about 1514 by one Leonard Maschal. But I found both pike and pikerell in the fourteenth century (Vol. II, pp. 554-6), and I have many other entries in the fifteenth.

Pike are bought at very various prices. In 1404 they cost 100s. the hundred, in 1405 they are bought at about 1s. 8½*d.* each. But in 1472 they cost 2s.; in 1530, 3s. 6*d.* and over 4s. 5*d.*; in 1531, 3s. and 4s.; in 1532, 5s. 6*d.*; in 1533, 4s.; in 1535, 1s. 2*d.*; in 1549, 4s. 2*d.* Pikerells vary in price from 7½*d.* to 2s. 6*d.*, but generally cost about 1s. 3*d.* Perhaps the 'pypernell' of the Sion account (1448) is the same as the pikerel. A hundred are purchased for 28s. 3½*d.* Dentrices again vary from 4*d.* each to 3s. 4*d.*, though in 1453 half a hundred is bought at 10s. the hundred. Denticuli are cheaper; sixty cost 4s. 6*d.* in 1452, and the other entries are from 5*d.* to 11*d.* There are in all thirty entries under the four names.

Trout, again, vary greatly in price. In 1429 six cost about 2s. 2½*d.* each. In 1530 they are bought by Durham monastery at 1*d.*; in 1533 by Lewes at about 7½*d.*

¹ Note also that at Dartmouth, 1438, ling is 95s. 8*d.* the hundred; cheling, 41s.; and hake only 13s. 4*d.*

Tench is next commonest of the fresh fish. I have twelve entries. This fish, again, very much varies in price, being about $1\frac{1}{4}d.$ in 1451, and $2s. 8d.$, the highest price found, in 1530. In 1533 237 tench are bought for $39s. 6d.$ at the same place, Durham, while others, bought also at Durham, are at $1s. 10d.$ each. Roach, generally from Hickling, are always bought by the hundred, the price varying from $1s. 4d.$ to $5\frac{1}{2}d.$ But the discrepancies are not so considerable, the average being about $10\frac{1}{2}d.$ Dace are bought in 1535 several times at Sion at $2s.$ the hundred, where also flounders cost $1s.$ the hundred in September and $5d.$ the score in October. In 1481 they cost a halfpenny each at Stoke. Again, in 1546 twenty-four plaice cost $7s. 2d.$, i.e. a little over $3\frac{1}{2}d.$ each, a high price for a poor fish. It was paid, to be sure, at Oxford. In 1507, at the Thornbury feast in December, whiting cost $4d.$ each. In 1549 they were bought at a little over $2\frac{1}{4}d.$ In 1507 a turbot cost $1s. 8d.$; in 1535, $3s.$ In 1507 a haddock cost $4d.$, a gurnard $1s. 4d.$ (it should have been of enormous size), and in 1430 a thornback $8d.$ But in 1532 200 haddocks are bought at $2s.$ the hundred. In 1404 a hundred bream were bought for $40s.$; in 1504 two cost $3s. 8d.$ each. In 1562 a carp was bought for $2s.$, a price which confirms the popular view that the fish was of late introduction. The firkin of 'rumbus' of 1533, for which $9s.$ was paid, was perhaps salted turbot. Half a barrel cost $19s.$ in 1530.

Our ancestors devoured strange sea-animals, among others the porpoise. There are several entries of this article, the price of which, if there be no error in the accounts, varies exceedingly. In 1444 the Duke of Bucks pays $7s. 10d.$ for one of these creatures. In 1502 Sion Abbey gives $10s.$ for a quarter of the same viand. Unless some indeterminate measure is implied, it is difficult to explain so vast a price. In 1530-3 porpoises are bought largely at Durham, at prices varying from $15s.$ to $6s. 8d.$ in 1530, with an average of $11s. 9\frac{1}{2}d.$ In 1531 the range is from $4s.$ to $13s.$, with an average of $9s. 8d.$ In 1532 the average is $9s. 1d.$ In 1533 one porpoise cost $1s. 8d.$,

but a 'sea-calf' is bought at 10s., another at 18s., and two at 13s.

I have given three entries of shrimps in 1535. They are bought by the pannier at 2s. 10d., at about 1s. 6d., and thirdly at 1s. 10d.

There are fifteen entries of oysters, generally by the hundred or thousand, once by a measure which I cannot interpret, the 'waste.' The latter is in the fifteenth century (1482), the others are in the sixteenth. An average taken from twelve of these entries gives 11 $\frac{3}{4}$ d. the thousand. I have omitted the unknown quantity of 1482, and an astonishing purchase at Durham in 1533 for the Christmas feast of the monks at a little over 4d. a hundred. In 1572 4d. a hundred is paid at Harling and Mendham, but this is a gentleman's seat. If fish were dear, oysters were cheap enough to rouse our envy. Cockles cost 8d. a bushel in 1513. Most of the oyster prices come from Hickling.

I cannot guess what the 'Magari' of Battle are, four hundred and a half of which cost 5s. 11d.; or 'scapyn,' one hundred of which are obtained for 1s. 7d.; or 'Linches,' of which a hundred cost 10s. 3d. in 1448.

But no puzzle is knottier than the price of the lamprey and its associated species. I noticed before (Vol. I, p. 614) that the variation in the price was remarkable in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Here it is even more extraordinary.

There is an entry of salt lampreys at 20s. the barrel in 1404. These are bought at Canterbury, and the price is generally low in these entries. At the same time and place eighty fresh lampreys cost 1s. 10d. and fourteen hundred fresh 'lamprons' are bought at 52s. the hundred. But in 1507 a hundred fresh 'lamprons,' fish being dear, cost only 10d.

In 1405 the Countess of Warwick pays 8s. 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ d. a-piece for nine 'lampred,' a word employed occasionally in the fourteenth century (Vol. II, pp. 553 iv, 555 ii, 557 i. ii), and generally accompanied by a very high price for the article, for it is 2s. 2d. in 1292, about 1s. 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. in 1327; while in 1392 one is 6s. 8d., and

in the same year twelve cost a little over a shilling each. The word then is plainly used to denote a fish of exceptional size, quality, and rarity. To this then must belong the twelve 'lampreys' bought by the Duke of Bucks in 1444 at 6s. 5½*d.* each.

In 1404 eighty cost 1*s.* 10*d.*; in 1431 Sir John Fastolfe buys twenty-two at 5*d.* each; in 1445, six cost 1*s.* each at Norwich; in 1487, they are 5*d.* each at Cambridge. In 1530 five dozen cost the Durham monks only 1*s.*, and fourteen dozen as little as 2*s.* 4*d.* In 1531 the latter quantity is bought at the same place for the same price. In 1532 six cost 1*s.* In 1533 four dozen cost 5*d.* a dozen. It is impossible to explain such prices.

In the subjoined tables the first column of the first table is that of red herrings by the cade; the second that of white by the barrel; the third that of sprats by the cade; the fourth that of salmon by the barrel; the fifth that of ling, orgays or salt fish, by the hundred; the sixth that of cod by the hundred; the seventh that of salt fish by the warp; the eighth that of stock-fish by the hundred. The second table contains decennial averages of these articles.

TABLE I.
AVERAGE PRICE OF FISH.

	Red Herrings, cade.	White Herrings, brl.	Sprats, cade.	Salmon, brl.	Ling, Orgays, or Salt fish, per 100.	Cod, per 100.	Salt fish, warp.	Stock fish, per 100.
	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
1401	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1402	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1403	.....	9 3	.....	.....	.....	.....	2 1½	.....
1404	4 8	8 0	.....	28 0	60 0	26 8	.....	.....
1405	8 2½	14 1½	3 4	.....	.....	.....	.....	28 4
1406	7 0	13 4	.....	41 8	.....	.....	4 0	.....
1407	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1408	5 0½	.....	2 6½	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1409	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1410	6 0	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2 2½	.....
1411	6 8	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1412	.....	.....	2 4	.....	.....	.....	2 2½	.....
1413	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1414	6 0	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2 6	.....
1415	10 3	.....	2 8	.....	88 0	.....	2 3½	.....
1416	7 0	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1417	8 10	16 0	.....	26 8	128 0	.....	3 1	.....
1418	6 0	.....	2 0	.....	.....	.....	1 7½	.....
1419	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1 6	.....
1420	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1 7	.....
1421	.....	.....	.....	.....	100 0	.....	1 9½	.....
1422	.....	.....	1 9	.....	100 0	.....	1 4	.....
1423	8 0	.....	.....	.....	80 0	.....	1 4	.....
1424	7 4	14 0	2 0	.....	.....	.....	1 4½	.....
1425	7 4	14 4	1 8	.....	63 0	.....	1 4	40 0
1426	6 8	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1427	5 8	17 0	1 6	.....	.....	.....	1 1½	.....
1428	7 0	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1 4	.....
1429	5 6	.....	1 5	.....	.....	.....	1 5	.....
1430	4 9	10 0	.....	.....	.....	.....	1 4	.....

	Red Herrings, cade.	White Herrings, brl.	Sprats, cade.	Salmon, brl.	Ling, Orgays, or Salt fish, per 100.	Cod, per 100.	Salt fish, warp,	Stock fish, per 100,
	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
1431	5 5	6 8	.....	.....	50 0	.....	1 9	.....
1432	5 6½	12 3	1 4	.....	.....	.....	1 4	.....
1433	.....	6 6½	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1434	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1 3½	.....
1435	.....	.....	.....	.....	100 0	.....	1 8	.....
1436	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1 1½	.....
1437	7 4	.....	1 7	.....	.....	.....	1 3	.....
1438	8 6	12 0	1 4	.....	95 8	.....	1 6	.....
1439	11 10	16 0	.....	.....	.....	.....	1 9	.....
1440	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	55 0	.....	.....
1441	.....	10 0	.....	32 2	.....	.....	1 10½	.....
1442	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1443	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	50 0	1 4½	.....
1444	6 0	8 10	1 7½	18 6	.....	45 0	1 10	.....
1445	5 4	.....	.....	28 4	.....	.....	.....	26 8
1446	7 2	11 4	1 6	22 0	.....	.....	1 7	.....
1447	5 6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1 2	.....
1448	5 3	10 2½	1 7½	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1449	7 9	12 1	1 7½	.....	106 8	44 8	1 6	.....
1450	6 0	5 6	1 4	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1451	6 2½	12 0	1 2	20 0	.....	45 0	2 2	45 0
1452	.....	.....	1 8	.....	.....	56 8	1 2	.....
1453	7 9	15 0	.....	23 9	.....	55 0	.....	30 0
1454	6 0	10 0	.....	22 6	.....	.....	1 8	.....
1455	.....	8 2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	23 4
1456	7 8	10 7½	0 8	20 0	.....	.....	1 1½	24 0
1457	.....	11 0	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1458	6 8	11 2	1 0	23 4	140 0	.....	2 0	33 4
1459	6 10	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1 11½	25 0
1460	6 2	9 8	0 10	23 0	220 0	.....	1 8	28 0
1461	.....	.....	1 4	.....	.....	.....	1 6	.....
1462	.....	10 2	.....	28 4	.....	.....	.....	20 0
1463	6 2	9 4	1 8	28 4	90 0	.....	1 3	18 8
1464	8 11	11 0	1 10	.....	.....	41 6	1 6	32 0
1465	6 0	12 0	1 0	28 0½	113 4	63 4	1 2	.....
1466	6 8	.....	1 6	23 4	.....	.....	1 6½	.....
1467	6 8	6 3	2 0	.....	103 4	56 8	.....	30 0
1468	6 3	11 4	.....	.....	80 0	38 0	.....	.....

	Red Herrings, cade.	White Herrings, bri.	Sprats, cade.	Salmon, bri.	Ling, Orgays, or Salt fish, per 100.	Cod, per 100.	Salt fish, warp.	Stock fish, per 100.
	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
1469	9 0	.....	1 8	.....	.....	22 6	.....	.....
1470	7 0	9 0	2 2	.....	.....	30 0	2 2½	.....
1471	.....	.....	.....	24 2	.....	.....	1 8	.....
1472	6 4	.....	1 10½	.....	100 0	38 8	.....	.....
1473	7 0	14 0	1 11½	.....	154 0	37 4	1 4½	.....
1474	7 0	.....	1 7	.....	164 0	.....	1 6	.....
1475	.....	.....	.....	22 0	.....	50 0	.....	.....
1476	6 0	.....	.....	.....	.....	50 0	.....	.....
1477	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	50 0	.....	.....
1478	.....	.....	1 6	.....	.....	20 0	1 3½	23 0
1479	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	48 0	.....	.....
1480	6 4	10 0	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1481	6 1	9 4	.....	23 4	160 0	.....	.....	34 0
1482	.....	.....	.....	.....	80 0	44 5	.....	.....
1483	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1484	3 8	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	3 0	.....
1485	.....	.....	.....	.....	80 0	.....	.....	.....
1486	.....	.....	.....	.....	73 4	.....	.....	.....
1487	.....	.....	.....	.....	110 8	60 0	.....	.....
1488	.....	12 8	2 6	28 0	86 8	.....	1 5½	.....
1489	5 0½	10 5½	0 11½	26 8	80 0	60 3	.....	.....
1490	.....	.....	1 6	27 10	.....	.....	.....	.....
1491	4 3½	9 9½	1 0	27 0	95 0	50 0	.....	.....
1492	5 2½	9 2	.....	.....	66 8	40 0	.....	28 8
1493	.....	11 0	.....	30 0	60 0	33 4	1 1	.....
1494	4 1½	9 1½	0 8	35 0	.....	48 4	.....	28 3
1495	5 1½	8 4	.....	15 0	66 4	33 4	.....	20 0
1496	5 2½	13 7½	0 9	27 6	50 0	26 8	.....	26 6
1497	4 8½	8 4½	.....	.....	60 0	.....	2 3	41 5
1498	.....	.....	.....	25 3	90 0	.....	.....	30 0
1499	5 4	10 8	.....	25 0	80 0	33 4	.....	35 0
1500	4 0	9 2	.....	26 8	106 0	44 0	.....	25 0
1501	5 4	9 10	.....	26 8	24 2	23 4	.....	30 0
1502	5 10½	11 5	1 2	27 5	166 8	40 9	.....	29 4
1503	.....	12 0	.....	28 1	66 8	25 4	.....	.....
1504	.....	.....	.....	30 0	50 0	50 0	.....	.....
1505	.....	.....	.....	30 0	93 4	25 0	1 0	.....
1506	.....	10 3½	.....	24 0	80 0	23 4	.....	.....

	Red Herrings, cade.	White Herrings, brl.	Sprats, cade.	Salmon, brl.	Ling, Orgays, or Salt fish, per 100.	Cod, per 100.	Salt fish, warp.	Stock fish, per 100.
	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
1507	.....	10 4½	.....	.....	80 0	24 0	1 4	26 8
1508	5 10	11 6½	.....	26 8	80 0	23 4	.....	.....
1509	5 8	9 3½	.....	25 8	80 0	23 0	.....	20 8
1510	5 11½	11 1	.....	28 4	80 0	20 4	.....	27 0
1511	6 8½	8 2	1 4	.....	93 4	.....	.....	20 0
1512	5 5	10 7½	.....	.....	160 0	.....	.....	33 4
1513	5 7½	10 9	.....	27 8	83 4	43 4	.....	20 0
1514	6 8	11 9½	1 3	.....	80 0	.....	1 9	22 0
1515	6 10	11 0	.....	.....	80 0	53 4	.....	19 4
1516	5 6½	7 9½	1 4	25 0	80 0	53 4	.....	26 8
1517	5 0	8 4	.....	28 6	93 4	53 4	.....	.....
1518	4 11	7 1	1 4	25 8	87 0	43 4	1 2	23 4
1519	7 4	9 2	1 2½	29 2	106 8	75 0	.....	19 0
1520	6 8	9 11½	.....	30 0	.....	48 0	.....	26 8
1521	7 0	.....	.....	30 0	116 8	80 0	.....	22 0
1522	5 4	11 11½	1 0	33 4	133 4	40 0	.....	30 0
1523	.....	.....	.....	40 0	140 0	.....	.....	16 8
1524	8 1	15 8	1 0½	26 0	133 4	41 8	.....	16 0
1525	5 9	12 6	0 11½	25 0	133 4	.....	.....	26 4
1526	.....	.....	.....	27 6	110 0	60 0	.....	20 0
1527	6 2	10 3	1 1	26 0	133 4	.....	.....	24 0
1528	7 7½	12 0	1 4	28 0	126 8	60 0	.....	21 0
1529	6 4	11 10½	.....	25 10½	120 10	76 8	.....	20 0
1530	6 8	11 0½	.....	29 1½	138 4	.....	.....	17 0
1531	6 2½	12 9	1 4	27 6	160 0	70 0	.....	20 0
1532	6 8½	13 8½	1 2	28 0	161 0	46 8	.....	20 0
1533	6 10	14 2	1 6	25 0	120 0	39 0	.....	18 0
1534	7 0	.....	.....	29 2	140 0	40 8	.....	14 0
1535	6 3	12 3	1 4	27 6	93 4	46 8	.....	20 0
1536	7 0	15 0	1 4	28 8	160 0	45 0	1 11	18 0
1537	7 1½	13 4	.....	26 8	133 4	.....	.....	16 0
1538	6 0	14 2	.....	26 8	139 3	.....	.....	19 9
1539	.....	.....	.....	32 2	146 8	36 6	.....	17 0
1540	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	22 0
1541	.....	.....	.....	.....	150 0	44 0	.....	19 0
1542	10 6	.....	.....	39 4	.....	.....	.....	.....
1543	.....	.....	.....	35 0	.....	63 4	.....	30 0
1544	.....	.....	.....	.....	173 4	53 4	.....	.....

	Red Herrings, cade,	White Herrings, brl.	Sprats, cade.	Salmon, brl.	Ling, Orgays, or Salt fish, per 100.	Cod, per 100.	Salt fish, warp.	Stock fish, per 100.
	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
1545	.....	.....	.....	29 8	176 0	65 4	.....	17 4
1546	.....	25 0	.....	27 8	83 4	.....	.....	16 0
1547	.....	16 5	.....	40 0	210 0	51 8	.....	22 0
1548	.....	.....	.....	44 0	.....	.....	.....	24 0
1549	10 0	20 0	.....	53 4	260 0	70 0	1 0	36 0
1550	.....	.....	.....	41 3½	400 0	.....	1 0	.....
1551	.....	.....	.....	54 8	.....	66 8	.....	36 0
1552	.....	.....	.....	56 8	186 8	66 8	1 1½	81 6
1553	.....	.....	.....	40 6	210 0	70 0	.....	40 0
1554	9 0	24 0	2 6	.....	200 0	70 8	.....	40 0
1555	11 0	24 1	3 6	53 4	180 0	66 8	2 8	34 4
1556	11 4	24 2	2 4	53 4	160 0	70 0	.....	.....
1557	12 0	22 6	2 8	43 9	160 0	78 4	1 6	28 0
1558	10 6	25 0	.....	.....	.....	58 4	.....	30 0
1559	12 6	26 0	2 10	.....	170 0	83 4	.....	24 2
1560	11 0	26 0	2 2	66 8	320 0	60 0	2 8	28 0
1561	.....	18 0	.....	53 4	140 0	43 4	2 4	35 6
1562	.....	.....	.....	63 4	200 0	53 4	.....	22 6
1563	.....	30 0	.....	61 8	126 8	66 8	.....	24 0
1564	.....	27 0	.....	55 10	80 0	20 0	.....	41 8
1565	.....	23 6	.....	75 0	66 8	.....	.....	.....
1566	10 0	23 1	.....	.....	67 0	20 0	.....	29 0
1567	.....	18 9	.....	46 8	86 8	47 8	.....	30 0
1568	.....	24 0	.....	65 0	.....	20 0	.....	24 0
1569	.....	.....	.....	55 0	.....	48 0	.....	30 0
1570	.....	28 6	.....	50 0	216 0	.....	.....	24 0
1571	.....	19 3	.....	.....	148 0	53 4	.....	80 0
1572	.....	18 0	.....	66 8	140 0	53 4	3 2	30 0
1573	.....	29 0	.....	66 8	160 0	53 4	.....	.....
1574	10 6	20 0	.....	66 8	140 0	53 4	.....	.....
1575	.....	24 0	.....	.....	320 0	56 8	.....	.....
1576	.....	26 4	.....	80 0	180 0	60 0	.....	.....
1577	10 0	23 2	.....	86 8	153 4	.....	.....	.....
1578	.....	.....	.....	.....	260 0	45 0	.....	.....
1579	.....	24 0	.....	80 0	300 0	50 0	.....	.....
1580	.....	16 8	.....	70 0	240 0	51 0	.....	.....
1581	.....	20 0	.....	66 8	260 0	60 0	.....	.....
1582	.....	20 0	.....	70 0	310 0	60 0	.....	.....

TABLE II.
DECENNIAL AVERAGE PRICES OF FISH.

	Red Herrings, cade.	White Herrings, bri.	Sprats, cade.	Salmon, bri.	Ling, per 100.	Cod, per 100.	Stock-fish, per 100.	Salt fish, warp.
	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
1401—1410	6 2½	11 2	2 11	34 10	60 0	26 8	28 4	2 9½
1411—1420	7 5½	16 0	2 4	26 8	108 0	.....	.....	2 1½
1421—1430	6 6½	13 7	1 8	.....	85 9	.....	40 0	1 4½
1431—1440	7 11	10 8½	1 5	.....	81 11	.....	.....	1 5½
1441—1450	6 2½	10 0	1 6½	25 3	106 8	48 8	26 8	1 6½
1451—1460	6 9	10 11½	1 0½	22 0½	180 0	52 2	29 9½	1 8
1461—1470	7 1	9 10½	1 7½	27 0	94 8	42 0	25 2	1 6½
1471—1480	6 6½	12 0	1 8½	23 1	137 4	42 0	23 0	1 5½
1481—1490	4 11½	10 9½	1 7½	28 11½	95 9	54 11	34 0	2 2½
1491—1500	4 9	9 11	0 9½	27 0½	74 11	38 7	29 4½	1 8
1501—1510	5 9	10 8½	1 2	27 5	80 1	27 10	26 8½	1 2
1511—1520	6 0½	9 5½	1 3½	27 8	86 7	52 11	23 4½	1 5½
1521—1530	6 7½	12 2½	1 1	29 3½	128 7	59 9	21 3½	.....
1531—1540	6 8	13 7½	1 4	27 11	139 3	46 4	18 5½	1 11
1541—1550	10 3	20 5½	.....	38 10	197 5	58 0	23 5½	1 0
1551—1560	11 0½	24 6½	2 8	52 9½	198 4	69 1	43 8	2 0
1561—1570	10 0	24 1½	.....	58 5	121 10	40 0	29 0	2 4
1571—1582	10 3	21 11½	.....	72 7	217 7	54 2	55 0	3 2
First 140 years	6 4½	11 6	1 6½	27 3½	104 3	44 9	27 4½	1 8½
Last 42 years	10 1½	22 9	2 8.	55 8	183 9	55 4	37 9½	2 1½

CHAPTER XIX.

PRICES OF ALE AND BEER.

IN the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries such persons as kept and preserved their accounts,—the bailiff of the nobleman or gentleman, of a college or a monastery, and the possessors of great private houses, or of corporate establishments,—almost invariably baked their own bread and brewed their own ale. There are occasions on which purchases of bread and ale were made. The reader may find extensive purchases of such provisions in Vol. II, p. 644, on the occasion of the determination feast of 1395. Two thousand seven hundred loaves and nine bushels of fine flour are bought; and several quantities of ale, by the quart or quarter, which, as we shall see, was a local Oxford measure, and by the gallon, are also provided. The 'quart' is of three qualities, at 1*s.* 8*d.*, 1*s.*, and 10*d.* The purchases by the gallon are at 1½*d.* It is, I think, plain that the ale bought by the gallon is of better quality than that purchased by the larger measure. The custom changes, or rather is capricious, and the facts collected are best treated in a short chapter.

Ale was fermented wort, to which nothing was added which should flavour or preserve it. Beer, a word of later origin or use, was ale to which hops had been added. The use of hops in beer, an invention, it appears, of the Dutch, commences in the fifteenth and becomes general in the sixteenth century. Hence ale was produced for immediate consumption, unless it were made of extraordinary strength¹.

The measures by which ale and beer are sold are very various, and where the same word is used, it appears that it was of very

¹ I must admit that before I saw the distinction, I translated *cerevisia* in the earlier years as ale or beer indifferently.

different quantity. Thus the barrel is twenty-seven gallons in the Countess of Warwick's household (1405), and fifteen gallons in 1408 at Windsor. It is difficult to believe that the pipe at Writtle, which cost on an average 11s., though it seems to be four barrels or two hogsheads, was the same as the pipe at Dartmouth in 1438, a very dear year, when it cost 8s., or that in the Howard account of 1463, 1465, and 1468, though probably the Writtle quantity was the same as the pipe of the Wardrobe account in 1492.

Ale is sold by the coule at Salisbury, where we are told that the measure was of 28 gallons; by the cestra or sestre at Pershore and Allesburgh; by the kilderkin or half barrel, and firkin or quarter barrel at many places; by the tun, pipe, and hogshead in various parts; by the quarter at Oxford; and by the dozen on Sampkyn's lands, in London, and in the Howard account. It is described as good and inferior, as best and small, as single or double, as penny and three-halfpenny, and occasionally as sixteens. The quarter is also found at Writtle in 1547.

It is plain that sometimes the barrels were very small, as might indeed be expected, when one reflects that ale without hops would, if it were not speedily consumed, or exceedingly strong, pass rapidly into vinegar.

The Countess of Warwick's ale in 1405 must have been very strong. This is a cheap year for malt, for the price is only 3s. 3½d. But the 27-gallon barrel is put at 3s. 8d., the Countess buying malt at a great deal above the average, viz. 4s. 2d. But making all allowances for the cost of brewing, it seems as though the house ale took from five to six bushels the barrel. The Salisbury ale of 1406 is much thinner. In 1438 the Dartmouth pipe of ale is only 8s., and this was the dearest year of the century, though barley did not rise so much as wheat. In 1443 malt is cheap, being exactly at the price of 1405, and barley is always cheap in Sutton-at-Hone. But the barrel is 3s. 9d., 2s. 3d., and of better ale 5s. 4d.

The distinction between ale and beer occurs first at Writtle in 1444, and next at Sion in 1448, the nuns of this religious

house always drawing up their accounts in English, probably from ignorance of Latin. In Writtle the barrel of ale is 3*s.*, of beer from 4*s.* to 3*s.* At Sion the barrel of ale is 4*s.* 11½*d.*, of beer 3*s.* But malt is cheap this year, 3*s.* 9½*d.* It is dearer at Sion, 4*s.* 11*d.* the quarter. But the price of ale suggests a very strong beverage, not less, in fact, than seven bushels to the barrel. In 1452 malt is dear in the neighbourhood of London, cheap in the eastern counties, but ale or beer is 4*s.* 4*d.* the barrel; in 1453, 4*s.*; in 1455, apparently 4*s.* 4*d.*; in 1459, 4*s.* 10*d.*; in 1481, 4*s.* 2*d.* In 1494 large amounts of beer are bought cheaply, malt being cheap; but in 1501 the nunnery buys Godebill beer at 12*s.* the barrel, a price beyond precedent. Three-halfpenny is only 2*s.* 4*d.*, single 2*s.* the barrel.

In 1504 we find that three kinds of ale are bought at Canterbury, one called London at 30*s.* the tun, another Canterbury at 25*s.*, a third English at 23*s.* 4*d.* If the tun be two pipes four hogsheads and eight barrels, this gives 3*s.* 9*d.*, 3*s.* 1½*d.*, and 2*s.* 11*d.* the barrel for the three qualities of this ale.

In 1505 we find the first entry of the Oxford quarter. This measure is found twice at Oxford before the rise in prices, in 1505 and 1511, and nowhere else except at Writtle in 1547. In each of these cases it is priced 1*s.* 4*d.* The following are found subsequently, and serve to illustrate the scanty entries of malt in the later period.

	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>		<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>		<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>		<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
1553	3	4	1560	4	0	1573	5	1	1578	4	2
1555	5	0	1561	4	0	1574	3	10	1579	3	8
1556	4	4	1562	4	8	1575	4	2½	1580	4	4
1558	4	1	1565	4	0	1576	4	11½	1582	4	0
1559	3	8	1571	3	8	1577	4	8	Average	4	2½

Ale is purchased by the Crown, and entered in the Wardrobe account. Eight of these purchases by the tun between 1492 and 1549 give an average of 24*s.* 7¾*d.*; fourteen, between 1565 and 1581, give one of 40*s.* 10½*d.* It is difficult to resist the inference that these prices are untrustworthy, and that the

Crown was purchasing at fictitious sums in the later period. Seven entries of pipes, i.e. half tuns, between 1438 and 1492 give an average of 9s. 10d., which does not differ markedly from the proportionate price of the tun in the earlier time.

An average of forty entries of ale by the barrel, principally London purchases, between 1405 and 1540 gives 3s. 4d. These are prices of the best quality in the year. There are, with the exception of one year, to which reference will be made hereafter, only a few entries of ale and beer by the gallon, when the rate ranges from 2d. to 1½d., and is generally 2d.

There are seventeen entries of beer by the barrel between the years 1444 and 1532. The average price is 2s. 6¼d. Between 1560 and 1580 there are twelve entries with an average of 6s. 7¼d. This beer is of the best quality and is often called double beer. Single beer is found twelve times between 1501 and 1532, and is at an average of 2s. the barrel. Penny ale is 1s. 4d. the barrel in 1518. Another measure or quality, 'sixteens,' is found at Oxford only. Six entries between 1562 and 1580 give an average of 2s. 5½d. There are also three entries of ale by the dozen, in 1478, at 1s. 6d., in 1482 at 2s. 6d., in 1490 at 1s. 10d.

In 1507 there are several entries of ale bought on a journey at various inns, and one large purchase at Thornbury. Here the prices are generally very high, except in London where they are cheap. It was to be expected that travellers should pay high prices at inns, and in fact the price is generally double that at which the article was bought elsewhere, for the highest is 3¼d. a gallon. The year 1507 was the cheapest for corn prices in the century.

These prices of beer are however dubious, for it is not certain that the quality was uniform. Still it will be found that they have some correspondence with grain prices. Thus, for instance, 1576 was a very dear corn year. Here the price of beer by the barrel and of sixteens was the highest recorded, and ale by the quarter is high. 1573 is the dearest year in Elizabeth's reign, prices of corn being nearly as high as in 1556, and in

this year quarters were dearest, while in 1555 beer was 8s. 8d. the barrel. Had the purchases of beer given (for example at All Souls') quantities as well as price, I should have been able to construct as full an account of the manufactured article, as I have been able to make of the malt from which it was brewed. But it is clear that good ale was very strong, and that the use of hops was a great economy of malt, perhaps a check to intemperance.

CHAPTER XX.

ON THE PRICE OF TEXTILE FABRICS AND CLOTHING.

THE information supplied by such accounts of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries as have been examined for these volumes, is copious on linen, hempen, woollen, and other fabrics. This was to be expected. The farm accounts of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries were of production and sale. The collegiate and monastic records of the fifteenth and sixteenth are of purchase and consumption. My earlier researches supplied me with a considerable array of facts as to the coarse fabrics used for sacking, for windmill sails, and for dairy purposes, and but little for such linen as was purchased for domestic use, i.e. for wearing apparel, the use of table, and for sheeting. Again, I found only a few entries of woollen cloth, and that quality was generally of the coarsest kind. During my present period I am in possession of abundant facts, especially during the later part of the enquiry, the abundance being occasionally embarrassing, and the facts requiring selection in order to give any trustworthy history of prices. The particulars, however, will be found to supplement indirectly, especially those which refer to woollen clothing, those deficiencies in the record of raw materials which are so marked in the case of certain heads of production and exchange.

Most of the notes which have been made are extracted from the records of corporations, educational and religious. A few are still of farmers, because even when landowners generally gave up agriculture on their own account, it was the custom to retain a home farm. Occasionally the bailiff or steward

made purchases on behalf of the college or monastery from local manufacturers, sometimes he procured the necessary table linen for the bursars or other officials when on progress to view their estates, and on their coming being duly notified. Some are records of the purchases made by wealthy, noble, and even royal personages, or on their account. Hence there is great variety in the quality of the goods purchased, and unless the facts be distinguished and, as occasion arises, commented on, mere figures taken from the tables and aggregated would be productive of very delusive inferences.

A corporation supplied its members with all which they wanted, and the resources of the society could afford. The head of the college or monastery was fed and clothed, just as the fellows, senior and junior, scholars, monks, choristers, and servants were. The corporation not only purchases table linen, but shirting and sheeting¹. It buys all the linen needed for religious offices, the cloths which cover the altar and the host, the surplices and albs in which those who officiated were clad. As the rank of the several recipients was carefully observed in the doles of clothing, we have all sorts of linen, from the finest which the skill of the age supplied, to the coarsest which poverty or penance put on. The linen too was derived from many sources, and goes under various names. So again outer clothing was served out in the same manner. A distinction is drawn between gentlemen's cloth, valets' cloth, and servants' or boys' cloth. Occasionally the distinctions are more numerous.

The accounts seldom give the breadth of the linen. But ordinary linen for table and clothing could hardly have been less than an ell or yard wide, and was probably from $6\frac{1}{2}$ to 6 quarters in breadth, as various statutes from Edward II to Edward VI prescribed that woollen cloths should be. (See above, p. 206, and Vol. I, p. 575.) But occasionally the width

¹ In the same way, the Wardrobe comptroller buys, in 1546-7, linen and holland for queen Katherine Parr's use, during the short interval between the king's death and her unhappy marriage with Seymour of Sudeley.

of linen is designated. Canvas is bought at Cambridge in 1447, and again in 1458, which is said to be half an ell broad. But it is clear that this is exceptionally narrow, as the price is only 1*s.* 6*d.* the dozen in the former year, less than half the ordinary price of canvas, and 3*s.* the dozen in the latter, when inferior and broader goods are dearer. In 1550 linen bought by Magdalen College is distinguished as ell wide, and ell and a half wide, other linen in 1552 and 1553 as three-quarter cloth, and again as three-quarter canvas in 1555 and 1558. The cheapness of this article implies that the narrowness was exceptional. On the other hand, six-quarter broad canvas in 1573 is not exceptionally dear. Broad canvas or sheeting again appears to be two ells broad, as it is said to be in the year 1575, and the price of such broad canvas entirely accords with such a width, for broad canvas is about double the price of that which is of ordinary width. But the broadest is that under 1411, where the entry declares that the linen was $3\frac{1}{4}$ ells in width.

Again, the breadth of the canvas or linen is implied in the articles made from it. In 1482 twenty-one chorister's shirts cost 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ *d.* each. The price of the cheapest linen recorded in the year, that purchased at Norwich, near which town it was abundantly manufactured, is 4*d.* an ell, and the smallest chorister could hardly be shirted under an ell and a half of linen ell-wide. In 1503 three shirts cost 6*d.* each, and we are told that two surplices required five ells. Similarly, in 1508, a shirt costs 7*d.* In 1535 eight surplices cost 2*s.* each, and I should conclude that four ells of ell-wide linen would be needed for a surplice. In 1544 six surplices take thirteen ells. In 1548 a dozen shirts cost 16*s.*, and another half-dozen 7*s.* 10*d.*, the average price of shirting this year being 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.* the ell. In 1466 five ells of fine Holland are needed for two shirts made for Sir John Howard, afterwards Duke of Norfolk, and next year five yards are purchased to supply two smocks for one of his daughters, and four and a half for the other. In the year 1466 an entry is made of 'square Flemish ells,' which

may mean linen of foreign origin, ell-broad. On the whole my reader will probably agree with me that ordinary linen was an ell or an ell and a quarter broad.

As I have stated before, in the first volume, and in my chapter of weights and measures, the legislature insisted that the piece of woollen cloth should be of a particular length, as well as of a fixed breadth. It does not seem that a similar care was taken with linen cloths. They are, however, constantly bought by the piece, especially in the later part of the period. In 1482 these pieces are bought of $21\frac{1}{2}$, $21\frac{3}{4}$, and $27\frac{1}{2}$ ells respectively. In 1489 King's College, Cambridge, buys five 'pieces,' one of $37\frac{1}{2}$ ells at $9d.$, one of $31\frac{1}{2}$ ells at $8\frac{1}{2}d.$, two of $32\frac{1}{4}$ and $33\frac{3}{4}$ ells at $7d.$, and one of $34\frac{1}{2}$ ells at $6d.$ These are Bristol pieces. In 1494 Sion purchases three pieces, in the aggregate 82 ells, and seven of holland, in the aggregate $187\frac{1}{2}$ yards. A piece of canvas contained in the same year $48\frac{1}{2}$ ells, and one of Saltwich $36\frac{3}{4}$ ells. Four pieces are bought at Oxford in 1498 of 28, 26, and 18 ells, and 19 yards respectively. From 1502 onwards, Magdalen College, Oxford, purchases linen panni of very various lengths, though about 32 ells appear to be the commonest quantity. An entry in 1525 seems to suggest that linen was sometimes bought by weight as well as measure, for here two stones, 'petræ,' are purchased, one of $19\frac{3}{4}$ ells at $6d.$ the ell, the other of 18 ells at $7d.$ This gives $9s. 10\frac{1}{2}d.$ for the one stone, and $10s. 6d.$ for the other.

The commonest measure, and in the early part of the period the almost universal measure, is the ell. I stated, and as I believe with good reason, that there did not appear to be any practical difference (Vol. I, p. 571) between the ell and the yard in early times, the later difference of nine inches not having been recognised. Nor does it appear that there was any substantial difference between the two quantities in the fifteenth, and hardly in the sixteenth century. Linen is generally sold by the ell, woollen cloth by the yard, and the exceptions are few. Where they do occur for linen simultaneously they seem to be used indifferently.

There are, however, other measures. The bolt is used for sackcloth and for sail canvas. In the case of sackcloth, the bolt is said to contain (Vol. III, p. 477, i) 24 yards, a quantity which fairly, even closely, agrees with the price. In the case of sail canvas the bolt contains 50 yards (Vol. III, p. 478, iv), a quantity which agrees with the price paid for sails from 1561 onwards, where the bolt and the piece (see Vol. III, p. 491, i) are apparently identical. There are occasions in which it is difficult to interpret the piece.

Under the year 1415 there is an entry of Irish linen by the stany at 3*d*. In 1500, 1504, 1505, and 1506 the Sion nuns buy stanyn by the piece apparently of the dozen ells at prices between 7*s*. 4*d*. and 8*s*. 8*d*. each. Probably it is the same as the stamyn at the same place in 1494. In 1502 (Vol. III, p. 502, iii) 'stanyn' is bought at 4*d*. the yard.

Another measure, peculiar with one exception to lawn (this is an entry of sackcloth in 1447, where the quantity is apparently a yard), is the plyth, playte, plyth, or plique. Lawn is of exceedingly various value. Described as fine, it is bought by this measure at 10*s*. 8½*d*. in 1467, while the year before it is bought for 10*d*. In 1482 this quantity cost 2*s*. and 6*s*., three-quarters of an ell in 1485 being at the rate of 4*s*. In 1507 the plyt costs 8*d*. This is the last entry.

In 1548 and 1549 sail-cloth is bought by the fardel, or rather half fardel; in the former year at 80*s*., in the second at 75*s*. the half fardel. The fardel appears to consist of 175 ells, and apparently of three bolts or pieces.

In the earlier years the 'crest' appears to be a recognised quantity. It costs 1*s*. 7*d*. in 1410, 1*s*. 5½*d*. in 1411, 1*s*. 4*d*. in 1437. Later on the article is purchased by the ordinary measure.

Napkins are frequently, particularly in later times, bought by the dozen. They are generally described as diaper, this being on the whole the dearest kind of linen cloth. The earliest instance of such purchases by number is in 1496. After a time it becomes universal. Table-cloths also in the later years are

bought by tale and not by measure, a change which seems to suggest that the art of figuring the fabric had been developed. Perhaps the damascene of 1553, which was bought at so high a price, may be an early instance of such improved goods. Damask diaper is quoted under the year 1542. The *alternus pannus* of 1582 seems to be diapered.

Incle, which I believe is a broad tape used for binding, is occasionally found, and twice, 1535 and 1544, is bought by the pound.

The origin of the linen is frequently denoted. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries I have found linen from Liege and Ireland, as well as some from Aylsham in Norfolk. But in the fifteenth century I find Burgundy and Flanders linen first in 1401, Brabant first in 1406, Irish first in 1415, Holland first in 1452, Diaper first in 1461, Olsum (if this be the name of a place) first in 1466. In 1486 I find the first entry of Bresell¹, i.e. Bristol cloth, a very common article afterwards. In 1494 occurs the first entry of Sultwich² cloth. In 1510 I find an article described as *de la Brunne*; in 1512 is the first entry of Normandy canvas. In 1534 I find Utnoll cloth, in 1536 Garnsey cloth. In 1546 I find Barras canvas, in 1548 Rayne, i.e. Reynes bultel. In 1551 occurs the first entry of Northern cloth, described probably as Lancashire cloth in 1555. In 1556 occurs the first entry of Osimbigge, soon to be, when the name is more familiar, Oxenbridge linen, which was employed for kitchen purposes and to clean plate. In 1563 occur Kent, apparently, and Hamburgh linen. Lancashire cloth is, on the whole, the cheapest.

There are many names given to linen stuffs. The term canvas is very widely used, as well to denote the coarse fabrics employed for kitchen use, as for strainers, and wraps for meat, as for the best quality of ordinary table and shirting linen. I have referred to crest cloth. I find buckram for the first time in 1414, when it is bought at a very high rate. This article

¹ Bresell may be Brussels linen, but Bristol is certainly found.

² Sutwiche in 1553, and Southwick in 1558, are probably the same as this.

finally becomes the commonest material for sheets, shirts, surplices, and ordinary table linen. Bultel is a fabric also which appears early (1420), and is frequent. It is of two qualities, fine and coarse. The Corporal cloth of 1427 is fine linen used to cover the Host. Cupboard cloth (1437) also appears to be a fine kind of linen. It is found at a very high price in 1582. Shaving cloth is generally dearer than other kinds of linen. Buckram was probably from the first a stiffened material employed for lining, often dyed. But it also is used for the ordinary purposes of linen. Busk, a kind of table linen, occurs first in 1458, and occasionally afterwards. Dowlas occurs in 1527, is employed in 1555 to make amices, half an ell going to each of them, and in 1556 for surplices.

There are also narrow fabrics employed for special purposes. Such are the bever for stot collars in 1423, the pyghtelyn for horse collars, which is found in 1445 (the pythyng cloth of 1487 is probably the same), the pikeling of 1512, 1513, 1516, 1519, 1520, and 1543, and the Hardyn of 1495, 1528, 1531, 1532, 1533, the latter being a north-country name. All these articles are generally at the same price, from 2*s.* to 2*s.* 6*d.* the dozen yards or ells.

Here I must refer to the sail cloth purchased for Elizabeth's dockyards in 1561, 1562, 1563, 1569, 1573, and 1578. These articles, called Olderon canvas, Poldavies, and Midrenaxes, are purchased in bolts or pieces; Vittery or Vetry canvas by the ell; lockram and Dowlas canvas, the latter it is stated for flags, by the piece. The price of lockram and Dowlas is more than three times as high as that of the ordinary sail canvas. These terms were retained in the Admiralty as late as the end of the seventeenth century.

It will be convenient here to make a few notes on the entries contained in Vol. III, pp. 474, 494. An attempt has been made to bring the principal articles under four heads—of table linen, shirting, coarse canvas, and sacking, and generally to omit such entries as are irreducible, or are of such a character as would render the averages deceptive.

1405. The entries Parure and rubell are omitted from the estimate. I can see that they are linen fabrics.

1410-1411. The crest entries are omitted.

1415. The Irish entry is impracticable.

1449. The buckram is intended for the lining of garments, probably copes.

1466. The entries of fine holland are not calculated. They are purchases by Howard for his own use. The same note applies to the next year.

1487. The winding-sheet purchased for the burial of one of the King's College fellows contained about $3\frac{1}{2}$ ells.

1489. The napkins, crease cloth and diaper are omitted.

1494. The linen of the Warden of New College is not calculated, nor, in 1496, that of the President of Magdalen.

1510. I have not reckoned in the averages, the corporal cloth, the diaper napkins, or the green buckram.

1515. The 'Bowking cloth,' altar napkins, and linen of Hickling are omitted from the averages.

1517. The diaper is omitted, and the diaper napkins. They must have been purchased for the Warden of New College. The Oriel diaper is also left out. It was doubtlessly church linen.

1524. I have omitted the shaving cloth and the napkins; in 1525 the buckram, in 1526 the Warden's linen, and in 1528 the buckram. So with the pauper's linen and buckram of 1531. The Hunstanton linen, 1532, is that of an opulent personage.

1533-1534. The purchases at Stonor are of very fine holland for the use of a wealthy country gentleman. 'Cresomes' are, I believe, linen garments in which the child was dressed at its baptism, perhaps the mother at her churching.

1537. The canvas and shaving cloth at Magdalen are not reckoned.

1539. The towels, shaving cloth, and lockram are not calculated, and in 1540 these and the napkins are left out. In 1541 the lockram and bolting cloth have not been calculated.

1542. The buckram, boiling cloth, holland for shaving, and damask diapers are omitted. The latter material is supplied to the Warden of New College. The same applies to the year 1543.

1548. I have left out the canvas for horse trappings in 1548, and the Rayne Bultel. In 1549 the linen napkins are too cheap for the average, the diaper and the President of Magdalen's table linen too dear. I have similarly omitted the shaving cloth of 1550, and the servants' table linen of the same year.

1551. The buckram is not reckoned. The 'Cotton' is probably a woollen garment, at any rate quite a distinct fabric from the linen clothing. In 1552 I have omitted the barber's canvas, the high-priced Normandy canvas, and the low-priced three-quarter cloth.

1553. The omissions are the Sutwiche linen, the Magdalen canvas at 2s. 6d., the Damascene at 3s., the three-quarter, and the barber's cloth. The last item is also neglected in the reckoning of 1554.

1555. I have omitted the holland at Cambridge and London, and the 'House Canvas' at the latter place; the saddle-cloth and hempen towels at Oxford, and the three-quarter canvas at Magdalen. In 1556 I have done the same with the table linen at 5d. in Cambridge. The price is inexplicable.

1557-9. I omit the buckram and hempen, the fine canvas and napkin of the first year, the diaper, three-quarter, and Southwick of the second, the twill, flaxen, and diaper of the third.

1560-2. The diaper of this year is omitted from the averages, though even thus the prices, like those of 1553, are very high. The broad canvas of 1561 is not reckoned. In 1562 the average is exceedingly high, but the purchases appear to be made for the common use of the colleges.

1563-5. I have omitted the cheap linen bought for the scholars' table, and in 1564 some cheap towelling. Prices in 1565 are very high.

1566-9. The Boulter cloth, buckram, and high-priced diaper, the latter bought for the Warden of New College, are not reckoned. In 1568 the diaper and towelling are omitted, and in 1569 the broad canvas.

1570-5. The broad canvas and buckram are not reckoned, nor in 1571 are the canvas for servants' shirts and the holland sheeting. In 1573 I have dealt similarly with the six-quarter broad canvas from London, and the broad canvas in Oxford. In 1575 I have been unable to reckon the costly linen for the shirts bought by Corpus Christi College on behalf of the President.

1577-82. I have omitted the servants' linen, and in 1582 the cupboard cloth and fine canvas.

Throughout the averages I have confined myself to such entries as may reasonably be supposed to come under the four principal heads before quoted.* The annual and decennial

averages which are given at the conclusion of this chapter will, I trust, justify the discretion which I have claimed in dealing with the evidence collected in the third volume. The prices of table linen and shirting will be found to closely correspond in the earlier period, i.e. from 1401 to 1540, which I have taken throughout as the point before which traditional or customary prices were not sensibly affected. From this point the rise, as usual, is rapid. But like other commodities in which labour is an important factor, and foreign supply could readily check efforts to raise prices, the exaltation does not follow that in the price of food. The rise in the price of table linen does indeed closely follow that in the price of grain. But it is clear that either the purchase of this article in the later years was of a special and more fully wrought fabric, as I have noted above, or the cost was exceptionally enhanced. Sheetting is a little more than doubled in price. But coarse canvas and sacking do not show so great an increase in money value. They are domestic manufactures supplied by English artisans. The Lancashire linen is generally but not always cheap, some quantities of this produce being as high priced as Normandy and Holland cloth. The Bristol linen is generally at a full price, but entries become scarce in the later period. Much of the cloth, however, is not localised. In all likelihood, weaving, especially of linen and hempen cloth, was carried on in every village, as it was two or three generations ago, and as it is said to be still in the south of France.

The first entry of Holland linen is in 1461. But it is not common till the beginning of the sixteenth century, from which time entries are frequent. It is generally dearer than other kinds of linen, and is sometimes, when designated as fine, very dear. Such prices are those given for linen purchased for the use of nobles and gentlemen, abbots and heads of colleges, as, for example, the linen of 1522, bought at Hunstanton, and that at Stonor in 1533 and 1534, the six yards bought in Oxford, 1542, for the Warden of New College, that in 1546 for the Queen Dowager, Catherine Parr, that in 1551 at Hatfield for

the use of the Princess Elizabeth, that in 1555 for a corporal cloth to the Host, and that in 1564 and onwards for the Warden of New College and the Presidents of Magdalen and Corpus Colleges. Generally, however, holland is of such very various qualities that an attempt to draw an average from the entries would be misleading.

Diaper, as I have said before in this chapter, appears first in 1461, when a table-cloth of this material or pattern is bought for 10s. But I have found no other entry till 1489. Diaper is purchased by the yard and by the ell; but I find no guide in the prices given as to the relative length of these two measures. The lowest price at which I have found this article is 6*d.* in 1510, by the yard. But I have also found it at 7*d.* the ell in 1541. The highest prices, 4*s.* 6*d.* in 1534 and 5*s.* 3*d.* in 1566, are by the ell. But in 1543 it is 2*s.* 6*d.* by the yard, 2*s.* 3*d.* and 1*s.* 11*d.* by the ell. In this year Magdalen College, Oxford, bought two pieces of diaper each nine ells long at 1*s.* 10*d.* and 2*s.* the ell.

It is plainly impossible to draw any average from an article the entries of which vary in money value from 6*d.* to 4*s.* 6*d.* in the earlier, and from 11*d.* to 5*s.* 3*d.* in the later period. Nor is one assisted by adopting the three-foot nine-inch scale for the ell. In 1532 diaper is the same price by yard and by ell. Probably the whole difference was in quality. Thus in 1550 one Oxford college buys diaper at 11*d.* the ell for the servants' table, another at 2*s.* 8*d.* for table linen, i.e. for the fellows, and at 1*s.* 2*d.* for towelling. Including the alternus pannus of 1582 under the term diaper, I find about forty entries of diaper by the yard or ell.

It occurs, however, in another form, by the dozen napkins. These are generally called mappae; sometimes they are noted by the English name. The first entry by the dozen is in 1498, when it costs 4*s.* In 1506 the dozen is 9*s.* 9½*d.* In 1517 it is 7*s.* In 1528 one is bought for 4*s.* 4*d.* at Cambridge, and appears either to have been a small table-cloth, or a napkin of extraordinary fineness. Once only are napkins purchased at

any price approaching to this, and even then, in 1567, two are bought by the Warden of New College, at a price far less than this, 1*s.* 11*d.*

In 1533 they cost 14*s.* the dozen; in 1538, 8*s.*; in 1541, 10*s.* 6*d.*; in 1542, 8*s.* 6*d.* From 1554 they occur nearly every year, and generally of two qualities, being described as fine and coarse. The highest price of the former is 13*s.* in 1580, the lowest of the latter is 6*s.* 2*d.* in 1554. The following are the averages:—

	Fine, doz.	Coarse, doz.
	<i>s.</i> <i>d.</i>	<i>s.</i> <i>d.</i>
1554—1560	8 10½	6 10½
1561—1570	10 9½	8 4½
1571—1582	10 5½	8 2½

Slight as the facts are, they seem to indicate that the price was declining in the last twelve years of the period. During the latter part of the time which is treated in these volumes the linen manufacture was transferred from Flanders to Holland.

The accounts contain several entries of the price of thread. It is always bought by the pound, and is plainly of various qualities, for the price varies from 4*d.* to 1*s.* 2*d.* It is described as Coleyn, Bruges, and Oatenall thread. In 1555 it costs 1*s.* 8*d.* a pound. The thread is of divers colours, white, red, blue, green, and blodium, which appears to be also red. In 1441 thread is sold at 2*d.* the ounce; on another occasion (1515) green and blue thread are sold by the ounce; when, if the pound is of twelve ounces, as is probable, the first entry cost 2*s.*, and in the second the green was 1*s.* 8*d.*, the red 1*s.* 4*d.* the pound. In the year 1504 it was 1*s.* 3*d.*, in 1505 it was 8*d.*, 9*d.*, and 10*d.* In 1518 Bresell thread is 2*s.* the pound.

There are a few entries of sewing silk. Three ounces are bought in 1441 at 1*s.* 4*d.*, half an ounce in 1478 at 1*s.* 2*d.*, twelve ounces in 1494 at 1*s.* 1*d.*, 2½ oz. in 1496 at 1*s.* 1½*d.*, 3 oz. in 1508 at 11½*d.*, 4⅝ oz. in 1509 at 10*d.*, 3 oz. white in 1515 at 1*s.*, three-quarters of an ounce at 1*s.* 4*d.*, 1 oz. in 1518 at 10*d.*, 1½ oz. in 1541 at 1*s.* Skeins of silk, red, black, yellow,

and white, cost 2*d.* each in 1512. The average of these ten entries of silk by the ounce gives 1*s.* 0 $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.*

Here it may be convenient to refer to the price of hair-cloth, a material manufactured for the purpose of drying malt in the oast. My accounts supply me with twenty-one entries between 1409 and 1537, and three afterwards. In all cases the material is sold by the yard. The price varies from 10*d.* to 4*d.* As usual it is high at the beginning of the fifteenth century. The average price in the first period is 5*s.* 8*d.* the dozen yards, in the latter (three entries in 1554, 1555, 1556) the average is 8*s.* 6*d.* In 1533 sewing hair, employed to join the breadths of this hair-cloth, costs 4*d.* the pound. In my first volume, the price of the dozen of hair-cloth was 3*s.* 9*d.* before the plague, and 8*s.* 1*d.* after it, the value gradually declining. In the fifteenth century the same decline continues; prices as usual are very low in the last part of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth centuries, and the rise in prices finally puts the material at a little above the level of the last half of the fourteenth.

It will be obvious, from the entries made as to the length of the piece, that purchasers measured their goods after buying them, having probably given earnest of what they bought. This fact is curiously illustrated by the Cambridge entry of 1486, in which it is stated that the twenty-one and a half ells of 'Bresell' cloth was a quarter ell short, and the twenty-six ells of Holland was similarly deficient by half an ell. This looks as though the short measure was detected when it was too late to rectify the price.

WOOLLEN CLOTH. The revenues of collegiate and monastic foundations were charged with the clothing as well as the board and lodging of those who were supported by the charity. The residue of these revenues was divided according to a fixed proportion. The head of the college, the abbot, prior, or other principal official had his share, the officers of the establishment (in the case of a college the bursars and deans) had their fixed money payments, and the remainder, if aught remained, was

divided among the members of the foundation. When, as was often the case, the college endowments were too scanty for the board, lodging, and clothing of the inmates, weekly pensions were paid, and the recipient of the charity either had to depend on his private means, or on some source of income which he was able to earn. Sometimes the founder resolved on making a great person of his warden or provost, or whatever other name was given to the chief of the college, and stinting his fellows. This was particularly the case with New College, Oxford, Wykeham's foundation, the fellows of which were so scantily provided, that, as the register informs us, they constantly went into religion, *propter paupertatem*. In other colleges, such as Merton, Oxford, and King's, Cambridge, the allowances to the fellows were more liberal, though the head was still made an opulent personage, whose appointments were far more lavish than those of the fellows, and whose money allowance for his private ends was more liberal¹.

The principal sources of regular information as to the price of cloth for wear are the accounts of New College, Oxford, and King's College, Cambridge. There are a few from Merton College, Oxford, and Peterhouse, Cambridge, from Netley Abbey, Sion, and Durham. But none of these supply many facts. The clothing of wealthy and noble personages is illustrated chiefly from the Howard accounts, though the purchases on behalf of the abbot, or prior, or head of a College, are of the same nature. I shall deal separately with silk fabrics.

The New College purchases are generally made at Winchester, and at one of these great autumnal fairs, which, till a generation ago, were frequented for the same purpose. In my youth, it was still customary for the smaller gentry in Hampshire to visit Winchester in order to buy West of England cloth at the beginning of September for the use of their households, just as the

¹ The annual pension of the Provost of King's College, Cambridge, was £100 a year, besides every expense of his household. In 1468 (Vol. III, p. 679, i), the college reduced it to 100 marks, probably because, after the accession of the House of York, this was all the foundation could afford.

bursars of New College purchased it four or five centuries ago for the fellows, scholars, servants, and choristers. Fastolfe, according to a manuscript of the age preserved in the British Museum (Addl. MSS. 28,200), 'purchased for more than twenty-two years by his receivers more than a hundred pounds sterling worth of red and white cloth, from the tenants of the town of Castle Combe.' These purchases were no doubt made for the English army in France. In 1499, Fitzjames, Bishop of Rochester and Warden of Merton College, bought 79 yards of Medley cloth at Norton Mandeville, a small village near Chipping Ongar in Essex, from a local manufacturer, for the use of his fellows, besides four yards at double the price of the Medley for himself.

The cloth for New College is almost always bought by the pannus of twenty-four reputed yards. I have concluded, though with some misgivings, that the entry under the year 1409 in which the pannus is described as of twelve yards, is a clerical error of the bursar who made up the account. But the pannus is occasionally shorter or longer, though it is not always easy to determine whether the word is intended to denote the article or the piece. It is clearly the former, for instance in 1462 (Vol. III, p. 498, iii); and as plainly the latter in 1467, where the piece contains thirty-six yards. See also 1547, 1553, &c. But in 1469 the Cambridge pannus contains twenty-four yards. The legal measurement of the piece has been already referred to above, p. 206. But the Cambridge purchases are generally made by the yard and without reference to the piece, and also without distinct indications as to the purpose for which the purchases were designed.

The New College purchases are of several qualities. The warden and fellows had the same kind of cloth, that of the chaplains being occasionally distinguished and being dearer. Next there is the quality bought for the servants, or valets, then that for the garçones or boys. The stuff purchased for the servants is generally called pannus stragulatus, sometimes also pannus planus, and is ordinarily bought by the yard. Here,

again, there are occasionally three qualities of *pannus stragulatus*, the best quality, one slightly inferior for the 'servants,' and one a good deal cheaper for the 'boys.' It seems that the New College cloth was relatively cheap, and perhaps inferior in quality to that bought for the King's College fellows.

The purchases of the latter society are well illustrated in 1450, when the account is given in detail. The Provost receives twelve yards at 4s. a yard—we must remember that the dress of our forefathers was flowing and ample¹; the vice-provost and the seniors each eight yards, at 3s.; thirty-eight graduate fellows, each eight yards at 2s. 6d.; seventeen non-graduates, each eight yards at 2s. 2d.; ten conducts, each six yards at 2s. 2d.; fifteen clerks and valets, each three and a half yards at 2s.; and twenty-six choristers and garciones each two and a half yards at 1s. 10d. The cost of the warden's clothing was therefore 48s., of each of the seniors 24s., of the graduates 20s., of the non-graduates 17s. 4d., of the conducts 13s., of the clerks 7s., of the choristers 4s. 7d.; and the total charge to the college for all these liveries was £80 18s. 10d. But besides, they bought forty-six yards of another kind of cloth at 3s., i.e. £6 18s., and fifteen of a cheaper at 2s. 2d., £1 12s. 6d.

The additional purchase of forty-six yards was of a kind called 'Mustardevilers²,' occurring here for the first time, but also afterwards, as in 1454, 1457, 1461, 1486, 1488, 1489. After 1503 I do not find it named in the sixteenth century, though the word is said to have existed till the reign of Elizabeth.

Cloth, after it was purchased, was shrunk, '*aquatus*'; and shorn, '*tonsus*,' at the cost of the purchaser. Charges for these processes are given in the years 1447, 1535, 1536, 1561.

Pannus stragulatus appears to have been variegated, *pannus planus* or *strictus* to have been of one colour. Besides this we

¹ Gascoigne (*Loci e Libro Veritatum*, p. 145) is greatly offended by the tight-fitting dress which had become a fashion with the upper classes in his time.

² This article is cloth, manufactured at Montivilliers, in medieval Latin *Monasterium Villare*, a town near Harfleur in Normandy.

have russet (said to be the undyed wool of black sheep, though we find white russet in 1431, 1432, 1433, 1440, 1449), red, middle red, medley, green medley, green, blodius, white, Black de Lyre, sanguine, black, grey, murray, ray, violet¹, blue, rosett, crimson, and other colours, in grain and out of grain, scarlet, brown, tawny medley, maddered tawny, green byse, marble, and marble russet.

The origin of the fabric is sometimes designated. In 1446 we read of Kendal cloth, and again in 1463, 1467, and 1509; of Gloucester reds and Suffolk blues in 1482; of Bristol cloth, of cloth from Bradford, Ripon, and Wakefield, of Roselle worsted, of Norwich say, of Northern cloth (which becomes common at the end of the period), and of '*pannus hirsutus Hibernicus*,' which appears to be Irish frieze.

Another frequent kind of cloth is that known as blanket. It is sold by the ell and by the yard, more frequently by the latter measure, and must have been of various qualities, as it is bought in Cambridge (1447) at 1*s.* 2*d.* and 4*d.*, at the latter price twice, the article being described on one of these occasions as 'for the cook's boy's bed.' In 1432, some is purchased at 9*d.* for lining. The purchase at Heyford in 1420, probably, that at Takley in 1421 certainly, is intended for bedding. I conclude that the blanket at Canons' Ashby (1453) was purchased for the same purpose, that of Cambridge in 1458, but hardly that of Norwich in 1469. That of Battle in 1502 is probably blanketing; that of Hickling in 1513 certainly. In 1494 blanket is described as 'white,' in 1504 as fine. Omitting the cheaper kinds, the average of all the entries is 1*s.* 5½*d.* before the rise. There is a single entry after it at 2*s.* 4*d.* Once in 1405 it is bought by the piece.

Another kind is designated as frieze, sometimes *frisiatum*. I do not find it before 1431, when Fastolfe's bailiff buys three and a half yards for the gardener's '*epitogium*,' by which I

¹ Perhaps the large quantity of 'violet cloth' purchased by King's College in 1509, was mourning for Henry VII, who had recently devised the college a large legacy for the completion of the college chapel.

suppose is meant a tabard. On this occasion the price is high, 1*s.* 2*d.* a yard. Up to 1540 the average of this article is nearly 8*d.* the yard, afterwards it is 1*s.* 1½*d.* I have taken those entries which are specially designated as frieze, except that of 1552, which is described as hairy Irish stuff. Once in 1494 it is bought by the roll. The purchase is at Sion, which also buys it by the yard in the same year. If the two articles are of the same quality, the roll must have contained thirty-two yards.

Fustian, of which I found only one entry before 1401, occurs frequently in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. It appears to have been a ribbed cloth. In 1521 and 1531 it is bought at 2*s.* and 1*s.* 7*d.*, the former at Kingston-on-Thames, the latter at Durham, and in this case must have been of superior quality. Omitting these two entries, the average price is almost 8*d.* the yard; including them it is exactly 10*d.* After 1540, the average is 1*s.* 1*d.* On one occasion (1443) it is described as 'white ribbed fustian.' It is bought by the roll of thirty ells in 1482 and 1553, at 12*s.* 6*d.* and 32*s.* 6*d.*

A far cheaper woollen fabric than that served out to those whom a college or monastery clothed and kept within its precincts, is often found under various names in the accounts. All the entries which I have noted are before 1540, and give an average of a little over 9½*d.* the yard, or if they are to be measured by the piece of twenty-four yards of exactly 18*s.* 8*d.* the piece. Such cloth is employed for the commonest farm hands, or for stable purposes. In all likelihood it does not differ materially from frieze. It is of all colours.

Something analogous to this must be the white russet of Candlesby, which will be found quoted under the years 1431, 1432, 1433, 1440, 1443, at 11*s.* 4*d.*, 10*s.* 6*d.*, 10*s.*, 10*s.* 6*d.*, and 11*s.* 6*d.* the dozen; and, again, the cloth bought at Winterton in 1433, and that at Selborne in 1451. It was probably home-spun.

Again, the accounts contain entries of Carsey or Kersey. Omitting one entry at the rate of 3*s.* 11*d.* the ell, bought for the prior of Hickling's gaskins, the average is 1*s.* 3½*d.*

Say, chiefly manufactured at Norwich, is bought by the piece and by the yard; the latter rarely. It first occurs in 1466, when it costs 48s. 4d. the piece, a price never nearly equalled afterwards. Omitting this entry, the average is 18s. 2½d. the piece. The entries by the yard are at 1s. 5½d., and it would appear therefore that the piece contained less than a dozen yards, or perhaps a dozen, if, as we may infer, prices were less in bulk than in small quantities. Later in the sixteenth century say is sold at 27s. 9d. the piece.

As some kinds of cloth were, either from the scanty breadth of the article or its poor quality, too cheap for my average, so others are too dear. Such are articles purchased occasionally for heads of colleges and religious houses, and for nobles and wealthy gentlemen, and especially in the later part of the enquiry. Examples are—the cloth of the Warden of New College in 1414; the articles priced in the Howard accounts for 1462, 1463, 1464, 1465, 1466, 1467, 1469, 1481, 1482; that at London in 1467; at Norton Mandeville in 1499; at Battle in 1502; at Oxford in 1506; at Hickling in 1515; at Stonor (as far as regards the first entry) in 1517; at Oxford in 1525, and at Warwick (as regards the second entry) in the same year; at Oxford in 1528, at Warwick in 1531, at Greenwich in 1532, at Stonor in 1533 and 1534, at London in 1546, at Oxford in 1549, and at London in 1553, in one item.

As regards the principal items in the accounts, those of cloth designed for the liveries of persons maintained in public institutions, and generally provided for by the statutes of the founder, I have put the evidence for each year in which I could interpret the facts into an average. It will be found, either that cloth was cheaper at Oxford and its neighbourhood, or that the quality was inferior, or that the piece of twenty-four yards was narrower than that bought in the eastern counties. Some of the facts suggest the second of these explanations, for King's College, Cambridge, from which I have generally gained the facts of the Cambridge prices, pays more than (as I find from the entries of Peterhouse) a poorer college would. The same

fact applies to Magdalen, Oxford, as contrasted with New College. Thus in 1461, a period in which, I must remind my reader, prices were low, and in particular wool was very cheap, Peterhouse gives only a little under 1*s.* 1½*d.* the yard for Musterdevilers, while four years before, the same cloth, bought for the abbot's falconer at Netley Abbey, cost 2*s.* 8*d.* a yard. Still, throughout this period cloth is plainly very cheap everywhere. Again, towards the end of the period, most of the prices are derived from Cambridge, for the custom had sprung up in Oxford of making money allowances in place of livery, and even before this practice began, the record of expenditure is slovenly and confused. I have, however, striven to do the best with my materials, having ranged them as regards such annual and decennial averages as I have gathered, into first, second, and third quality of cloth.

There still remain some articles, on which a few words may be said. There is a stuff designated as 'worsted,' which is sold at very various prices; at 1*s.* and 5½*d.* in 1462, at 6*s.* and 5*s.* in 1473, at 1*s.* 4*d.* in 1524, and at 3*s.* 4*d.* in 1536. The same article is sold in 1488 by the piece at 18*s.* Another article, perhaps the same, called wolstede, is sold in 1531 at 4*s.* 9*d.* the yard.

The accounts contain a few entries of 'cotton' cloth, white, russet, and black. This is generally bought at 6*d.* a yard, but one entry at Stonor in 1517 is at 2*s.* 4*d.* This is distinguished from coarse black cotton at 6*d.*

In modern times camlet is, I believe, a finely woven woollen stuff. In 1481 it is bought at 4*s.* 4*d.* and 4*s.* the yard, in 1482 at 4*s.* 4*d.*, in 1520 at 2*s.* 8*d.* In 1466 black camlet costs 4*s.* the stick, which I conclude is the yard. Other camlet is generally red.

The cloth purchased in the Howard accounts is generally, but not always, dear. Such is the crimson engrained and green of 1464, if indeed these are woollen goods.

My reader will find that the decennial averages of the three qualities of cloth, though during some periods anomalies occur,

present striking analogies—now that, according to my custom, I have drawn these averages after having commented on the facts—to those of other prices. The first quality of cloth rises during the last forty-two years, to the same extent that prices generally do; the inferior kinds only to the extent that other produce of mere English labour does, since homespun, produced by domestic labour, was sure to be affected by the causes which affected the English labourer—a depressed rate of wages, a stinted demand, and an enforced economy.

SILK GOODS. My accounts supply me with certain entries of silk fabrics, all, or nearly all—at least in the earlier part of the period—the products of foreign industry. There was, however, as I have noted above, p. 149, a silk manufacture in London in the middle of the fifteenth century which prayed for and obtained protection against foreign competition.

Of these foreign silks the most costly was velvet. It was purchased for the use of the king and his kinsfolk, for the great nobles, and for church purposes. Thus Lord Cromwell in 1441 buys two velvet copes, of the kind known as velvet upon velvet, the quantity not being given, at £5 13s. 4d. each. But the most considerable purchases are those of the Howard accounts. In 1464, besides buying quantities of fine cloth, Sir John Howard purchases velvet in London at 18s., 17s., and 12s. 8d. the yard; in 1465 at 15s., 13s. 4d., 11s. 4d., and 11s.; in 1466 at 12s.; in 1467 at 20s., 16s. 8d., 13s. 4d., 11s., and 10s.; while more precious stuffs, cloth of gold, costs 60s. a yard, and 'velvet on velvet picked with gold,' 25s. In 1474 the corporation of Norwich buys velvet at 26s. 8d. the yard. But the purchases of the Howard account are most extensive in 1481 and 1482; here the prices of velvet of all colours are 16s., 15s., 14s. 4d., 13s. 4d., 12s., and 11s. in the former year, 16s. and 12s. in the second. In the year 1481 cloth of gold costs 80s. a yard; Howard, then in the height of his influence and wealth, purchasing no less than twenty-five yards of this expensive article. In 1507 half a yard of velvet is bought by King's College at 10s., and in 1520 five and a half yards at Oxford

cost 8s. 4d. the yard. In 1526, Magdalen College, Oxford, made extensive purchases of material for vestments. Here the velvet upon velvet is 16s., and crimson velvet 13s. 4d., red cloth of gold 20s., plain cloth of gold 30s., and 'crimson velvet on velvet wrought with perlys of gold,' 23s. 4d. a yard. Some velvet on velvet pricked with gold is bought by the ounce. The price however, 1s. 2d.—unless the gold thread was very slight—when compared with that of silk thread by the ounce, seems to suggest a backing of some less costly material than silk. In 1532 black velvet at Durham is bought at 12s. In 1543 black velvet at Greenwich costs 11s. 4d. a yard, and in 1551 some purchases made for Elizabeth during her residence at Hatfield are at 27s. 4d. and 30s. a yard. Again, in 1553, among the purchases made for the funeral of Edward, are Lucca velvet at 26s. 8d., black and blue jean velvet—by which I presume Genoa stuff is meant—at 18s., 16s., and 15s., no less than four hundred and fifty-seven yards being purchased chiefly at 16s. I have found no later purchases.

There are several entries of satin. Blue satin costs 9s. a yard in 1441, red satin 8s. in 1467, while in 1481 black satin is bought at 7s. and 6s. 8d., tawny at 9s. and 9s. 6d., green at 12s. In 1500 Bruges satin for a cope costs 4s. 6d. a yard. The cope is lined with frieze at 9d., six yards of each material being employed, while the gold and silk employed to embroider it cost 9s. 10d., the whole charge being 41s. 4d., incurred by the monks of Farley, Somerset. In 1526 Bologna satin is bought at 3s. a yard, and was probably narrow; and in 1531 at Oxford 'viridis satanettus,' if this be the same material, 2s. 1d. and 1s. 11d. In 1534 tawny satin costs 7s. 6d., and in 1453 white satin is bought at 7s. 4d., Bruges satin being 2s. 4d.

Damask is also purchased in 1463 at 8s., in 1464 at 7s., in 1465 at 8s., in 1466 at 8s., in 1467 at 7s. 4d., 8s., and 9s., the colour being generally black, though the highest priced is red. In 1481 tawny damask is 7s. 8d., while damask embroidered with gold costs 86s. 8d. the yard. In 1503 it is bought in

Oxford at 7*s.*, in 1507 in Cambridge at 6*s.* 8*d.*, in 1518 in Oxford at 6*s.* 6½*d.*, and in 1520 at 6*s.* In 1526 white damask is 7*s.* 8*d.* at Oxford, red 5*s.*, while 'damask cloth of gold wrought with imagery' is bought, twenty-one yards, at 13*s.* 4*d.* the yard. It is not improbable that damask was, like the linen fabric, a material with a diapered pattern.

There are a few entries of sarsnet. In 1464 crimson costs 4*s.* 4*d.*, white and black 5*s.* a yard. In 1532 the monks of Durham pay 4*s.* a yard for the article, in 1553 white is bought at 5*s.* 8*d.*, blue, red, and black at 4*s.* 4*d.*, and in 1565 an ell is bought by the city of Oxford for 4*s.* 6*d.*

Another and cheaper kind of silk stuff is called tartaryn. This is bought at 3*s.* 4*d.* in 1427; at 10*d.* in 1434, when it is employed as lining to the state hat of the Norwich mayor; at 2*s.* 8*d.* and 2*s.* 4*d.* in 1441, when it forms part of Lord Cromwell's purchases, and is white, blue, red, and green; and at 2*s.* 4*d.* and 3*s.* in 1445, when another kind called double is bought at 4*s.*

Other kinds are, rosett in 1462, at 5*s.* the yard, green byse (which I imagine to be silk), at 4*s.* in 1525, and taffeta in 1553 at 10*s.* 4*d.* and 10*s.* Black a Lyre is probably silk: it costs 2*s.* 6*d.* in 1439; 6*s.* 8*d.*, 6*s.*, and 4*s.* in 1466; 4*s.* 5*d.* in 1467. I also find sericum blodium in Norwich, 1469, at 1*s.*, which is probably a narrow silk riband; and baudekyn in 1526 at 12*s.* the yard.

Riband and fringe are often bought by the ounce. Six entries of ribbon by the ounce give a little less than 11*d.* In 1518 ribbon is bought by the pound at 15*s.* 4*d.*, and apparently by the pound avoirdupois. In 1450 ribbon silk costs 1*s.* 10*d.* the ounce; in 1508 round silk 11¼*d.* the ounce. Between 1445 and 1543 silk fringe is 1*s.* 1½*d.* the ounce. In 1553 that purchased for the funeral of Edward VI costs 3*s.* and 2*s.* the ounce. In 1445 'Hemlace and Frislace' cost 1*s.* 6*d.* the ounce; and in 1443 an article called fringe and lace is bought at 1*s.* 6*d.* Ribbon for copes is 2*s.* 3½*d.* the yard in 1509, and an ell of silk lace in

1555 is 2*d.* There is an entry of two ounces and one piece of fringe in 1494. The aggregate is 5*s.* 4½*d.* Now if the average price of fringe can be relied on, it appears that a piece of fringe, i.e. the quantity into which the manufacture was made up, was about three ounces.

Venice gold fringe is sold in 1553 at 88*s.* the pound for Edward's funeral. The record tells us that it was at 7*s.* 4*d.* the ounce; in this case the pound is therefore twelve ounces. Similar to this is the 'orfreuse,' i.e. the edging to copes of Venice gold, four of which are bought by Magdalen College, Oxford, in 1533 at 80*s.*

Skeins of silk are sold at 2*d.*, and of all colours, red, black, yellow, blue, and white. The price is not higher after the general rise in money values than it was before that event; and my reader will observe that silk products are not affected by the general rise in prices to any notable extent, even although the evidence is not copious after the change occurred. Still it is, in my opinion, sufficient. If I am correct in my inference, I get in the price of this produce a further illustration of the position laid down so frequently in this volume, that home prices are only affected, whatever be the changes in the nominal value of the currency, except through the foreign exchanges, operating in the first instance on foreign imports. This rule must be guarded by the condition that good faith is maintained in the currency, i.e. that it be not indefinitely and unintelligibly debased. When this sort of confusion arises, we witness the catastrophe of Henry the Eighth's money. Had he and his son's counsellors kept the same rate of debasement the evil might have been checked, or at least limited; but as the various prices of base money were of indistinguishable but very different value, the confusion was ruinous.

Before 1541 the average price of velvet, from the entries given above, is 13*s.* 10½*d.* the yard, afterwards it is 18*s.* 8½*d.*, the money value being swollen by the entry in 1551. That of satin is 7*s.* 6½*d.*; or, if we include with this article damask, 7*s.* 4½*d.*; afterwards it is 7*s.* 4*d.* Sarsnet is 4*s.* 4*d.* before the

period, 4*s.* 6*d.* afterwards. I am persuaded that if there had been entries of silk by the ounce, as there are of silk by the skein, before and after the date which I have taken for my dividing line, the result would be the same.

The accounts contain other entries which it will be convenient to deal with here. The garments were lined, and the lining article is occasionally given and priced under the name; in 1466 and 1486 at 1*s.*; in 1533 at 9*d.*; in 1546 at 8*d.* This was the common object, it appears, with which buckram was bought, as for instance in 1481, when black and green material is purchased at 5½*d.*, 5*d.*, and 6½*d.* In 1531 it costs 7½*d.* for the same purpose. Perhaps the twill of 1558, at 1*s.* a yard, was bought for a similar end.

In 1462 worsted is purchased at 1*s.* the yard, and at the same time and place red worsted, 'for the banker in the hall,' i. e. for the seat below the windows, at 5½*d.* In 1524 an article described as S. Onias' worsted is bought in Cambridge at 10½*d.* the yard. But in 1473 the corporation of Norwich buys damask worsted, purple and red, for cushions in the guildhall, at 6*s.*, and scarlet grained at 5*s.*

It is possible that 'Tewke,' purchased at 1*s.* 8*d.* and 1*s.* 4*d.* by Howard, is lining. It is also purchased at 1*s.* 3*d.* the yard in 1493, and at 1*s.* 1¼*d.* in 1496. 'Crule' is bought at 2½*d.* an ounce in 1464, and of different colours at 1*s.* 10*d.* the pound in 1496. 'Sere' cloth is at 8*d.* the yard in 1441; 1*s.* 10*d.* in 1443.

I cannot guess what Pawlett canvas is in 1481, purchased at the high price of 4*s.* 4*d.* the yard, or Frysadoe, bought for a sleeveless coat at 2*s.* 8*d.* the yard in 1533. In 1576 the fellows of King's College, Cambridge, purchased thirty-eight yards of 'painted cloth' for the provost's bedchamber at a little under 8½*d.* the yard. This material is alluded to by Shakspeare.

I have already commented on the various qualities of stuffs which, sold by measure, go under the name of blanket, but there are other entries of blankets for bedding called by this name or by that of lodices.

In 1450 a pair costs 3*s.* 6*d.*; in 1457 a pair of 'centones' is bought for 5*s.* 4*d.*; in 1502 the same articles are bought for 5*s.*; in 1513 two are made at Hickling from twelve ells of the material at 7½*d.*, and therefore cost 7*s.* 6*d.* In 1555 a pair of 'centones' costs 10*s.* 8*d.*; in 1563 a pair costs 8*s.* 4*d.*; in 1574 11*s.* 3*d.* In 1572 a pair of 'rug' blankets are bought for 11*s.* 8*d.*, and a pair of stragulae for 16*s.* 8*d.* In 1555 a pair of red blankets costs 23*s.*, and in 1556 a single article is bought for 11*s.* But lodix is also used (Vol. III, p. 486, i) for sheets. In 1539 a pair of sheets costs 7*s.* 10*d.*; in 1557 6*s.* 8*d.* Perhaps a pair of 'lintheamina,' bought in 1421 with other bedding for 4*s.*, are also sheets, as those in 1450 for 3*s.* 6*d.*, and a pair for choristers in 1473 at 2*s.* 4*d.*

Here it may be convenient to refer to other kinds of bedding. Feather beds cost 20*s.* in 1459; 36*s.* 8*d.* in 1506; 15*s.* in 1543; 13*s.* 4*d.* in 1560. A feather bed and pillow are bought for 60*s.* in 1553, and a bolster for 5*s.* In 1489 a feather bed and pillow cost 15*s.* 4*d.*

Mattresses, stuffed it seems with wool, appear in the accounts: in 1421 at 4*s.*; in 1434 at 5*s.*; in 1447 at 4*s.*; in 1496 at 2*s.* 8*d.*; in 1516 at 3*s.*, prices being, as not infrequently before, low in the latter part of the fifteenth century and the beginning of the sixteenth. In 1553 the price is 9*s.* A night-cap costs 10*d.* in 1510. Six pillows are bought at 10*d.* in 1521, and twelve pulvinaria, six at each of two Oxford colleges, in 1569 at 10*s.* each. In 1431 a cushion cost 7*d.*; in 1532, 2*s.* 6*d.* In 1572 a tick for a feather bed supplied to the President of Corpus, Oxford, costs the college 47*s.* 6*d.* A cooptorium for a bed costs 5*s.* 6*d.* in 1404, and 4*s.* in 1421. Three quilts are bought at 5*s.* 4*d.* each in 1555.

In 1571 a hanging for the bed-chamber of the Warden of All Souls, Oxford, was bought for 80*s.* A 'toralis lecti majoris' in 1553 costs 86*s.* 8*d.* A 'Tapes' for the high altar cost £5 in 1542, and one for the high table 53*s.* 4*d.* in 1553. In 1572 two velamina tapetis cost 13*s.* 4*d.* each. An altar-cloth and frontlet were bought at Sutterton in 1511 for

14s. 9d. In 1517 there is a 'pannus altaris' at Cambridge for 3s. 4d.

Here, perhaps, I may refer to carpets. In 1434 'a carpet of the most assise' was bought by Fastolfe at the great price of 93s. 4d. In 1482 eleven carpets are bought at Stoke at 16s. 8d. each, and in 1510 Osney Abbey bought two at 26s. 8d.

There are several entries of copes and other church vestments. Among wealthy persons and in opulent foundations these vestments were made of the most precious materials; but poorer churches were content with cheaper stuffs. In 1465 the fellows of Oriel sold Gascoigne's cope, which came to them as a mortuary, and had been in their possession seven years, for 14s. In 1514 the prior of Hickling purchases an altar-cloth of crimson say, containing fifteen ells of the stuff, for 18s. (here it is a little cheaper than the average price) and two copes of red worsted embroidered with flowers, which cost 27s. each. In 1516 the Charterhouse buys two say copes at 16s. 2d. In 1519 a cope for a novice at Hickling¹, made also of say, is bought for 9s. In 1553, on the reaction after Mary's accession, four copes of silk gauze? (*serici gausapini*) are bought at 20s. each. But those of velvet upon velvet in 1441 at 56s. 8d., that of 1488 at 72s., that of 'cloth of gold of Baudekyn' at £7 9s. 3d., bought in 1535 at St. Osyth's, and that purchased by Magdalen College in 1555 for £5, must have been of very costly material, similar probably to what was bought in 1526. I cannot guess what the *capa plumalis* of 1489 is, purchased at Wymondham in Norfolk. In 1420 a church banner cost 2s. 6d.

I find a velvet bonnet in 1533 bought for 24s., a frontlet in 1554 for 5s., a velvet sword girdle in 1533 for 5s. 8d., a Roselle gown in 1543 for 17s. 8d., a petticoat in 1542 at 7s. 6d., and a kirtle for 12s. 4d. In 1546 a doublet costs 5s. 4d. In 1441 the opulent Lord Cromwell buys 99 powches of gold to decorate copes with, and pays £17 for the ornament. In 1470-1 Norwich

¹ Hickling was a foundation for secular canons. The novice therefore was no doubt a priest.

pays 5*s.* for a captain's jacket, and 12*s.* 8*d.* for a camelot jacket, besides other sums for the clothing of the soldiers sent to Tewkesbury field.

A saddle-cloth in 1515 cost 1*s.* 1*d.*, but in 1537 one is purchased for the President of Magdalen for 7*s.* 2*d.* A tunica in 1548 is 6*s.* 8*d.*

Towards the latter end of the period travellers carried some of their clothing in satchels fastened to the saddle and called males. Five such articles are entered, one in 1502 at 4*s.* 4*d.*, a second in 1527 at 6*s.* 8*d.*, a third in 1560 at 9*s.*, a fourth in 1566 at 7*s.* 4*d.*, and again in 1572 at 7*s.* 6*d.* Similar to, though not identical with these are cloke-bags. I find five such entries, at 2*s.* 6*d.* in 1563, at 6*s.* 8*d.* in 1571, at 6*s.* in 1574 and 1577, at 5*s.* 8*d.* in 1580. A male and budget in 1489 costs 8*s.* 8*d.*; a money male in 1577, 2*s.* Perhaps the Oxford 'mantica,' priced in the later period at 4*s.* 6*d.*, 7*s.*, 11*s.*, and 8*s.*, is the male.

Among textile fabrics we may perhaps reckon mats. These articles were bought extensively, the separate record being sometimes lost, at very various prices. Frail mats were sold by the roll of 30 yards in 1532 at 4*d.* the yard. Mat pieces in 1570 at 2*s.* 6*d.* These were probably goods manufactured to lay down in the centre of rooms. Others are also by the piece. Thus in 1435 four mats are bought in London for a hall at 3½*d.* each. In 1529 twenty mats at Oxford cost 2*s.* 4*d.*, i.e. a little under 1½*d.* each. In 1560 Corpus College, Oxford, buys mats at 6*d.* But the commonest of these products is the Welsh mats, which are found between 1532 and 1568, and purchased for the royal palaces. The earliest price is 4*s.* 4*d.* the dozen yards. From 1533 to 1541 it is 4*s.* In 1567 it costs 4*s.* 8*d.*; in 1568, 3*s.* 6*d.* The edges of these mats appear to have been bound with a material called handleband, which costs 4*d.* a pound, and is probably a coarse hempen tape.

It now remains that I should deal with the few articles of clothing which have not been commented on. Of these, the most costly, and perhaps the most gorgeous, according to the

taste of the time, was the hat purchased for the mayor of Norwich by the Corporation.

I have found only a few instances of the costs incurred by this wealthy corporation in decorating their chief officer. They bought silver to adorn his sword, and paid him while in office a handsome salary, as much as they contributed for the wages of their burgesses in Parliament. But the chief glory of the office appears to have been his hat, which was plainly a cap of maintenance, trimmed with costly fur. In 1431 the fur to the hat costs 6*s.* 8*d.* In the next year a beaver hat, with marten skins (i.e. ermine), costs 12*s.* In 1434 a grey furred mayor's hat is bought for 13*s.* 4*d.*, and it is lined with five yards of tartaryn, at a cost of 2*s.* 6*d.*, and decked with lace, probably an ounce of this article, at a cost of 1*s.* In 1437 the mayor's hat costs 10*s.* 2*d.* The hat had cost only 2*s.* 10*d.* in 1418, but the Corporation became splendid as the wealth of the city grew. Unfortunately in 1438 the city was disgraced by a terrible riot. It lost its charter for four years, its affairs were administered by the Crown, and the mayor is not presented with so gorgeous a display in future. The city had to suffer more serious calamities a century and more afterwards, when Ket ruined the trade by his insurrection, and Somerset ruined himself by being too merciful to the Norfolk rioters, and thereby putting himself into the power of Northumberland.

At the beginning of the fifteenth century Norwich was the second city in the kingdom. Even in the middle of the century, and after the disastrous riot which was visited by the temporary forfeiture of its privileges, it was assessed (*supra*, p. 87) only a little below York, and York was a county of 2700 acres, that is, the franchise and the tallage extended far beyond the limits of the town. It was the centre of a prosperous manufacture, an equally prosperous agriculture, and of a large foreign trade, of course considering the times. It had concentrated, by a natural process, the industries which had been scattered over the country a century before, within its own walls. It made much money, it scorned the hierarchy, and

harboured the Wickliffite preachers. It was foremost in its hostility to Suffolk and Somerset, and other incompetent and dishonest advisers of the saintly and silly Henry. It was warned in vain of its errors by the frequent and copious burning of heretics, and chastised for its riots, as we see, by the suspension of its privileges. But it had a Mowbray or a Howard to defend it as its local leader and its social chief. I know no echoes of the past which I should more like, were it possible, to recall, than the words of Baxter, Dunstan, Monesley, Gerard, Cook, Ashwell, Toppes, and Ingham, burgesses for Norwich between 1420 and 1436. It seems as though one were speaking of a present family, when one reads of a John Jermy as a counsel learned in the law, who was retained and consulted by the Corporation.

There are several entries of caps and hats. The price varies. Once a cap is bought (1546) for 3s., but this, like the rest of the purchases in the entry, is a costly article. A felt hat in 1457 is bought for 10*d.* The other prices range from 3*d.* to 1*s.* 0½*d.* Once in 1574 a pileus costs 1*s.* 4*d.* Choristers' caps are purchased at 7*d.*; and russet caps are bought at Sion at 9*s.* the dozen in 1505 and 1506. Double caps at 1*s.* 8*d.* are quoted in 1455.

Shoes are purchased also at very various prices, the highest in the early period being 1*s.* 2*d.*, the lowest 3*d.* The average of twenty-one entries is a little over 6½*d.* before the rise, and 8¾*d.* after it.

Ocreae, i.e. boots, are found under this name four times, twice in 1490 and 1547 at 1*s.* 8*d.*, once in 1502 at 8*d.*, once in 1472 at 2*s.* 6*d.* In 1454 one pair of boots is bought at Ripon for 1*s.*, and another pair at 3*s.* In 1457 the abbot of Netley's boots cost 1*s.* 8*d.*, his shoes 6*d.* and 10*d.*, while those of women and boys are 4*d.* each. In 1514 a pair of riding boots at Oxford costs 3*s.* 4*d.*

The accounts give several entries of caligae. Prices up to 1540 range between 1*s.* and 2¼*d.*, the average being 5¼*d.*; afterwards the price is 11¼*d.* 'Hose' in 1546 cost 3*s.* 4*d.* a pair to

a man of substance, and in 1543 and 1574 1*s.* 4*d.* to a woman of condition. I find also 'calipodia' at 2*d.* a pair in 1503 and 1507, and 'pedibomae' in 1502 at 1*d.* a pair. These are probably some cheap kind of slipper.

The purse hung at the girdle. There are two entries at 10*d.* in 1547, and 8*d.* in 1546. In 1494, 1496, and 1505 they are bought by Sion at 1*s.* 6*d.*, 1*s.* 8*d.*, and 2*s.* the dozen. Girdles cost 4*s.* the dozen in 1494, and 8*s.* in 1546.

Gloves are of three kinds, those worn by or given to labourers, those purchased for ordinary use, and those given to distinguished personages. It was the custom to give labourers gloves. The price of these varies from 4*s.* in 1457 to 1*s.* a dozen in 1510. Hedging-gloves are dearest, 4*s.* 9*d.* a dozen, and probably those at 4*s.*, though not so described, are of this character. I have found Spanish, probably Cordova, gloves in 1534 at 3*d.* each.

Very different and far more costly are those presented to distinguished visitors, and perhaps occasionally filled with money. These occur frequently. In 1451 Oriel College gives a pair of gloves to the Bishop of Lincoln, and another to the Chancellor, which cost 2*s.* 10*d.* and 2*s.* 4*d.* In 1489 it gives a pair at 2*s.* 10*d.* to the Bishop of Lichfield, and in 1504 to the Bishop of Lincoln, at 2*s.* In 1509 it gives two pairs at 4*s.* 4*d.* and 4*s.* 6*d.* to the same prelate. In 1517 Magdalen College gives Wolsey a pair at a cost of 6*s.* 4*d.* In 1519 the same College gives two pairs at 2*s.* 2*d.*, the donee not being named. In 1555 the city of Oxford gives a pair, gold twisted, at a cost of 5*s.*, and another at 2*s.* 6*d.* In 1556 Lady Williams of Thame has a pair at 4*s.* In 1559 the city gives a pair to the Earl of Bedford (him of the great head) at 4*s.* 4*d.*, two pairs to his sons at 2*s.* 4*d.*, and sixteen pairs to his retinue at 1*s.* In 1561 Corpus gives four pairs to Lord and Lady Bedford at 5*s.*, and in 1563 to the clerk of the assize at Winton at 5*s.* In 1564, the city gives four pairs to the judges at 4*s.*, and three to Sir Francis Knollys, Lady Knollys, and the Lord President, at 8*s.* In 1566 the city gives two pairs to the Lord Admiral

and his wife at 3*s.* 4*d.* All Souls gives a pair to the Bishop of Worcester at 6*s.* 8*d.*, and to Mr. Lovelace at 8*s.* In 1572 Serjeant Lovelace gets another pair from All Souls at 1*s.* (here one can hardly doubt with a fee inside); Corpus three pairs to the judges and counsel at 3*s.* 3*d.*, and two pairs to Sir Walter Mildmay at 6*s.* 6*d.* In 1573 two pairs are presented to the Bishop of Winchester by Corpus at 4*s.* Next year the same college gives the same prelate a pair at 5*s.* In 1575 Magdalen College gives a pair of gloves to Sir Walter Mildmay at 3*s.* 4*d.* In 1576 All Souls gives two pairs to unnamed persons at 5*s.*, and Corpus a pair to the Lord Treasurer at 10*s.* In 1579 the city of Oxford bestows two pairs of gloves on the Lord Chancellor, each pair costing 10*s.*

FUR. It remains that I should say a little on fur trimmings. I have found only a few instances of this article. The cheapest were made of rabbit-skins, and several entries of these by the dozen are found. In the earliest, 1405, the skins cost 1*s.* 4*d.* the dozen; in 1426 and 1432 they cost 10*d.*; in 1448, 5*d.*; and thenceforward to 1460, 4*d.* These entries, denoting a gradual fall in the price, assist the view I propounded in Vol. I, p. 340, that in the fourteenth century this animal was scarce, and probably of late introduction.

Sets of fur are quoted at 1*s.* in 1449, twenty-four in number. Black skins, i.e. black lambs, are worth 3*d.* each in 1444, and 4*d.* in 1455 and 1502. Undressed lambskins are worth 4*d.* a dozen. Some lambskins cost 2*s.* each in 1502.

The furred garment of the Warden of All Souls in 1560, called 'amictus pelliceus,' must have been of excellent quality, for it cost 90*s.* A furred toga in 1440 was bought for 14*s.* 4*d.*

I may mention here the cap and surplice of the boy bishop, or Episcopus Puerorum, the former costing 1*s.* in 1508, the latter 5*s.* in 1472.

The tables annexed give the annual and decennial averages, as far as they can be supplied, of four kinds of linen—table, shirting, canvas, and sackcloth, by the dozen ells or yards, and three qualities of cloth by the pannus of twenty-four yards.

TABLE I.

AVERAGE PRICES OF TEXTILE FABRICS.

	Table Linen, doz. ells.	Shirting, doz. ells.	Canvas, doz. ells.	Sacking, doz. yds.	Cloth (Panni of 24 yards).		
					1st quality.	2nd quality.	3rd quality.
	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
1401	6 0	6 3	.....	4 9	42 0	.....	32 0
1402	4 0	5 9½	.....	2 10½	.....	.....	.....
1403	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1404	7 0	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1405	.....	7 3	5 0	3 0	.....	.....	.....
1406	7 4	6 1½	.....	4 6	43 6	39 0	.....
1407	4 0	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1408	6 5	5 3	4 0	4 6	40 0	40 0	36 0
1409	7 0	.....	.....	.....	47 6	42 0	34 0
1410	6 0	.....	4 6	4 0	42 0	45 6	37 0
1411	6 0	6 9	4 6	4 0	44 4½	43 6	34 0
1412	.....	.....	.....	4 0	.....	.....	.....
1413	.....	7 6	.....	4 0	42 0	44 0	32 0
1414	8 6	9 6	4 2	3 2	42 0	41 0	32 0
1415	5 10½	4 0	.....	4 0	.....	.....	.....
1416	5 9	5 8½	.....	4 0	.....	.....	.....
1417	4 6½	.....	.....	4 0	.....	.....	.....
1418	6 7½	6 6	5 0	2 6	42 0	36 0	28 0
1419	5 3	.....	5 0	2 6	.....	34 0	33 0
1420	6 6	6 6	4 6	.....	42 0	35 0	26 0
1421	.....	7 0	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1422	5 0	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1423	.....	.....	4 9	.....	.....	.....	.....
1424	5 4½	5 0	4 3	.....	42 6	40 0	.....
1425	4 9	4 1½	.....	.....	42 6	37 0	.....
1426	7 0	7 3	.....	3 0	42 6	40 0	33 0
1427	8 4	7 4½	5 6	.....	72 0	.....	.....
1428	8 0	.....	5 7½	.....	42 6	40 0	35 0

584 ON THE PRICE OF TEXTILE FABRICS AND CLOTHING.

	Table Linen, doz. ells.	Shirting, doz. ells.	Canvas, doz. ells.	Sacking, doz. yds.	Cloth (Panni of 24 yards).		
	1st quality.	2nd quality.	3rd quality.				
	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>
1429	.....	.....	.....	.....	42 9	40 0	31 0
1430	.....	.....	5 0	.....	.....	.....	.....
1431	.....	6 3	4 6	3 9	.....	.....	26 0
1432	.....	5 1	4 6	3 0	48 0	40 0	.....
1433	.....	5 0	5 4	.....	58 0	.....	26 0
1434	.....	.....	.....	2 3	.....	.....	.....
1435	6 3	6 6	4 0	3 0	42 0	38 0	36 0
1436	.....	.....	4 0	3 0	40 0	.....	.....
1437	7 5	.....	6 0	.....	43 0	38 0	.....
1438	.....	5 3	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1439	3 9	5 3	.....	.....	41 0	37 0	.....
1440	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1441	7 6	5 6	.....	.....	41 6	38 0	30 0
1442	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1443	7 11	.....	.....	2 4	42 6	38 0	36 0
1444	.....	7 6	3 6½	.....	60 0	.....	.....
1445	6 7	8 0	2 6	.....	42 8	40 0	36 0
1446	4 0	.....	.....	.....	.....	39 0	.....
1447	.....	.....	.....	2 3	61 7	.....	.....
1448	6 4½	7 9½	2 2	.....	.....	34 0	.....
1449	.....	5 10½	3 11½	.....	42 0	32 0	28 0
1450	9 8	6 2	4 0	4 0	42 0	37 6	35 0
1451	.....	5 6	4 0	.....	42 0	.....	32 0
1452	7 8½	4 10½	.....	3 3	48 0	38 0	33 4
1453	.....	4 3	3 3	.....	58 0	.....	.....
1454	4 6	5 11½	6 0	2 3	48 0	38 0	33 4
1455	.....	.....	.....	.....	50 0	40 0	.....
1456	4 2½	4 10½	4 0	.....	66 0	.....	.....
1457	4 6	5 9	.....	4 0	55 0	40 0	.....
1458	4 3	6 1½	3 11½	3 4	.....	.....	.....
1459	.....	5 6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1460	.....	3 6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1461	.....	6 6	3 8	.....	48 0	38 0	36 0
1462	4 9	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1463	5 0	4 3	3 9	...	57 0	.....	.....

	Table Linen, doz. ells.	Shirting, doz. ells.	Canvass, doz. ells.	Sacking, doz. yds.	Cloth (Panni of 24 yards).		
					1st quality.	2nd quality.	3rd quality.
	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>
1464	.....	3 6	4 2	2 2	86 0	.....	27 6
1465	7 0	6 3	5 0	2 1½	56 0	.....	.....
1466	7 2	7 5	5 0	3 0	48 0	36 0	.....
1467	.....	4 9	3 6	.....	75 8	.....	21 6
1468	.....	7 4	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1469	6 0	.....	.....	.....	80 0	.....	.....
1470	7 4	.....	4 0	.....	48 0	38 0	.....
1471	6 6	3 6	.....	2 6	.....	.....	.....
1472	8 0	6 8	.....	.....	48 0	38 0	.....
1473	9 9	7 1½	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1474	7 1½	4 6	.....	2 6	.....	60 0	.....
1475	.....	7 8	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1476	5 3	5 10½	5 0	.....	.....	.....	27 0
1477	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1478	.....	5 5½	5 0	1 11½	.....	.....	30 0
1479	.....	5 7½	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1480	.....	5 6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1481	5 0	3 6	3 0	.....	84 0	60 0	45 0
1482	.....	5 6	.....	3 0	80 0	60 0	.....
1483	6 7½	5 0	4 0	.....	48 0	38 0	.....
1484	7 6	4 6	5 0	.....	48 0	38 0	36 0
1485	8 4	7 0	.....	.....	72 0	58 0	.....
1486	9 6	5 3	4 0	.....	60 0	53 4	46 8
1487	9 2	6 3	.....	.....	56 0	.....	.....
1488	7 9	5 10½	4 0	3 0	102 0	60 0	.....
1489	6 0	5 9	4 0	.....	48 0	38 0	36 0
1490	7 0	6 0	.....	.....	.....	56 0	.....
1491	5 4½	.....	.....	2 4½	100 0	52 3	.....
1492	6 0	6 8	.....	.....	61 0	.....	.....
1493	.....	7 0	4 9	.....	80 0	.....	40 0
1494	7 9	6 5½	4 7	.....	48 0	.....	36 0
1495	6 7½	5 6	.....	.....	.....	48 0	49 0
1496	8 6	5 6½	.....	.....	96 0	.....	60 0
1497	6 0	6 3	.....	.....	48 0	.....	36 0
1498	8 0	6 0	4 3	.....	57 4	.....	.....

	Table Linen, doz. ells.	Shirting, doz. ells.	Canvas, doz. ells.	Sacking, doz. yds.	Cloth (Panni of 24 yards).		
	1st quality.	2nd quality.	3rd quality.				
	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	
1499	7 0	6 0	4 0	.....	76 0	.....
1500	12 9	6 0	4 0	.....	68 6	..... 36 0
1501	.....	.....	.....	.....	48 0	..... 36 0
1502	5 0	6 6½	4 0	2 6	82 0	56 0	
1503	4 10	6 9	4 0	.....	81 6	56 0
1504	.....	6 4	4 0	.....	.....	35 6 33 6
1505	10 0	7 4	4 0	.....	48 0	37 0
1506	7 7	5 5½	.....	.....	48 0	..... 36 0
1507	.....	5 0	4 0	.....	78 10	57 0
1508	.....	5 8½	4 0	.....	84 0	59 0 38 0
1509	5 6	6 5½	.....	.....	82 0	57 0
1510	7 6	6 10	5 0	2 3	65 0	56 0 36 0	
1511	.....	6 6	3 3	.....	.....	.....
1512	6 0	6 10	4 0	2 6	.....	.....
1513	10 0	6 3½	.....	.....	.....	60 0
1514	.....	7 0	.....	.....	.....	.....
1515	6 8	6 4	3 0	.....	88 0	..... 30 0
1516	5 0	6 9	.....	.....	80 0	.....
1517	6 3	6 4½	6 5	.....	90 0	.....
1518	7 9	6 7	3 9	.....	88 0	60 0
1519	.....	5 8	4 0	.....	66 0	..... 36 0
1520	8 6	6 6½	4 9	.....	81 4	72 0
1521	9 0	5 4½	.....	.....	48 0	..... 36 0
1522	.....	6 0	3 9	2 5	.....	.....
1523	7 6	5 9	.....	.....	.....	.....
1524	8 0	6 7½	5 0	2 5	72 0	62 0 28 0	
1525	.....	7 0	4 6	.....	80 0	.....
1526	6 6	7 0½	3 6	.....	108 0	.....
1527	.....	5 4	5 0	2 7	.....	..... 32 2
1528	.....	5 8	.....	.....	.....	.....
1529	9 0	7 10½	4 6	2 6	.....	96 0
1530	5 4½	5 6½	.....	2 6	.....	.....
1531	.....	6 9½	4 4	2 10	52 0	48 0 42 0
	12 0	5 9	4 6	2 9	52 0	46 8 40 0	
	5 0	7 11	4 6	2 6	53 4	46 8 40 0	

	Table Linen, doz. ells.	Shirting, doz. ells.	Canvas, doz. ells.	Sacking, doz. yds.	Cloth (Panni of 24 yards).		
	1st quality.	2nd quality.	3rd quality.				
	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
1534	10 0	8 1½	5 0	.....	104 0	.....	.....
1535	6 6	7 0	2 9	.....	76 0	43 4½	.....
1536	7 3	7 9½	4 0	.....	80 0	63 4	.....
1537	6 3	6 10½	.....	.....	.....	66 6	.....
1538	9 1½	7 1	6 3	.....	.....	.....	.....
1539	8 0	7 7	5 0	.....	.....	.....	.....
1540	7 3	7 0	5 0	.....	.....	.....	.....
1541	8 2	6 2½	4 3	.....	108 0	81 4	76 0
1542	8 3	8 11	4 0	.....	.....	.....	.....
1543	17 3	7 9	5 1½	.....	.....	.....	.....
1544	8 6½	8 10½	.....	.....	130 8½	42 4	.....
1545	9 8½	8 2	5 6	.....	113 0	81 0	.....
1546	16 0	8 11	6 0	3 10	144 0	.....	.....
1547	10 0	7 6½	5 6	.....	118 0	.....	.....
1548	11 1½	8 6	.....	.....	112 0	47 6	.....
1549	9 0	11 1	8 0	.....	153 0	82 0	.....
1550	22 4	12 6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1551	14 8	11 11	7 6	.....	156 4	.....	.....
1552	18 0	13 0	8 6	.....	133 0	.....	.....
1553	25 6	14 9	.....	.....	136 0	.....	.....
1554	18 0	11 5½	.....	.....	141 0	53 4	.....
1555	15 4	11 6½	8 6	.....	137 6	60 8	.....
1556	.....	11 0	6 3	.....	.....	68 8	.....
1557	17 6	13 3	9 6	.....	.....	88 0	.....
1558	15 6	12 5	.....	.....	137 6	70 0	.....
1559	.....	14 8	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1560	25 6	18 0	8 3	6 0	142 0	84 0	.....
1561	18 0	12 0	8 0	.....	143 0	86 0	.....
1562	38 0	13 7	10 0	6 0	146 6	97 6	.....
1563	18 9	14 5	9 0	.....	151 0	116 0	.....
1564	30 0	16 0	9 0	.....	156 0	92 0	.....
1565	40 0	15 0	.....	.....	152 0	97 6	.....
1566	11 6	13 6	10 0	5 0	150 0	97 0	.....
1567	16 0	12 0	.....	.....	160 0	95 2	.....
1568	12 8	11 10	.....	.....	160 0	96 0	.....

588 ON THE PRICE OF TEXTILE FABRICS AND CLOTHING.

	Table Linen, doz. els.	Shirting, doz. els.	Canvas, doz. els.	Sacking, doz. yds.	Cloth (Panni of 24 yards).		
					1st quality.	2nd quality.	3rd quality.
	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
1569	.....	12 4	.....	.....	220 0	96 0	.....
1570	15 0	13 0	.....	.....	174 0	108 0	.....
1571	13 6	14 2½	7 6	.....	.....	.....	.....
1572	18 0	19 1	.....	.....	.....	97 4	.....
1573	.....	14 3	.....	.....	.....	80 0	.....
1574	48 0	13 0	.....	4 8	.....	.....	.....
1575	25 6	11 0	.....	.....	168 0	.....	.....
1576	.....	21 6	7 0	.....	180 0	96 0	.....
1577	.....	13 9	8 0	.....	196 0	94 0	.....
1578	15 9	13 6	.....	.....	.....	90 0	.....
1579	.....	16 0	9 0	.....	.....	.....	.....
1580	18 6	16 0	.....	8 0	.....	.....	.....
1581	16 2	14 6	.....	5 0	.....	.....	.....
1582	21 0	14 0	9 0	.....	186 0	.....	.....

TABLE II.
DECENNIAL AVERAGE PRICES OF FABRICS.

	Table Linen, doz. ells.	Shirting, doz. ells.	Canvas, doz. ells.	Sacking, doz. yds.	Cloth (Panni of 24 yards).		
	1st quality.	2nd quality.	3rd quality.				
	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>
1401—1410	6 8½	6 1¾	4 6	3 11½	43 0	41 7½	35 8
1411—1420	6 2½	6 7¾	4 7½	3 7	42 5½	38 11	31 2
1421—1430	6 5	6 1¾	5 0½	3 0	47 5½	39 5	33 0
1431—1440	5 9½	5 6¾	4 8½	3 0	46 4	38 3	29 4
1441—1450	7 0½	6 9¾	3 3	2 10½	48 10½	36 11	33 0
1451—1460	5 0½	5 2	4 3	3 2½	52 5	39 0	32 10½
1461—1470	6 2½	5 8½	4 2	2 5	62 4	37 4	28 4
1471—1480	7 4	5 9½	5 0	2 4	48 0	49 0	28 6
1481—1490	7 4½	5 5½	4 0	3 0	63 1	51 3	40 9
1491—1500	7 6¾	6 2	4 3¾	2 4¾	70 6	50 1½	42 10
1501—1510	6 8¾	6 3½	4 1¾	2 4½	68 7	51 8½	35 11
1511—1520	7 2	6 5¾	4 2	2 6	82 2½	64 0	33 0
1521—1530	7 6¾	6 2½	4 4½	2 6	77 0	79 0	32 1
1531—1540	8 1	7 2½	4 7	2 8½	69 6½	55 11	40 8
1541—1550	12 0½	8 10	5 5¾	3 10	125 6	66 10	76 0
1551—1560	18 9	13 2½	7 9	6 0	140 5½	70 9½	.....
1561—1570	22 2½	13 4½	9 3	5 6	161 3	94 0	.....
1571—1582	22 0½	15 0¾	8 1½	5 10¾	182 6	91 6	.....
First 140 years.	6 9¾	6 1½	4 4½	2 10	58 8½	48 0	34 1
Last 42 years.	18 6	12 7½	7 7¾	5 3¾	152 10	80 6½	76 0

CHAPTER XX.*

PAPER, PARCHMENT, INK, BOOKS, ETC.

IN my first volume (p. 644) I commented on such entries of paper during the fourteenth century as appeared in the earlier accounts. The use of this article was rare, and long after it became common, the custom continued of engrossing the rolls of the bailiffs, stewards, or rent collectors of the several estates, which were annually rendered to wealthy private owners, and to corporations, on parchment. Such accounts exist by thousands in the national archives.

But from the beginning of the fifteenth century paper is commonly used, especially in the eastern counties, for what I may call domestic registers. The accounts of the King's Hall are all written on paper, as are all those of King's College, as far as regards expenditure and audit within the colleges themselves. The register of Oriel College, Oxford, which begins in the fifteenth century, is on paper, as are all the domestic accounts of that society, which was poor till it received the bequest of Franke in the first half of the fifteenth century. But on the other hand the accounts of New College are almost always on parchment, especially the annual roll on which the heads of expenditure are given. So are also the Magdalen College indentures. But this last college likewise possesses a large volume of rough entries, the particulars of which have been of the highest value to me in the course of my enquiries, and which are written on paper. The accounts of Peterhouse, Cambridge, which are more copious in the earlier period than ~~at later times~~, are always on parchment.

is more commonly used on what may be called the side of England. All or nearly all the accounts

of Sion Abbey are on paper, as are those of the two most important Cambridge colleges. Still, the short bills sent to the bursars of New College, Oxford, for repairs executed by local artisans on their various estates are almost always on paper, and indicate that the material was familiar, and as we shall see, low priced. The quality is also very good, the material is tough and strong, and is wired and watermarked.

It is said that the manufacture of paper was not introduced into England till the close of the seventeenth century. The history of English commerce and of domestic industry is full of idle and unfounded stories, the gossip of ill-informed persons being constantly accepted as trustworthy evidence. Thus Macpherson quotes an author of the latter part of the seventeenth century to the effect that glass was manufactured first in England in 1557. My accounts give me information about English glass in 1478, and again in 1517.

I do not find in these accounts any notice of an English manufacture of paper, and I cannot therefore positively contradict so highly improbable a statement as the very late introduction of a paper-making industry into England. But I do not find that places which are certainly at a considerable distance from a port paid more for the article than those which are near, provided it be remembered that as a rule small purchases are at a higher rate than larger quantities are. Now Cambridge was far more near to foreign produce than Oxford was. But in 1408 Oxford pays 3*d.* a quire for paper, Cambridge 5*d.* On the other hand, in 1411 the eastern university pays 2*d.*, the midland 4*d.* In 1454, again, Oxford makes a better bargain than Cambridge. In 1495 Oxford buys a ream of paper at a lower price than Sion, which is practically London, does in 1493, and in 1503 pays less than the king does at Windsor. These illustrations might be multiplied and continued through the period.

During the greater part of the period again there is scarcely any appreciable difference of quality in this article. It is uniformly good and stout, is indeed of an infinitely more

durable and workmanlike character than modern material. It varies a little in size, but is generally of demy folio, though occasionally larger. I do not find, however, that larger paper is much dearer than that of less dimensions. Occasionally I have been able to measure the sheet, as the account has informed me that the paper purchased is used for the accounts which I have inspected. In the earliest of these entries (1532) in which the size of the paper can be determined, the half-sheet in folio is $15\frac{1}{4}$ inches by 11. Here it is 3*s.* 4*d.* the ream. In 1536 demy, $12\frac{1}{4}$ inches by $8\frac{1}{2}$, is only 1*s.* 8*d.*, and at the same time and place other paper, designated as 'small,' is 3*s.* The word can hardly apply to the size, but perhaps to the fineness of the wiring. In 1540 it is 12 inches by $8\frac{3}{8}$, and next year at the same or almost exactly the same measure. In 1542 and 1543 I find it to be $13\frac{5}{8}$ inches by $9\frac{3}{8}$. All these purchases are made on account of the royal works by Needham the controller. In 1551 the King's College paper measures 12 inches by 8, the last entry of which I have been able to take the measurement.

Under the year 1533 we are told that the ream contained twenty quires. If such a measure was universal, as is probable, breaking bulk led to a serious increase of cost, the dealer being unwilling to sell small quantities except at a greatly enhanced price. This I presume was to be expected in articles for which there was only a very scanty or occasional demand, and in which therefore the dealer could hold the purchaser very much to his price. The same causes will explain the very various rates at which the same article is bought at different places, and at different parts of the same year. Thus in 1414 paper costs 2*d.* a quire at Didesham, 5*d.* at Oxford. I cannot identify the former place.

The difference of price by quire may possibly be explained by the purchaser having on certain occasions procured the remnant of a ream which, some part of the quantity being sold, was left on the dealer's hands. Sometimes indeed there is no material difference in the price by the larger and the smaller

quantity. In 1488 a ream is bought at 3*s.* 7*d.* in Oxford; and five quires, taking twenty quires to the ream, at 4*s.* 2*d.* the ream. In 1498 a ream is bought at 4*s.*, half a ream at 3*s.* In 1503 half a ream costs 1*s.* 8*d.*, a whole ream 4*s.* 4*d.* In 1504 a ream and a quire are bought in Oxford at the same rate. In 1507 two reams are bought at 2*s.* 8*d.*, seven quires at 3*s.* 4*d.* These illustrations might be multiplied, and will, I think, confirm what I have said that, though generally parcels of the ream were dearer than the whole quantity, they were sometimes cheaper, which must have been for the reason alleged above.

Although the quality was generally the same, it appears that the quantity either in size or bulk varied. The first note I have of this is in 1495, where four quires 'large' are bought at 7½*d.* the quire, and six small at a fraction below 2*d.* These purchases are at Oxford. In Cambridge two quires are bought at 2*d.*, and five, now designated royal, at 8*d.* the quire. In 1512, when the ream is at the ordinary price, or rather below it, large paper costs 6*d.* the quire. In 1532 a ream of ordinary paper costs 3*s.* at Greenwich; of royal, 6*s.* But the entry of 1536 is puzzling. Demy paper, 12½ inches by 8½, costs 6*s.* 8*d.* the ream; small, 3*s.* In the same year royal paper at Oxford is bought, a single quire, at 8*d.* In 1539 the two qualities at Canterbury are 2½*d.* and 6*d.* In 1541 demy at Greenwich is half the price of small, 6*s.* 8*d.* to 3*s.* 4*d.* In 1561 royal paper is 20*s.* the ream; demy, 13*s.* 4*d.* In 1562 royal is 20*s.*; small, 6*s.* 8*d.*, the prices also of 1563 and 1569, when demy is again 13*s.* 4*d.* by the quire. Royal is 20*s.* in 1570; small, 6*s.* 8*d.*, as also in 1573. In the latter year royal is bought by the city in considerable quantity, viz. half a ream at 23*s.* 4*d.* In 1574, 1577, 1578, and 1580 royal and small paper are bought for the use of the Crown at the prices given above, and in the year 1580 at the same price in York, one quire only being purchased.

The purchases of the Crown seem to have been at a nearly uniform price. The consumption was large, and the demand regular. But the case would be different with the ordinary

purchaser. In Oxford, 1558, Magdalen College buys a ream in November at 6*s.*, another in February at 4*s.* 6*d.*

It is possible that royal paper was that particularly tough and stout material which is or was known as cartridge paper, one entry of which, though in a single quire, is to be found under the year 1579, at the great price of 26*s.* 8*d.* the ream. At any rate, the price of this article, though recurrent, is so anomalous that in drawing out the table given at the conclusion of this chapter I have omitted entries of large or royal paper by the quire and by the ream.

I am disposed to think that in the sixteenth century a practice had sprung up in trade of selling paper at quarto size, and that for the first time in 1536, or thereabouts, paper was sold in half-sheets by the ream, and at half prices.

Writing paper is not the only material known in the accounts. In 1465 an entry of blotting-paper may be found. Our ancestors used to dry their ink by sand or brass dust long before this kind of material for drying up writing was devised, in the first case probably by accident. The entry does not designate the value of the blotting-paper, nor the quantity. I can certify to the quality, for I have often found scraps of a coarse grey and rather thick unsized paper in fifteenth century accounts, which have probably never been disturbed till I examined them, and have plainly been used for blotting. Sand and brass dust were constantly and continuously used for the purpose, and can often be detached from the paper at the present time. This article occurs not unfrequently in the accounts, and will be commented on lower down.

I have found brown paper twice, in 1570 and 1571. It is sold in bundles at 2*s.* 4*d.* and 2*s.* the first year, at 2*s.* 4*d.* the second. In the year 1471 I find an entry of a ream of 'tappe,' bought at 5*s.* 4*d.* in London. I find no explanation of this word. In 1432 sheets of gold and silver paper are bought at 3½*d.* each.

PARCHMENT AND VELLUM. Parchment is sold by the dozen, and by the roll of five dozens. Generally, and as we

may conclude for the reason stated above in the case of paper, it is cheaper in large quantities than it is in small. Once it is sold by the quire, by which must be understood a quantity cut into the same shape as paper was. In many of the instances given in the tables less quantities than the dozen are purchased, but for the sake of uniformity the entries are reduced to a common measure. Here the same rule holds good, and purchases by the round dozen are generally obtained at lower rates than a few skins are. The average will be seen to be $2\frac{1}{4}d.$ a skin, or $2s. 3d.$ the dozen. The rise is nearly double by the dozen, not more than fifty per cent. by the roll. It is probable that in the increasing cheapness of paper the general use of parchment diminished. The roll of parchment does not occur in the accounts till 1503, when it is purchased at Stourbridge fair by the fellows of King's College, Cambridge.

Sometimes the parchment is described as large, and indeed it might be expected, as the breeds of sheep were so numerous, and the wool of such very various value, that the skin as well as the fleece should vary in size. But large parchment bought in 1531 is not dearer than small articles not specially designated by this word in 1532.

The quality of the parchment manufactured in the fifteenth century is very inferior to that of the thirteenth and fourteenth. The earlier manufacture is very fine and thin, is smooth, free from grease, and translucent. The later produce is coarse, often greasy, and far more dense. It may perhaps be stronger, but the earlier was a far handsomer and more delicate material. The quality of the parchment is nearly as good a test of the antiquity of a document, in the absence of direct evidence, as the handwriting is.

The chief purpose to which parchment was devoted was the draft of the annual return of income and expenditure, in societies where such a return was made, for bailiff's returns, and for the engrossing of leases and similar legal documents.

There are a few entries of vellum. It is once quoted by the quire, and at double the price of parchment. The average of

these entries is high, 8*s.* 0 $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.* the dozen. The article was purchased for service-books, and there was probably a limited demand for it.

INK. The materials for the manufacture of ink are occasionally given in the accounts. In 1418 three pounds of galls at 2*d.*, three pounds of copperas at 4*d.*, and a pound and a quarter of gum at 1*s.* 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.* are bought by New College, Oxford. I referred to this entry before (Vol. I, p. 461). In 1493 three pounds of galls are bought at 10*d.*, three pounds of copperas at 2*d.*, and three pounds of gum at 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.* In 1496 two pounds of galls are bought at 6*d.*, two pounds of copperas at 2*d.*, and two pounds of gum at 4*d.* I am at a loss to account for the high price of gum in the first entry, but as may be expected, and as will be seen hereafter, there were great fluctuations in the price of foreign produce, especially when the demand was uncertain¹.

In the sixteenth century ink was purchased, but the purchaser is always the Crown. Five entries between 1533 and 1543 are at 1*s.* 4*d.* the gallon, except in the first year, when a small quantity is bought at Windsor at 2*s.* There are four entries between 1561 and 1569, when it is 5*s.* 4*d.* the gallon, a small quantity having been purchased at Portsmouth in 1563 at 4*s.* 8*d.* The rise of four times is the greatest which I have seen in any article.

In 1560 a standish for ink, and a set of gold weights are bought together for 1*s.* 4*d.* In 1563 two tin standishes are purchased at Deptford for the use of the queen's dockyard at 2*s.* 6*d.* each. In 1498 four glass ink bottles are purchased at Oxford at a halfpenny each, and one in 1503, at Cambridge, at the same price.

Ink was constantly dried with white sand, but brass dust was also used. In 1545 this article cost 4*d.* a pound; in 1548 it is bought for 3*d.* In 1549 and 1551 it costs 6*d.*; in 1552 10*d.*

¹ I should have had more information on these materials had not the purchase of those articles been constantly included in some lump sum.

In 1555 it is procured at 7*d*. All these entries come from the accounts of Magdalen College, Oxford.

The use of Roman numerals in reckoning money values and in casting accounts prevailed till midway in the reign of Elizabeth, though Arabic numerals are known in the thirteenth century. To assist this clumsy process counters were purchased. In 1418 a dozen cost *3d.*; in 1419, *2d.* But they are also bought by the cast or set. In 1498 such a cast cost $8\frac{1}{2}d.$; in 1520, *4d.*; in 1565, *3d.* In 1561, 1562, and 1563 they are bought by the pound at *2s. 4d.*, *2s. 8d.*, *2s.*, and *2s. 6d.*

The following, taken from the account of Sion Abbey (cellarer's account), 21, 22 Hen. VIII, will illustrate the mode in which reckonings were made. The total cost of the malt consumed in the monastery, 617 quarters, 3 bushels, was £182 11s. 6½*d.* Of the oats, 44 qrs. cost £5 8s. 4*d.* The cost of the malt and the quantity and cost of the oats are thus expressed. It will be seen that they reckoned in hundreds, scores, and units; by pounds, shillings, and pence.

MALT, cost.

$$\begin{array}{c|ccc} & * & & \\ * & * & * & * \\ & * & * & * \end{array} + \begin{array}{c|cc} & * & \\ * & * & * \\ & * & * \end{array} = £182\text{ }11\text{s. }6\frac{1}{2}\text{d.}$$

OATS, amount.

OATS, cost.

$$\begin{array}{c} * * \\ * * \end{array} \left| \begin{array}{c} * * * \\ * \end{array} \right. = 44 \text{ qrs.} \quad \begin{array}{c} * * * \\ * * \end{array} \left| \begin{array}{c} * * * \\ * * \end{array} \right| \begin{array}{c} * * \\ * * \end{array} = \pounds 5 \text{ } 8s. \text{ } 4d.$$

In this form the first column of the malt account represents 100, the second four scores, the next two—the pounds sterling ; next there is an asterisk above the line on the right hand corner and six below, the former being five, the others units, 5+6, 11s. ; the fifth being the pence, and the two asterisks below the line two farthings. Similarly the oats amount is two scores and four, and the cost is five scores + 5+3 shillings, four pence.

The mode of reckoning may be further illustrated from the same accounts:—

* | * * | * * * | * * = £22 18s. 4d., the asterisk on the left meaning ten; on the right, five.

* * * | * * * | * * = £13 8s. 4d. * * * | * * = 9s. 2d.

* | * * * | * * = 34s. 2d.

Again, 833 quarters of malt cost £253 14s.

MALT.

COST.

* * | * * * = 833. * | * * | * * * | * * * = £253 14s.;

or ninety-nine loads of coal cost £39 12s.

COAL.

COST.

* * * | * * * * | * * * | * *

In 1529 the cheese bought at Sion cost £7 4s. 3d. This is expressed as follows:—

* * | * * * | * *

In referring to these accounts, it may be convenient to note the price of spectacles, the discovery of which seems to be due to the fifteenth century. The first entry which I have found is under 1492, when five pair were bought at 4d. the pair, a price which, I think, implies that they were familiar articles. In 1500, a pair cost 8d. In 1505, they again cost 8d. They are all purchased at Sion. In 1577, a pair of spectacles at Hunstanton cost 6d.

Stonebreaker's spectacles, by which I presume is meant a shield to the eyes only, cost 2d. a pair at Canterbury in 1541. A pair of 'barnacles,' at Cambridge, in 1573 cost 6d.

Muratori Antiqq. vol. v. has stated that spectacles were invented at Pisa or Florence in or about the year 1311. Our own countryman, Roger Bacon, who is credited with many other discoveries, is also reported to have hit upon this capital

invention. I do not pretend to negative the assumption that they can be assigned to so early a date. But I cannot but think that I must have certainly discovered them in my accounts had they been in existence earlier, and that they would have strayed out of the philosopher's study or the alchemist's laboratory into the hands of students. I am well aware that it was very dangerous to be over-stocked with appliances for economising and improving natural gifts in the middle ages, and that many persons who might have aided mankind nobly in earlier times were deterred by the peril they ran of being convicted as wizards. Orthodoxy, so called, seated in high places and clad in purple and fine linen, dreaded criticism, and thought, with some justice, that all knowledge was criticism, as it is apt to do still. But I can hardly imagine that the inventor of spectacles could have been in peril of fire and faggot.

The invention of printing could have been of little avail, unless it had been followed by the discovery of the means for giving artificial clearness of vision. Our ancestors were very shortlived. They were old at fifty. But many must have been dim sighted in early years. When spectacles were invented, it became possible to print in small type, and so to cheapen books. The manual superseded the folio. Elzevir improved on Aldus, and the aged could read. I know nothing which illustrates the new luxury of the elderly man better than the fact that Selden bought spectacles, as it appears, by the gross, and used them as bookmarkers. When, after his death, his library came to Oxford,—the University which in a fit of strange self-forgetfulness, sent once in its career its most eminent son to Parliament,—pairs of spectacles were found numerous in the volumes. So in their poor way, the old nuns of Sion, when the cellaress bought these spectacles—only a very few of this official's accounts have been preserved—in 1492, must have been delighted with the renewal of that world of sight of which age had hitherto been reft.

BOOKS. My accounts contain but few entries of books. Wealthy men gave them, sometimes fellows and monks copied

them, occasionally scribes were hired for the service. Thus Gascoigne gave many books to Balliol, Oriel, Durham, and Lincoln Colleges, and Humphrey of Gloucester founded a library for Oxford. The Lord Walter Fitz Hugh gave a Bible to King's Hall, which the society bound in two volumes (1428) at the cost of 5*s.* 3*d.* But in 1443 King's Hall, Cambridge, purchased twenty-seven volumes from John Paston's executors—he had been their steward—at a cost of £8 17*s.* 4*d.* In 1447 the same college buys a Psalter for 3*s.* 8*d.*, and a Donatus for 1*s.* In 1449 twenty new processionalists cost All Souls 113*s.* 4*d.* In 1453, a book of Wickliff's is bought for 7*s.* 6*d.*; one against him for 3*s.* 6*d.*, and More's book on Wickliff and others to the amount of 42*s.* In the year 1459, Fastolfe's books are highly priced, a fair mass book being set at £10, a holy legend at the same sum, and two new great antiphons at £13 6*s.* 8*d.* together.

In 1460–1 I find the purchase of a copy of the Acts of Parliament for 1*s.* 8*d.* This must have been the parliament of October 7, 1460, in which the Acts of the Coventry parliament were rescinded, and the Duke of York became for a few weeks the actual ruler of England.

One would wish that the map of the world, purchased in 1462 at the great cost of £5, for New College Library, had been preserved, and to see what were the repairs to a book called Terence, which cost King's College 1*s.* 10*d.* in 1466.

In 1481 Magdalen College buys Alexander de Anima in five books for 33*s.* 4*d.*, and in 1486 Oriel purchases A New Life of the Virgin Mary for 3*s.* In 1497 copies of the Acts of Parliament are bought at Oxford for 13*s.* 4*d.*, that probably of Jan. 16, 1497, unless indeed those of 1487, 1489, 1492, and 1495 are included. In 1499 an Antiphonal cost York Cathedral 89*s.* 6½*d.*

In 1502 Magdalen College bought Hugh de Vienna's works in seven volumes for 46*s.* 4*d.* In 1522, the owner of Hunstanton purchased a Chronicle Book for 6*s.* 8*d.* Four hymnaria for the quire at Magdalen cost 1*s.* 3*d.* each in 1531, and a Bible

is bought for 12*s.* at Hunstanton in 1533. In King's College fifteen books of Cantica are bought at 1*s.* each in 1536.

In 1538 Magdalen College buys the Statutes of the Kingdom for 14*s.*, and Polydore Vergil's History for 6*s.* 8*d.* In 1539 many books are bought. New College spends 10*s.* in buying a Bible for Abberbury Church, and 'half a Bible of the great volume' is purchased at Whaddon for 8*s.* In 1539 Magdalen buys the works of S. Augustine for 66*s.* 8*d.*; a medical treatise, Artuarius de Urinis, for 1*s.* 2*d.*, and Georgius Valla for 10*s.* Next year this College buys a map of the world, now only 4*s.*, with a frame to it for 2*s.*, a Suidas in Greek for 32*s.*, and Erasmus on the New Testament for 9*s.* Next year half a Bible is bought at Cambridge for 5*s.*, and the statutes of the last Parliament (they were seventy in number) for 1*s.* 4*d.*

In 1542 Magdalen gives 34*s.* for Theophylact and Eustathius, and 8*s.* for Epiphanius; and next year the Acts of the Parliament of 1544. In 1547 the two books of Homilies cost 3*s.* 4*d.*, an English New Testament 3*s.*, an English Bible 13*s.*, and the Homilia Anglica 1*s.* 2*d.* The Homilies and Injunctions in the same year are bought by Magdalen for 10*d.*, and in the Wardrobe accounts occurs the purchase of two works of Erasmus for 1*s.* 4*d.*, and of certain Prayer-books at 1*s.* in satin, and 8*d.* in vellum. These are for the use of Catherine Parr, widow of Henry VIII.

In 1548 New College buys half the Commentaries of Erasmus for Swalcliffe Church, an Oxfordshire benefice in the gift of the society, at the cost of 6*s.* This entry illustrates what were conceived to be the duties of patrons. It purchases also for 6*d.* a tract called Liber exemplarium et evangeliorum. Next year it buys a book on the Communion for 6*d.*, eight volumes for £5 13*s.* 4*d.*, and half Erasmus' Paraphrase for 6*s.* Magdalen also buys books; a Harmonia Mundi for 9*s.*, another map for 4*s.*, St. Augustine on the Psalms for 11*s.*, a New Testament and the Paraphrase of Erasmus for 10*s.* In the next year the purchases are confined to Prayer-books and Psalters.

In 1551 a Bible is bought for Elizabeth at Hatfield at a cost

of 20s. New College purchases Psalters and half the Paraphrase of Erasmus, the former at 2s. a copy, the latter for 12s. Similar purchases of office books are found under the year 1552.

In 1553 King's College, Cambridge, purchases several books, as the College was constrained to go back to the older ritual. But the Hymn-books and the Psalter are charges incurred in Edward's reign. At Oxford the purchases were of the ritual of the Reformed creed, among them being a great Bible which cost 15s. 8d. In 1554, Cambridge buys two Mass-books. I find none in 1555, but in 1556 other purchases of Roman service-books are made, as are a few in 1557. In 1558 King's College, Cambridge, reverts to the Reformed religion, though the accounts still give entries of the older ritual. At All Souls, Oxford, there is a similar combination. It is noteworthy that during Mary Tudor's reign, no book is purchased at the Oxford and Cambridge colleges which is not a service-book.

In 1559 the only books bought are of the Reformed ritual. In 1560 I note a Grammar for a boy, and a Decalogue and Almanack. The books of public prayers, 16s. 8d. each and 2s. 10d. each, are dear. Elizabeth's Communion-book is bought by Corpus, Oxford. In 1561 Magdalen renews its purchases of learned books with Matthiolus, for which it gives 18s. In 1562 the Acts of the last Parliament, i. e. the second probably of Elizabeth's reign (Jan. 11—April 10, 1563) cost 1s. 8d. But Corpus buys Steven's Dictionary for 46s. 8d., and a Monuster for 15s. In 1564 the Book of Homilies costs 3s. 4d.

In 1567 a Bible is bought at a charge of 38s. 4d., a Common Prayer at 8s. In 1568, a Bible costs 13s. 4d. Printed music occurs, as I conclude, for the first time this year at Ludlow, four pricksong books in print at 2s. being purchased at Ludlow. In 1570, Magdalen College gives Fox £6 13s. 4d.—ten marks—for a copy of his new book. The original volume is preserved in the College library, and contains, as was proper under circumstances, a glowing eulogy on the society. In 1571 it cost Corpus 33s. 4d. In 1572 Magdalen gave it Jewel's books, and Corpus bought a copy of

Zanchius for 4*s.* In 1574 New College purchased £20 worth of Jewel's books. In 1575 the Statute book cost the city of Oxford 3*s.* 4*d.* In 1576 the Hall Bible at King's, Cambridge, to be read during meals, cost 16*s.*, and at Oxford a Concordance is at the same price. In 1577 a Bible at Abingdon cost 40*s.*, a Prayer-book 7*s.* In 1580 the Statute-book cost the city of Oxford 1*s.* 8*d.*, and in 1581 New College buys the Statutes of the Realm, probably Barthollet's edition, for 21*s.* I have omitted in this comment a few later entries of service-books.

The purchases of books, considering the opulence of some among these corporations, were few. But it must be remembered that both before and after the Reformation the present of books to a college or monastery was a common and graceful donation or bequest. Books were very dear, and were the choicest treasures of the student. Nothing was more natural than that he should give the companions of his study to his college, except the readiness with which the college expected and accepted the gift. The pious and learned Gascoigne, in the first half of the fifteenth century, gave many books to Oriel, his own college, besides a donation to the new library, and the college in return granted him the use of his rooms, rent-free, during his life. Such donations exist by hundreds in the college libraries of Oxford, and are sometimes valuable to those students who, coming from a distance to that famous University, study its unexplored treasures.

In order to protect these treasures from the depredations of needy students, the books were chained. The book chain marks the beginning of the libraries, the change from the time when manuscripts were kept in chests (Vol. I, p. 124) and lent to privileged persons on their indented bond. The first book chains which I have noted are in 1481, when Oriel, Oxford, bought two dozen of them at 3*s.* 4*d.* the dozen. In 1485 it bought three dozen at 4*s.* In 1499 King's College, Cambridge, buys three dozen at 3*s.* 4*d.*, and one dozen, described as longer, at 4*s.* 6*d.* In 1507 book chains cost 4*s.* 8½*d.* per dozen in London. In Oxford, 1509, four book chains cost Magdalen

College 7*s.* 6*d.* In 1520 book chains cost 1*s.* 4*d.* the dozen. In 1549 the chains purchased to fasten eight books cost 6*s.* 8*d.* A single chain, bought in London, to fasten a primer to a desk, cost 2*d.* It appears that the custom of chaining books came in with, or immediately after, the invention of printing.

In the subjoined tables of annual and decennial averages, the first is of paper by the quire and ream (R), the second of parchment by the quire (Q), dozen and roll (R). The decennial averages are of paper by the ream and the dozen quires, of parchment by the dozen and the roll. In the price of paper by the ream that described as 'small' is estimated only. These are at a maximum price of 6*s.* 8*d.* the ream. Hence those which are called royal, and those quoted at 13*s.* 4*d.* are omitted. I am clear that the 'small' paper of the later centuries is the same both by quire and ream with that in the earlier notices.

TABLE I.
AVERAGE PRICES OF PAPER.

When the prices by the ream and quire are given in the same year, the ream (R) is put above the quire.

	s. d.		s. d.		s. d.		s. d.
1403	o 6	1460	o 2	1503	R 3 10	1526	R 3 4
1408	o 4	1461	o 2½		o 2		o 2½
1410	o 4	1464	o 3	1504	R 3 4	1528	R 2 6
1411	o 3	1465	o 2½		o 2		o 3
1412	o 4½	1466	R 4 o	1505	R 3 4	1529	R 2 10
1414	o 3½		o 3	1506	o 2½		o 2
1417	o 4½	1468	o 2	1507	R 2 8	1530	R 2 8
1420	o 4½	1469	R 4 o		o 2	1531	R 2 10
1421	o 3		o 3	1508	o 2		o 3
1422	o 3½	1470	o 2½		R 2 9½	1532	R 2 10½
1424	o 4	1472	o 4	1509	o 2½		o 2½
1425	o 3	1475	o 3		R 2 8	1533	R 3 2½
1426	o 3½	1478	o 3	1510	o 3		o 2½
1427	o 3	1481	o 3	1511	o 3	1534	o 3
1428	o 4	1482	o 3	1512	R 2 7	1536	R 4 10
1429	o 3½	1483	o 3	1513	R 3 o		o 2½
1431	o 4	1484	o 2½	1514	R 2 o	1537	o 2½
1435	o 3½	1488	R 3 7		R 2 8	1539	o 4½
1437	o 3½		o 3	1515	o 2½	1540	R 3 o
1441	o 4	1489	R 2 6		R 2 4		o 2½
1443	o 3	1490	o 2½	1516	o 1½	1541	R 3 6
1444	o 3	1491	o 2		R 1 6		o 2½
1445	o 3½	1492	R 3 4	1517	R 1 6	1542	R 3 7
1446	o 4	1493	R 3 4	1518	R 3 6		o 2½
1447	o 3		R 2 8	1519	R 2 4	1543	R 3 o½
1448	o 3	1495	o 3		o 2		o 2½
1450	o 3		R 2 2½	1520	R 1 8	1544	o 3½
1451	o 3	1496	o 2		R 3 4	1545	R 3 3
1452	o 4	1497	o 2	1521	o 3	1546	R 2 10
1453	R 3 8	1498	R 3 6	1522	R 4 o		o 3½
1454	o 3	1499	o 2½	1523	R 2 11	1547	o 3½
1456	o 3½	1500	o 2½	1524	R 2 8	1548	R 3 10
1458	o 2		R 2 6	1525	R 3 o		o 4
1459	R 4 o	1502	o 2		o 3	1549	o 3½

	<i>s. d.</i>		<i>s. d.</i>		<i>s. d.</i>		<i>s. d.</i>
1550	℞ 4 8 o 4	1556	℞ 4 2 o 3	1562	℞ 6 8 o 5	1572	℞ 5 6 ℞ 6 8
1551	℞ 4 7½ o 4	1557	o 3½	1564	℞ 4 6½	1573	o 4 ℞ 6 2
1552	℞ 3 6 o 3½	1558	℞ 5 3 o 3½	1565	℞ 5 4	1574	o 4 o 4
1553	℞ 4 0 o 3½	1559	℞ 5 0 o 4	1566	℞ 5 10 ℞ 6 8	1575	o 4 o 3
1554	℞ 4 6 o 3	1560	℞ 5 6 o 4	1567	o 4 ℞ 4 10	1576	o 3 ℞ 6 8
1555	℞ 4 4 o 3½	1561	℞ 6 8 o 4	1568	o 4 ℞ 6 8	1577	℞ 6 8 o 4
		1562	℞ 6 8 o 4	1569	o 5 ℞ 6 8	1578	o 4 o 4
				1570	℞ 6 8	1580	o 4 o 4
				1571	o 4	1582	o 4

TABLE II.

DECENNIAL AVERAGE PRICES OF PAPER.

	Ream.	Doz. quires.		Ream.	Doz. quires.
	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>		<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>
1401—1410	.....	4 8	1501—1510	3 0½	2 6
1411—1420	.....	4 0	1511—1520	2 4	2 3
1421—1430	3 10	3 4½	1521—1530	3 0½	2 9
1431—1440	4 0	3 8	1531—1540	3 7½	2 7½
1441—1450	4 0	3 3	1541—1550	3 6½	3 3
1451—1460	3 10	3 1½	1551—1560	4 6½	3 9
1461—1470	4 0	2 9	1561—1570	6 0½	4 4
1471—1480	.....	3 4	1571—1582	6 5	4 0
1481—1490	3 0½	2 11	First 140 years.	3 5½	3 0½
1491—1500	3 0	2 0	Last 42 years.	5 1½	3 10

TABLE III.
AVERAGE PRICES OF PARCHMENT.

In this the roll (R) is below the price given by the dozen—roll=5 doz.

	s. d.		s. d.		s. d.		s. d.
1406	QO 6	1498	1 11	1531	2 1½	1554	4 10
1409	1 9	1500	1 11		R10 8½	1555	6 0
1424	2 6	1501	2 6	1532	2 8		R20 0
1425	3 0	1502	2 5	1533	2 4½	1556	4 11½
1428	1 8		2 2	1535	R9 4		R16 0
1447	3 0	1503			3 1	1558	4 6
1454	2 6	1504	1 8	1540	R10 7½		9 0
1456	2 9	1505	1 9	1541	3 5	1559	R26 8
1467	1 8	1506	R10 0		R11 0	1560	R16 0
1468	2 9	1507	1 4½	1542	2 2½	1561	R14 0
1473	1 0	1508	1 2		R10 2	1562	R15 6
1476	1 6	1509	1 7½	1543	2 2	1563	R18 8
1478	2 7½	1510	1 4½	1544	R10 0	1564	R13 11
1481	2 2	1512	2 2½	1545	2 6	1565	R13 0
1482	2 2	1513	1 7		R13 4	1566	4 8½
1483	2 8	1515	2 2	1546	2 3		R15 4
1484	2 9½	1517	1 8½	1547	6 6	1567	R15 9
1485	3 4½	1519	1 9	1548	5 2		2 8
1486	3 9	1520	2 5	1549	3 9	1568	
1487	4 2½	1522	2 8		R25 0		R13 0
1488	3 0	1525	R12 0	1550	8 0	1569	R15 7
1490	2 0	1526	R15 0		R25 0	1570	R14 0
1491	2 4	1527	1 8	1551	4 4	1572	6 0
1494	1 7	1528	2 3½	1552	7 7	1574	2 4
1496	2 0	1529	R10 0	1553	6 9		R15 0
1497	3 0	1530	2 8½		R21 8	1582	4 0

TABLE IV.
DECENNIAL AVERAGE PRICES OF PARCHMENT.

	Dozen.	Roll.		Dozen.	Roll.
	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>		<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>
1401—1410	1 9	.....	1501—1510	1 9½	10 0
1411—1420	2 5½	.....	1511—1520	1 11½	.....
1421—1430	1 8	.....	1521—1530	2 6½	12 4
1431—1440	.....	.....	1531—1540	2 6½	10 8
1441—1450	3 0	.....	1541—1550	4 0	15 9
1451—1460	2 7½	.....	1551—1560	5 8½	20 1
1461—1470	2 2½	.....	1561—1570	3 8½	14 10½
1471—1480	1 8½	.....	1571—1582	3 2	15 0
1481—1490	2 10½	.....	First 140 years.	2 3	11 0
1491—1500	2 1½	.....	Last 42 years.	4 2	16 8

CHAPTER XXI.

SUNDRY ARTICLES.

THERE still remain certain articles on which it will be convenient to make some brief comments in the present place, these being chiefly household furniture and similar effects.

The furniture of a house in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries was mean and cheap, even where the buildings were large and handsome. The paved or tiled floor was strewn with rushes, and in royal apartments covered with mats. The tables were generally moveable, and stood on trestles, the guests sitting on forms or stools at meals, though the principal persons may have had chairs. When the meal was finished, it appears that the tables were removed, the trestles put away, and the forms transferred to the wall or arranged round the charcoal fire which burned in the centre of the hall. Sometimes a long low seat was permanently placed at the walls of the common hall, and covered with a kind of cheap cloth called a banker. In 1536 a banker cost 5*s.* 6*d.*, and in 1548 fifteen yards of stuff at 10*d.* a yard are purchased for making a banker by King's College.

THE HALL. In 1410 a long table was purchased at Wye for 2*s.* 8*d.*, nine trestles for 2*s.* 1*d.*, and a chair for 1*s.* 2*d.* In 1431 a high table at Oxford cost 2*s.* 8*d.*, a side table 1*s.* 6*d.*, two forms 1*s.*, two pairs of trestles 1*s.*, and a chair 1*s.* 6*d.* In 1477 a 'cypress' chair cost 3*s.*, and a long settle 3*s.* 4*d.* in London. In 1482 King's College, Cambridge, purchases for 60*s.* the following:—two tables, each fifteen feet long; two, each fourteen feet long; four pairs of folding trestles, four forms of eight feet each, four of six feet, and fourteen of four feet each. In 1532 a wainscot chair costs 8*s.*, in 1548 a square wainscot

table 10s., and four forms 1s. 8d. each, and in the same year twelve sedilia cost 2s. each. These articles must have been of far ruder and cheaper workmanship than the hall table purchased by All Souls in 1550 for 63s. 4d., which College also bought a table for the Warden's bedchamber at a cost of 12s. in 1571. Chairs and seats were provided occasionally with cushions. Thus six cushions in 1431 cost 7d. each at Oxford, and in 1532 twelve were bought at Durham at 2s. 6d. each. In 1569 pulvinaria are bought in the same year by two Oxford colleges at 10s. each. These variations in value must denote very different articles. In 1431 a hanging in the hall with a border cost 11s. In 1571 a hanging for the bedchamber of the Warden of All Souls, apparently Hoveden, was purchased for £4.

A basin and ewer was generally placed at the further end of the hall, and a jactowel was hung on a roller near it. In 1410 a basin and ewer cost 11d., and must have been made of some cheap material, perhaps wood. In 1446 they cost 8s.; in 1493, 4s.; in 1564, 6s. 4d.; in 1574 9s. These articles were probably made of copper or brass. A jactowel of five ells is found under 1424 at a cost of 3s. 1½d. In 1569 a 'rundle' for such a towel cost 8d. Again, a lavatorium in 1548 costs 3s.; a laver in 1448, 1s. 8d.; and three others, 4s. 8d. together.

The hall fireplace was very frequently, as it remained till recent times in some of the Cambridge colleges, a frame of iron set in the centre of the hall, and fed with charcoal, the fumes escaping through a lantern in the roof. But fireplaces and grates in chimneys were also used. Sometimes the open hearth, in which wood was burnt, was furnished with a pair of andirons. Such a pair was supplied to the chamber of the Abbot of Fountains in 1454, at a cost of 3s. 4d. In 1559 the fellows of Corpus College, Oxford, bought a pair for their hall for 23s. 4d. In 1570 King's College gives 18s. 6d. for two pair with shovel and tongs, and in 1576 andirons at Magdalen cost 3s. A pair of andirons for the kitchen at Hornchurch cost 4s. in 1416. The sizes must have greatly varied.

Chafing-dishes or calefactoria were also used. I find ten

such articles named. They appear to have been made of copper or brass, and the price varies from 10s. to 1s. 6d. In 1555 three such articles cost 6s. 8d., 6s. 4d., and 5s. at Oxford. The fuel was kept in baskets. In 1569 such a basket costs 1s.; in 1576, 10d.; in 1577, 8d. A coal basket, again, probably of the same material, is bought in 1530 at 2d., in 1543 at 11d., and in 1544 at 6d. But an iron grate was bought in 1577 for 2s. 10d.

In 1408 New College gave 110s. for a candelabrum to be used in the chapel. This appears to have been of silver. Ordinary candlesticks are from 1s. 8d. to 1s. 4d. a pair, and were made of brass or latten. After the rise in prices they became dearer: in 1564, 3s. 2d.; in 1569 latten cost 2s. 8d., brass 3s. 5d.; in 1577, 5s. 4d.; in 1578, 3s. 4d., while in 1574 two pairs are bought for the Warden of All Souls at 7s. the pair. In 1471 fourteen copper hanging candlesticks are bought for York Minster. They cost 24s. 10d.

Two fire-pans and fire-forks cost 1s. 3d. in 1508; a fire-shovel 2s. in 1417, 1s. in 1448, 1s. 8d. in 1543 and 1576, and 2s. in 1574. In 1431 a pair of tongs cost 8d.; in 1576, 1s. 4d. In 1473 a pair of bellows was bought for 4d., in 1534 for 4d., in 1543 and 1574 for 10d.

I have referred above, p. 478, to the numerous entries of pewter vessels or garnish bought by the pound. The same article is often purchased by the dozen or the set, under the name of vasa electri or tin vessels, or simply as garnish. The dozen is the common appellation of the Finchale purchases; but it is found at Cambridge in 1411. An average of thirteen such purchases by the dozen at Finchale gives 16s. 7d., an amount which is far in excess of any estimate by weight, as will be seen by referring to the averages of page 428. Most likely it means a dozen vessels of different sizes, which together weighed between forty and fifty pounds. In 1568, a garnish costs 54s. 9d., and must have weighed at the prices of that time over eighty pounds. The dishes were stamped in order to identify the property. Such a stamp costs 6d. in 1427, 2d. in

1496, 1s. 4d. in 1520, 4s. in 1564, 2s. in 1566, and 3s. in 1567.

Such silver plate as was purchased by weight has been commented on above, p. 475. There are a few articles which are not bought in this manner. Thus, for instance, half-a-dozen silver spoons are bought at Oxford at 2s. 3d. each in 1404, and another half-dozen in 1431 at a little more than 2s. 2½d., and another in 1454 at a little more than 2s. 8½d. In 1431 the Corporation of Norwich gives 36s. for a dozen silver spoons. In 1426 the King's Hall pays £17 for two spice plates. These articles were probably made in compartments to hold the various condiments with which on rare occasions our forefathers seasoned their viands and their wines. Larger spoons appear to have been made of brass or copper. In 1567 such a spoon costs 3s.; in 1569, 3s. 4d. Both are bought by Magdalen College. In 1564 five salt-cellars cost 1s. 6d. each. These are purchased by Corpus, and are probably of latten or pewter. I may add to these entries the purchase of a pair of silver-gilt shoes for an image for 19s. 4d. in 1517, and of three gold rings bought by Magdalen College in 1554 at 13s. 4d. each.

Wooden spoons are bought at 1d. the doz. in 1436; trenchers at prices ranging from 1½d. the doz. to 5½d. between 1558 and 1578. Glasses are not found till late, at 1s. 2d. in 1571, and at 8d. in 1577, though at New College, Oxford, eight glasses and five cups were bought in 1549 for 10s. But glass bottles of various sizes are found. In 1415 a glass bottle, no doubt small, is purchased to keep saffron in for 4d. In 1536 four glass bottles, each holding a gallon, are bought at 1s., and a quart for 6d. at Birling. A dozen fruit-dishes are bought for 11s. in 1571.

Ale, the common drink of the time, was generally served in leathern jacks. In 1414 four such jacks, two of a gallon size, two of a pottle, are bought by New College for 4s. 8d. together. In 1454 six jacks cost 1s. 4d. each. In 1478 two cost 11d. each. In 1512 two are bought at 1s. 4½d. In 1548 two are bought at 1s. 2d. In 1567 a black jack costs 1s. In 1572 a

jack costs 2s. 6d.; in 1577 three black jacks are at 2s. 8d.; in 1579 one is at 2s.

In 1482 leathern pots are bought at 11½d., 1s. 4½d., and 10d. each, the last two being described as gallon and pottle. In 1483 leathern gallon pots are bought in another place at 1s. 6d. These are probably the same as jacks. In 1529 a leathern bottle costs 1s. 7d.; in 1530, 1s. 3d. We are told in the latter entry that the two bought by Sion were for the use of the carter. A great copper beer pot is bought at Oxford in 1431 for 13s. 4d., and a gallon beer pot in 1509 costs 10d.

The hall probably contained chests in which linen and the commoner utensils of the table were laid aside. Such a chest costs 2s. at Heyford in 1409, 1s. 6d. at Drayton in 1424, and 3s. 8d. at Sutterton in 1511. In 1558 a linen chest is bought in London for 6s. 10d.

Weapons were hung up in the hall, as bows and arrows. Bows were relatively speaking costly. I find them at 1s. 8d. in 1441 and 1450; at 2s. 4d., 2s., and 1s. 4d. in 1454; at 1s. 4d. in 1458, and at 2s. 4d. in 1463. In 1470 bowstaves cost £11 the hundred. Arrows are bought at 1s. 8d. the hundred in 1441 for the navy, at 1s. 1½d. the sheaf in 1461, at 1s. the dozen in 1532, and at 2s. in 1548. In 1532 arrow-heads cost 1s. 7d. the twelve dozen.

In 1441 lances cost 1s. each; in 1548, 1s. 6d.; and a javelin in 1558, 1s. 6d. In 1447 a sword costs 1s. 8d. In 1462 twelve sallats with demi-visors cost 7s. 4d. together; six Normandy bills 2s. 9d. each, and a harness, save sallat and greaves, £3 6s. 8d. In 1458 a sallat costs 6s. 8d.; in 1464 a steel shamfron costs 6s. 8d., and a dagger 3s. 4d. In 1468 two complete harnesses with ostrich feathers are bought for £6 16s. 8d. and £7. In 1570 a shirt of mail costs 26s. 8d. The equipment of a common soldier will be found in Vol. III, p. 575, ii, under the year 1559. In 1569 a double case of dags (long pistols) costs 40s., and in 1582 New College bought a pair of pistols for 12s.

THE KITCHEN. My accounts contain numerous entries of

kitchen utensils. It may be convenient to take them in alphabetical order.

A brandiron appears to be the name commonly used in the fifteenth century for a gridiron. One, described as 'long,' is bought in 1431 for 3*s.* 8*d.* The article appears under the name of a branding-iron in 1461, when it costs 2*s.* 4*d.* In 1564 it costs 4*s.* 9*d.* A gridiron is bought for 3*s.* 8*d.* in 1558, and for 5*s.* 10*d.* in 1564. The brandiron and gridiron are both bought by New College, Oxford, so that in the sixteenth century there may be a difference in the terms.

A 'broche,' i.e. a spit, costs 9*d.* in 1410. In 1431 two iron spits are bought at Oxford for 1*s.* 6*d.* and 10*d.* In 1539 a new spit costs 5*s.*, and in 1579 a square spit is bought by Corpus, Oxford, for 2*s.*, the larger and more costly article being purchased for Magdalen. The veru of 1557 at Cambridge, which is only 6*d.*, must have been a large skewer. I do not find a kitchen-jack till 1582, when one is purchased by King's College for 24*s.*

Caldrons and boilers are made of copper, brass, and even lead. In 1476 a caldron costs 6*s.* 8*d.* In 1459 a 'great twenty-four gallon pan' is valued in Fastolfe's goods at 40*s.* In 1489 a six gallon pan costs 6*s.* 2*d.* In 1495 a great pan is bought for 10*s.* In 1510 Oriel College gives 6*s.* 8*d.* for a 'cacabus'; in 1569 New College 7*s.* for the same article, while in 1580 the same college pays 40*s.* for a great brass pot. In 1431 a great leaden boiler is bought for 24*s.* at Oxford, and another for 12*s.* In 1563 there is an entry of iron pots in the Deptford dockyard accounts at 8*s.*

Cleavers are bought at 8*d.* in 1449, at 1*s.* in 1550, at 2*s.* 10*d.* and 1*s.* 8*d.* in 1552, at 1*s.* 8*d.* in 1554 and 1556. A colander for straining peas costs 11*d.* in 1496. In 1564 a colander costs 2*s.* 6*d.*, and in 1568, 4*s.* The last two are probably brass. The crabcula ferri of 1410 is probably a small gridiron. An elm dresser in 1569 costs 20*s.*

Frying-pans are of very various prices. One in 1410 is bought for 1*s.* 2*d.* But a copper frying-pan in 1432 costs

7*s.* 2*d.* In 1456 the price is 2*s.*; in 1487, 3*s.* 4*d.*; in 1566, 2*s.*; in 1574, 2*s.* 10*d.* and 5*s.*, while in 1575 a frying-pan and skillet together are bought for 4*s.*

In 1520 a dripping-pan costs 3*s.* 4*d.*; in 1549, 2*s.*; in 1577, 5*s.* 3*d.*; and in 1580, 4*s.* These were probably of copper. In 1457 a grater costs 4*d.*; in 1566, 8*d.*; in 1569, 1*s.* 2*d.*; in 1573, 6*d.*; in 1577, 1*s.* In 1560 a bread-grater costs 6*d.* In 1566 a kettle is bought for 6*s.* 8*d.*

The names given to various kinds of kitchen knives are numerous and confusing, and the prices assigned to the several descriptions are very varied. Dressing knives, of which I have noted nine entries between 1428 and 1535, range in price from 8*d.* to 2*s.* 4*d.*, but are generally about 1*s.* 3*d.* They are the most expensive. 'Kitchen knives' in early years are from 1*s.* to 3*d.* In 1401 a great knife at Oxford costs 3*s.*, the highest price found. But a 'great' knife is priced at 5*d.* in 1427, at 4*d.* in 1485, at 6*d.* in 1506, and 4½*d.* in 1520. In 1553 it stands at 1*s.* 4*d.* In 1562 a kitchen knife costs 9*d.*; in 1564, 1*s.*; in 1565, 1*s.* 2*d.* In 1561 a 'chopping' knife for the pantry is bought for 2*s.* 8*d.* In 1548 a chopping knife costs 4*d.*; in 1568, 10*d.*; in 1569, 6½*d.*; in 1574, 1*s.*; in 1576, 8*d.* In 1448 and 1451 paring knives cost 8*d.* and 6*d.* In 1525 a 'mincing' knife is bought for 1*s.* 2*d.*, in 1550 for 8*d.*, and in 1565 for 10*d.* In 1569 a 'shredding' knife costs 1*s.* 4*d.*, and in 1519 a 'sticking' knife 10*d.* There are also 'lethyng' and 'lechyng' knives, the prices of which range from 4*d.* to 2*d.*, cooks' knives at 3*d.*, a 'fleshing' knife at 3*d.*, besides pairs of knives, carried no doubt for personal use, at from 5*d.* to 9*d.*

Ladles are of very various quality, if one can form a judgment from the prices. In 1412 one is entered at 1*s.*, in 1417 another is at 2½*d.*, but the same account gives a brass ladle at 1*s.* 6*d.* In 1441 two are bought in Cambridge at 10*d.*, one at 8*d.* In 1500 and 1501 they are at 2*d.*, but these are probably both iron ladles employed in plumber's work. In 1508 a brass ladle costs 8*d.*; in 1511 and 1512, 10*d.*; in 1520, 1*s.* 4*d.*; in 1525, 7*d.* In 1554 the article costs 2*s.*; in 1556, 1*s.*; in 1560, 2*s.* 4*d.*;

in 1568, 3*s.*; and in 1575, 1*s.* 6*d.* In 1566 a ladle and skimmer are bought for 4*s.*

A leaden cistern for the larder cost 27*s.* 8*d.* in 1482. I do not feel certain that a 'tapled' in 1429, which was bought for 7*s.* 7*d.*, and a 'renovatio' of the same item at 7*s.* 8*d.* in 1437, are articles also employed for the larder.

In 1424 a meal-tub is bought for 8*d.*, and in 1574 meal shovels for 4*d.* A new meat-bag costs 10*d.* in 1496, and a meat-safe 1*s.* 1*d.* in 1571.

Mortars were largely used in the kitchen of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. They are made of wood, stone, or marble, and brass, the last being the most expensive. But the charge is also relative to the size. In 1482 a brass mortar, weighing nineteen pounds, costs 4*s.* 9*d.*, i. e. 3*d.* a pound, about the rate of the time. In 1582 a brass mortar, the weight of which is unluckily not given, costs 5*s.* It probably weighed about eight pounds. In 1541 and 1574 mortars which cost 1*s.* and 1*s.* 11*d.* are recorded, and may have been small brasen articles. In 1448 I find a mortar, probably brass, at 2*s.* 4*d.* In 1492 there is a marble mortar for 2*s.*; in 1536 a stone one for 3*s.*; in 1529 a great stone mortar for 8*s.*; and in 1521 a treen, i. e. wooden mortar, for 1*d.* A pestle costs 5*d.* in 1415, a great pestle 1*s.* 4*d.* in 1521, and a pestle and mortar 1*s.* in 1431.

The Cambridge obba of 1473 and 1478, one of which is said to contain three quarts, and both of which are bought at 7*d.*, are probably leathern jacks. Perhaps the olla of 1458, at the same price, was the same or a similar article.

The olla aenea of my accounts is the copper or brasen pot, hung over the kitchen fire. It varies greatly in price, even under similar conditions of general prices. In 1448 three and a ladle are bought for 13*s.* 11*d.* The ordinary price of a brass ladle at this time is 10*d.* or 11*d.*, and the olla cost probably some 4*s.* 4*d.* In 1474 the article is 4*s.* 2*d.*; in 1482, 4*s.* 1*d.*; in 1485, 3*s.* 6*d.* In 1487 it is 20*s.* The purchase is at Sion, and the dimensions in that rich nunnery were, no doubt, con-

siderable. In 1502 it is 2*s.* 8*d.*; in 1508, 3*s.* 8*d.*; in 1527, 8*s.* 6*d.* (the purchase is at Bardney, and is described as great); and in 1546, at 4*s.* The spoil of the monasteries was cheap at this time. My reader will find that (p. 486) the price of brass vessels was 3*d.* a pound this year.

The 'patella' of the accounts is probably a shallow pan. In 1409 it cost 2*s.* 6*d.* at Heyford. In 1461 two are bought at 5*s.* 9*d.* each. In 1474 the article costs 1*s.* 4*d.* In 1555 Magdalen College buys two, one at 8*s.* 4*d.*, another at 10*s.* 6*d.*, and New College one at 8*s.* 4*d.* Each college also buys a brass 'pelvis,' probably a washing-bowl, at 2*s.* 6*d.* In 1520 a 'posnet,' probably a small brass pot, is bought at Downham for 1*s.* 6*d.* This is the meaning given the word in the glossaries. A powdering tub, that is, a tub for salting meat, costs 1*s.* 4*d.* in 1562.

There are four entries of skillets; in 1557 at 1*s.* 8*d.*, in 1561 at 3*s.*, in 1566 at 2*s.* 4*d.*, and in 1571 at 3*s.* 4*d.* A skimmer costs 1*s.* in 1512, 1*s.* 6*d.* in 1555, 1*s.* 4*d.* in 1560, and 1*s.* 6*d.* in 1566. A spatula, by which a rolling-pin may be meant, costs 2*d.* in 1540. In 1531 a bread-tub is bought for 10*d.*

There are several entries of strainers. Fourteen entries in the early period give an average price of 2½*d.* each, the price being fairly uniform. Seven in the later an average of 5¼*d.* A 'trulla aenea' (it can hardly have its Latin meaning) costs 2*s.* 8*d.* in 1518, a trivet 9*d.* in 1467, 4*d.* in 1515, a tripod 1*s.* 4*d.* in 1410, 1*s.* 2*d.* in 1413, and 7*d.* in 1457. These are the principal articles designated in the accounts as for kitchen use.

There were certain stock sauces always kept in the medieval larder on which I must make a few comments. These are vinegar, aleager, bereager, and verjuice—the first sour wine, the second and third sour ale and beer, and the fourth the expressed juice of crabs.

Vinegar is sold by the gallon, the barrel, the cade, the kilderkin, the hogshead, the pipe, and the tun. It is naturally far dearer in small quantities than it is in bulk. It is possible,

as I suggested in Vol. I, p. 643, that the high-priced vinegar, which is sometimes found, and is dearer than wine, was flavoured with condiments. On any other hypothesis, it is difficult to understand how this article was worth 8*d.* a gallon in 1432 and only 2*d.* in 1429. In 1460 it is 4*d.* a gallon, in 1463 it is 6*d.*, in 1464, 1*d.*

In early times the barrel and the cade were probably the same measure, and contained no more, perhaps even less, than a dozen gallons. Such are the entries of 1430, perhaps 1491, 1501, 1532, 1533, 1554, 1557 (when the puzzling word 'doleum' is used), and in 1564. In 1567 a rundlet is employed to denote the quantity, and in 1563 a rundlet is described as containing thirteen gallons.

An average from thirty entries between 1457 and 1538 gives nearly 13*s.* as the price of a hogshead of vinegar. An average of eleven entries between 1545 and 1581 gives 28*s.* 7*d.* for the same quantity. Once, 1458, it is sold by the pipe, apparently of two hogsheads, and in 1566 by the tun, apparently of four hogsheads. But in each case, if this estimate be correct, the price is greatly reduced in the large quantity. In 1568 it is bought by the rundlet, perhaps the quarter of the hogshead.

Aleager and bereager are articles almost peculiar to Cambridge. It is plain that they are malt vinegar, the former the product of ale, i.e. malt liquor to which hops had not been added, the latter of beer, i.e. of hopped malt liquor. Aleager is found only three times in the earlier period (1401-1540), and twice only in the fifteenth century. Bereager occurs for the first time in 1535.

The first entry of aleager is in 1423, when it is bought at 2*d.* a gallon. It is next found in 1458, when a cade costs 5*s.* In 1524 it is bought by Sion at 2*d.* the gallon. After 1541 it is common, appearing nearly every year in the King's College accounts and elsewhere in Cambridge. It is estimated by the cade, the kilderkin (the commonest measure), and the doleum. It seems that the doleum was the same as the kilderkin. It is probable that the kilderkin was a quarter hogshead, but

much dearer proportionately than the larger quantity. An average of twenty entries by the kilderkin, cade, and doleum, assumed to be identical after 1541, gives 3*s.* 5½*d.*

Bereager is far less frequent, and here it appears that the doleum and the hogshead are of the same magnitude, while the cade, which occurs only once, is a fourth of the quantity. The barrel of 1570 seems to be also a hogshead. The average of eight entries is 6*s.* 5½*d.* The hogshead of aleager is 10*s.* in 1551 and 1562. Aleager becomes dearer from 1575, but bereager is rather cheaper. I conclude that the latter was less in demand than the former.

The price of verjuice is very fluctuating, and the article is measured in various quantities. In 1448, 1449, and 1488, it is bought by the gallon, in the first year at 3*d.*, in the other two at 2*d.* In 1510 it costs 3½*d.* the gallon; in 1557 and 1558, 1*s.*; in 1573, 1*s.* 8*d.* Sometimes the quantity purchased by the gallon is large, 63 gallons in 1448, 72 in 1449; sometimes it is small. In 1506 it is bought at 6*d.* the dozen, and it may be noted that vinegar is very cheap this year. In 1528 it is bought by the vessel at Nottingham, and in 1535 by the firkin at Cambridge, when it is again very cheap.

It is sold by the pipe in 1504, 16*s.*, and in 1524, 20*s.*; by the hogshead in 1516, 1525, 1529, 1550, and 1567, at an average of 10*s.* 11*d.*

It may be convenient here to say a little about the price of crabs, the fruit from which verjuice was pressed. The price fluctuates greatly. Crabs are always bought by the quarter. In 1414 they are 6*d.* the quarter, in 1415, 6*s.* 2*d.* The first was a very dry year, and probably the crop was very abundant. They are again at 3*s.* 6*d.* in 1460, and at 8*d.* in 1465. They are again 5*s.* 4*d.* the quarter in 1557. An average of nineteen entries gives 1*s.* 10¼*d.* the quarter.

THE OFFICES. The economy of the kitchen leads one to that of the offices. Barrels cost about 11*d.* each, casks at a later period 1*s.* 2*d.*, hogsheads are only 4½*d.* in 1504, and 1*s.* 7½*d.* in 1577 and 1580.

More copious is the information about buckets and pails. The former were sometimes iron bound, when they cost about 1*s.* in the earlier and the later time, being principally used for wells. But in 1570 the well-bucket at Corpus cost 1*s.* 6*d.* This kind of bucket, it appears, contained four gallons. Other buckets are worth from 1*s.* 6*d.* to 5*s.* the dozen or more. The bucket is also called *situla*, and the name is generally given to a well-bucket. Such an article costs 1*s.* 1½*d.* in 1445, and 1*s.* 8*d.* in 1453.

Pails cost 2*s.* 11½*d.* the dozen up to 1543, and 6*s.* afterwards. They are purchased extensively for the navy as well as for private use. Brooms cost 6*d.* a dozen in 1496, but are at 4*d.* after 1541.

I find a churn in 1495 at 8*d.*, and a cheese-fat in 1481 at 7*d.* A bucking-tub costs 4*s.* in 1476, and 1*s.* 2½*d.* in 1489. Cups (*ciphi*) are 8*d.* a dozen in 1448, and 4*s.* 2½*d.* the hundred in 1463. The latter entry is of ashen cups. But in 1431 and 1433 wooden cups are at 4*d.* the dozen, and in 1432 at 6*d.* These are also ashen. A great fat costs 20*s.* in 1472, and a French fan 10*s.* in 1574. Two 'furni' are bought in 1485 at 10*s.* each. A kneading-trough and cover are bought for 1*s.* 2*d.* in 1424, and a kneading-trough in 1462 for 1*s.* In 1577 a malt-skep costs 3*s.* In 1516 a maund costs 4*d.*, and a great one in 1562 costs 1*s.* 4*d.* In 1507 a pump costs 33*s.* 4*d.*; in 1515, 26*s.* 8*d.* Pump shoes in 1534 are 4*d.* each. In 1410 a sporta, and in 1458 a sportula, cost 1*s.* Between 1512 and 1536 trays cost 3*s.* 7½*d.* the dozen, afterwards 5*s.* 10*d.* In 1424 two great vats cost 6*s.* 8*d.* each, and in 1554 a water-butt was bought for 2*s.* I cannot determine the object for which a machine called a 'gynne' was purchased for 20*s.* in 1545.

In 1577 yeast, called barm, is bought at 9*d.* the pail. In 1548 a barber's brush costs 8*d.* In 1424 birdlime is bought at 3*d.* the pound, in 1457 for 2*d.*, in the latter case to catch predatory animals. A bottle in 1496 costs 11*d.*, and divers great bowls in 1561 are purchased at 8*d.* Brushes in 1536 cost 2*d.* each, in 1551 they are bought for the use of Elizabeth at 1*s.* Bristle

hair in 1542 costs 6*d.* a pound, 8*d.* in 1543; in 1534 brush hair, probably the same article, is at 6*d.* In 1502 a load of broom for stuffing windows is bought at Windsor for 6*d.*

Bran is occasionally used in the stable, and is commonly bought at Sion. The average price is 1*s.* 1½*d.* the quarter. It may be here noted that in 1463 the wheat ground at Writtle yielded two bushels of bran to the quarter, the bread at this house being probably of the finest quality. Grains are once purchased in large quantity at Sion (1499) at 1½*d.* the quarter; and perhaps the segisterium of King's College, Cambridge, 1458, 2*d.*, 1467, 6*d.* the quarter, is the same article.

A 'bucking' cloth costs 5*d.* in 1473. In 1466 buckwheat is bought at Cambridge, to feed the swans, at 3*d.* the bushel. In 1505 a budget costs 9*d.*; in 1508, 1*s.* 2*d.*; in 1516, 10*d.*; in 1520, 7*d.* and 8*d.* The word is used in very different and distant localities. In 1412 a cask costs 8*d.*, a casket in 1457, 1*s.* 6*d.* In 1546 a carriage, 'vehiculum,' in the house of the Warden of Merton (Reynolds, Warden 1545-59), is bought for 31*s.* 6*d.*¹

There are two curious entries under 1527 and 1536 of the purchase of capers. In the former year a barrel holding six and a half pounds is bought for 3*s.* at Hunstanton; in the latter, three pounds are purchased at Birling at 5*d.* the pound. The price is practically identical, for the difference is about the value of the cask, which, as my reader may note, is always included in the charge, and sometimes specified, but never given in.

Books are frequently bound in deer-skins. These were sometimes tanned, the hair being taken off, sometimes dressed with the hair on. They are in the first case generally dyed red, and cost from 3*d.* to 4*d.* With the hair on, and under the name of cheverel, I have found them in 1526 at 6*s.*, in 1532 at 10*s.* the dozen. In 1452 and 1454 doe-skins cost 1*s.* and 2*s.* each at Fountains.

¹ This Reynolds contrived to keep the wardenship of Merton through the three reigns. But he had to quit under Elizabeth, having accepted a bishopric from Mary.

Clasps and hooks cost 4*d.* the dozen in 1515. Curtain-rings 3*d.* the dozen in 1570. A coffer costs 1*s.* 8*d.* in 1497, a candle-mould in 1566, 5*s.*

In 1505 New College, Oxford, buys a clock for £3. In 1472 a 'spring' to a clock is purchased by King's College, Cambridge, for 2*d.* In 1407 'cophini,' probably large baskets for holding grain, cost 10*d.* each at Lullington.

In 1494 a pair of 'cruetts' cost 9½*d.*, a cross of copper gilt 20*s.* 6*d.* in 1439. The latter appears to have been set up with a sign at 'Gyngenis' Inn, a hotel which belonged to New College. The sign for this inn painted on wainscot in the same year cost 16*s.* 8*d.* That for the Bell Inn¹, outside the north gate, Oxford, in the next year, cost 4*s.*, and that for Pate's Inn in 1444, 12*s.* These entries point to the fact adverted to already, that in the middle ages the landlord of premises was expected to execute all repairs.

In 1582 a doleum is bought for 1*s.* 8*d.* Such a price is relative to that of barrels, pipes, and casks at earlier and similar dates.

Damask water is bought at 6*s.* a gallon in 1536. It is said to be a perfumed water. Rose water is not unfrequently purchased, but the quantity is rarely given. Once in 1574 it is bought for the Oxford city feast at the rate of 6*s.* 8*d.* the gallon. In 1536 it must have been much cheaper, as six pints are bought, with two bottles, for 3*s.* In 1547 down costs 8*d.* a pound. It was used to line or pad a winter robe.

In 1464 three ivory combs are bought in London for 1*s.* 4*d.* together. I have already adverted to the price of horse-combs (p. 424). A curry-comb costs 2*s.* 6*d.* in 1574, and a double curry-comb 3*s.* in 1581.

In 1419 the bailiff of Clarendon manor, in Wilts, buys nine ferrets at 1*s.* 2*d.* each, in order to catch the rabbits on the warren. The high price at which these animals are bought

¹ The Bell Inn here named was no doubt the local ancestor of a public-house which was pulled down when the Randolph Hotel was built. The purpose of no building is more unchanging than that of an inn.

seems to indicate that the use of them in capturing rabbits was new.

In 1525 Oriel College buys five gallipots at 2*d.* each. In 1527 eight gong spokes cost 6*s.* 9*d.* together at Bardney. The object of the convenience is manifest, but I cannot detect its use. It appears that the word 'spoke' has the local meaning of basket or tub. Girdles cost 4*s.* a dozen in 1494, 8*s.* in 1546.

In 1555 hand-baskets cost 1*s.* 6*d.* a dozen. The harness of a draught horse cost 8*s.* in 1574, of a cart horse, 3*s.* 6*d.* in 1518. A pair of hawk's bells cost 4*d.* in 1468, a score of hassocks, for church pews in London, 1*s.* 10*d.* in 1516, a hay-rack 10½*d.* in 1422, and a hundred hoops 5*s.* in 1587.

In 1494 a latten bowl cost 4*d.*, and in 1508 two dozen Spanish latten hoops for swan's necks were bought at 7*d.* the dozen. Lattice work in 1568, used to protect windows, cost 6*d.* the foot square.

Leather buckets cost 10½*d.* in 1481. In 1483 a three gallon article was bought for 1*s.* 6*d.*, a gallon bucket for 1*s.* 6*d.*, a half gallon for 1*s.* In 1489 a leather bucket costs 11*d.* These prices correspond to those of leather jacks. A leather collar costs 1*s.* in 1548.

A horse-muffler in 1577 costs 1*s.*, an oil bottle in 1527, 2*d.* Earthen pans are bought at 9*d.* a dozen in 1518, at 6*d.* in 1529, and at 1*s.* 6*d.* in 1530. A pewter pot costs 3*s.* in 1551, and a glass phiala in 1427, 2½*d.* In 1466 this article, spelt fiala, costs 3*d.*

Pins cost 5*d.* the thousand in 1486, 10*d.* in 1494 and 1504, 11*d.* in 1496 and 1505-6. In 1574 they cost 4*d.* These prices seem to indicate a casual purchase at a low amount in the first, and a cheapened process of manufacture in the last. Points are 3*d.* a dozen in 1504.

Earthenware pots are 6*d.* a dozen in 1518, stone pots 8*d.* in the same year, 1*s.*, 6*d.*, and 1*s.* 6*d.*, doubtlessly according to size, in 1525. A single purse costs 10*d.* in 1457, and 8*d.* in 1546. In 1494, 1496, and 1505, they are bought by the dozen at 1*s.* 6*d.*, 1*s.* 8*d.*, and 2*s.*

Razors are entered less frequently than might be expected. They cost 4*d.* in 1463, 5*d.* in 1496, 3*d.* in 1498. In 1505 five cost 1*s.*; in 1507 six cost 1*s.* 8*d.*; in 1525 five cost 1*s.* 2*d.* In the same year Magdalen College buys a dickar of razors, by which I understand ten, for 2*s.* 1*d.* In 1483 two razors and a speculum are purchased for 10*d.* A speculum is 5*d.* in 1522.

Scoops are 2*s.* the dozen in 1540-1, 4*s.* 6*d.* in 1561, 5*s.* in 1563, and 6*s.* in 1567. The rise is fully according to the increase of money values in the period. Sockets, probably sconces for candles, cost 3*d.* in 1504. 'Skechons' for a feast cost 1*s.* 3*d.* a dozen in 1518, 'skochyns' for a library window 8*d.* each in 1489, and skoppits 3*s.* a dozen in 1534. I do not pretend to accurately decide on the meaning of these terms, but the last are said to be a kind of spade. They are purchased for the King's use at Greenwich, and are cheaper than spades, which are 4*s.* the dozen this year, shovels being 6*s.*

Spigots cost 4*d.* a dozen in 1531. In 1532 great spigots cost 4*d.*, but spigots for beer are bought at 2*d.* the dozen. This seems to suggest that beer, as yet an unfamiliar drink, was brewed in small quantities, or put into small barrels. A sponge in 1547 costs 2*d.*, in 1572, 6*d.*; a stable rake in 1473, 5*d.* A standard and vane in 1542 (twelve were bought for the King's use) cost 5*s.*, and in 1486 starch was 1*d.* the pound.

In 1404 a 'strigil' costs 3*d.*; in 1552, 6*d.*; in 1563, 1*s.* 8*d.* This may be a horse-comb or curry-comb. In 1494 thimbles are 4*d.* the dozen. In 1472 a 'tap hose' is 8*d.* In 1518 tin spoons are 6*d.* a dozen, and in 1516 a tin wine bottle 10*d.* Tubs, as may be expected, vary in price. I find them at 6*d.* in 1445, at 1*s.* in 1548, at 1*s.* 6*d.* in 1551, at 2*s.* 3*d.* in 1556, at 2*s.* in 1567, at 1*s.* 1*d.* and 1*s.* 8*d.* in 1578, at 2*s.* 4*d.* in 1573, and at 1*s.* 6*d.* in 1578. A twist to an outer house door is 6*d.* in 1459, 1*s.* 3*d.* in 1504. A wallet is 4*d.* in 1470. Wedges are 2*d.* in 1452, 3*d.* in 1501, 7½*d.* in 1517, and 9*d.* in 1568. A double wicker lattice is 1*s.* 6*d.* the yard in 1562, and wood ashes are 5*s.* the barrel in 1467. This article is probably

potash or soda ash, imported from abroad. It is bought at Stoke in Essex, and, if the former, is possibly the raw material of saltpetre.

The forementioned items are a general summary of the particulars derived from the extensive and numerous records of fifteenth and sixteenth century housekeeping. My reader will recognise that the articles of furniture in fairly opulent corporations and in wealthy private houses, were few, cheap, and mean. The corporation and the rich man possessed handsome buildings, expensive clothing—the former only in ecclesiastical vestments, plate, and jewels,—the jocalia of the accounts—including handsomely chased silver and gold ornaments, as well as precious stones. But household furniture in our modern sense was scanty and poor. There was no comfort in domestic life, though there was no little magnificence in stone, brick, and timber. The King of Scotland, said Æneas Sylvius, was worse lodged than a Nuremberg citizen. No doubt he had a finer house, for Scotch architecture in the middle ages was as handsome as English, and was indeed the work of the same artisans. But the Italian traveller was commenting on the bareness of the rooms, the poverty of the furniture, and the meanness of the appointments. The most valuable articles of domestic use were in the kitchen, and it would not be difficult to construct a list, priced with fair accuracy, of the particulars which constituted the necessary furniture of hall, kitchen, and bedchamber.

I have not yet exhausted my list. I have still to deal with some of the furniture of churches, with a few common materials, with colours, with certain munitions of war, with thread and twine, and a few notes of boats and fishing-nets.

My accounts supply me with five purchases of organs. They are bought by the 'pair.' The first must have been a very modest affair, the organs which the prior of Selborne bought at Alton in 1448 for 26*s.* 8*d.* The next, in 1514, is a purchase in London, when £10 was paid for a pair. In 1531 a new pair is bought at Warwick for £8 6*s.* 8*d.* In 1537 the New

College organs cost £25 7s. 10½*d.*, and in 1554 those of Magdalen, Oxford, £13 1s. 1*d.*

In 1449 a 'great organ pipe' costs New College 5s. 8*d.*, and must therefore have belonged, whatever it may mean, to an older instrument than that bought in 1537. In 1573 All Souls, which had probably by this time put an end to the semblance of those religious offices for which it had been founded, and was devoting its resources, as the accounts constantly suggest, to the enjoyment of its fellows, sold 114 organ pipes for 38s. 6*d.* (Vol. III, p. 579, iv). It appears from an entry in Vol. III, p. 381, iv, that organ pipes in the sixteenth century were made of brass. If the All Souls organ pipes were of this material, the old metal contained in the 114 pipes was, to take the price of old brass at the time, about 95 pounds.

These organs were probably small, such as would be found in parish churches and the chapels of colleges and small monasteries. Those of the great cathedrals and opulent conventual houses were no doubt much more costly. I have found none of these, but the York fabric accounts give me two entries of pairs of organ bellows, in 1418 and 1437, when the price paid was 46s. 8*d.* and 36s. 8*d.* At this time, every effort was being made to rebuild or enlarge the Cathedral of York.

The First Reformation of Edward and the Second of Elizabeth have left a record in the cost of Communion tables. In 1550 New College set up the table at a cost of 7s., Magdalen at 15s. In 1559 Magdalen pays 8s., and in 1563 King's College, Cambridge, 30s. In Vol. III, pp. 645-54 will be seen the charges incurred by King's, Cambridge, and Magdalen, Oxford, on conforming to the changes introduced into ecclesiastical ritual by Edward, Mary, and Elizabeth. They may be traced also in the alternate purchase of prayer and mass books, and in the crucifix bought for 10s. in 1555.

There are, beyond what I have already elsewhere commented on, under the head of silver plate and vestments, a few items of altar and church furniture, and some entries of incense.

In 1494 six altar basons are bought by Sion at 7*d.* each,

and a pewter stock for holy water for 2*s.* 4*d.* In 1513 a 'desk' in Magdalen College Chapel was purchased for 53*s.* 4*d.* Two chancel stools in the chancel of Sidmouth Church cost 1*s.* 8*d.* in 1451, and a vexillum for Bury Church was bought by Ramsey Abbey in 1420 for 2*s.* 6*d.*

Incense, under that name, and also under the names of 'thus,' olibanum, and frankincense, is constantly found in the accounts, being purchased by the pound. Resin is also frequently entered, and appears to have sometimes been employed for fumigation in church, for mixing with wax in order to manufacture torches, and later on for secular purposes. These articles are all, I believe, of foreign origin. The commonest word is 'thus.' Once I find thumiama. Olibanum occurs only three times.

The price of the article—for there does not seem to be any reason to believe that these four words refer to different objects, but they are, it appears, synonyms—varies exceedingly. I have found it as low as 2*d.* a pound in 1462, 1515, and 1543, 1½*d.* in 1513, 1¾*d.* in 1541, 2½*d.* in 1506 and 1522, and 3*d.* in 1491, 1509, 1526 and 1544. On the other hand, I find it at 1*s.* 4*d.* in 1424 and 1478, 1*s.* 2*d.* in 1403, 1404, and 1476. Naturally when it is purchased in small quantities the price is higher. An average taken from the entries of fifty-seven years, in which these articles are priced, is a little over 7½*d.* the pound. As might be expected, its use disappears in the reign of Edward, reappears under that of Mary, and continues for the first two years of Elizabeth, when it is finally lost to the accounts.

Resin is bought in small quantities by the pound or by the dozen, in larger quantities by the hundredweight. It is much dearer when bought in the former manner than it is when bought wholesale.

The first entry by the hundred is at Sion in 1496, when it is purchased at the very low price of 1*s.* 9*d.* I cannot but conclude that this was an occasional bargain. Omitting this entry, I find that the average price of the hundredweight

between 1502 and 1536 was 4s. 9d., and between 1561 and 1570 was 7s. 9d. In 1574 the Crown purchases 2 cwts. 36 lbs. of resin at the enormous price of 4d. the pound. If there be no error in the entry, it is plain that the rate is a scarcity price of an exceptional kind. The resin bought in the early years of Elizabeth for navy stores is often described as yellow.

Up to 1540 resin sold in small quantities costs on an average a little over 10d. the dozen pounds. Later on it costs about 2s. 6½d., that is, the price is about tripled, an occurrence which my reader will frequently find in this survey of sixteenth century prices. Besides uses referred to before, of cheap incense in churches, and for the manufacture of torches, resin is, I believe, employed in the process of soldering, and therefore remained in demand when the religious uses of the article had ceased.

Another material, which might have been better treated under building materials, is glue. I did not find it in the accounts of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and I have only two entries of it in the fifteenth. It becomes common in the sixteenth, and I cannot but think that it was rarely used, because its use had been recently discovered. The first entry, 1424, is at Cambridge; the next, 1482, at Stoke; the third, 1507, at Sion. I do not meet with it at Oxford till 1515. An average of eighteen entries between 1424 and 1537 gives exactly 2½d. a pound. An average of eight entries between 1542 and 1570 results in 4½d. a pound.

Among the minor articles employed in buildings is plaster of Paris. A small quantity is bought at 5d. a pound in 1401. In 1420 it costs 4d. a dozen. I do not find it again till I reach the Needham accounts, between 1532 and 1541, when it is bought by the mount, a measure which I have not been able to trace. Two entries in 1532 and 1541 of one mount, 12 cwt., and one mount 15 cwt., suggest that the mount must have been near a ton. If so, the article must have been greatly cheapened. It costs 7s. a mount in 1532, 5s. 8d. in 1533, 5s. 8d. and 5s. in

1534, when we are told that the carriage was not included in the price, 4*s.* 8*d.* and 6*s.* in 1536, 6*s.* 6*d.* in 1541. In 1567 it costs 16*s.* for the same quantity.

Among minor matters I may mention that a pound and stocks are erected at the cost of King's College, in 1573, at Cambridge. The charge is 20*s.* In the next year the same college sets up a pound at Granchester at a cost of 27*s.*

There are a few entries in the earlier part of the fifteenth century of chimney parells. I do not find the word in the glossaries, but I conclude from the character of the entries that the word means stone slabs used as chimney-pieces. In 1535 two such articles, each 5 feet in length, are bought for the King's use at 8*s.* each. In the next year two 5-foot parells cost 9*s.* each, two of 6 feet 12*s.* each. In 1541 two of 5 feet cost 8*s.*, and two more of the same length 10*s.* each, and one of 5½ feet also 10*s.* But two others, respectively 17 and 16½ feet long, cost each 21*s.* 6*d.* In 1562 a wainscot portal and ceiling cost 26*s.* 8*d.*, a wainscot ceiling 20*s.*, and a pair of hinges to the portal in the next year's account cost 1*s.* 6*d.* These are bought at Cambridge. In 1567 three wainscot doors with locks and garnets were purchased for 65*s.* 4*d.*

In 1542 a lion and dragon in stone cost 30*s.* In 1533 the queen's badges (Anne Boleyn) in glass cost 1*s.* the quarrel. A pair of the queen's arms in 1567 cost 60*s.* Elizabeth's badge in a glass quarrel costs 8*d.* and 1*s.*, and her arms in glass, in 1567 and 1568, 5*s.* the piece. In 1536 lead letters are bought at 2*d.* a pound, and lead 'antics' at 3*d.*

PAINTS AND COLOURS. From the remains which still exist and are occasionally discovered under plaster, whitewash, or whatever else was used at the Reformation to obliterate the symbols or decorations of the old faith, we find that our ancestors had made considerable progress in the art of wall and wood painting. My accounts supply me with several entries of pigments. These are Spanish black, brown and white, cerussa, 'lamplack,' red lead or minium, and white

lead, marticot or massicot, byse or byce (once described as green), red, yellow, black, and spruce ochre, pink, roset, russet, verdigris and vermilion. In 1524 a substance called 'general,' apparently also a colour, is bought at Cambridge, and in 1471 two casks of linseed, that is, I conclude, linseed oil, are bought at York at 36s. 10d. each. Linseed oil is found in 1570, Vol. III, p. 309, ii, at 5s. the gallon.

Of the pigments the most costly is byce. In 1420 the King's Hall, Cambridge, gives 1s. for two pounds of 'byze.' I have entered it as this pigment, but the price is so different from that which is found elsewhere, that I cannot think it to be identical with what occurs subsequently. In 1481 York Minster buys it at 1s. 1d. the ounce, in 1549 Magdalen College buys three parcels of it, half a pound at 10s. 8d., two ounces at 8d., and an ounce of green byce at 8d. Next year 1 lb. 7 ozs. of byce are bought at 6s. 4d. the pound. The proportion of the pound and the ounce given above suggests that in buying this article sixteen ounces went to the pound. It appears that the colour of this pigment was blue, and it is probably smalt or ultramarine. 'Lamplack' in 1549 is also a very dear pigment, being bought at 4s. the pound.

The price of vermilion varies from 8d. to 1s. 5d. the pound. In 1549 it costs 2s. The average price in the earlier period is 11d. The average price of verdigris up to 1537 is 9½d., afterwards it is 2s. 4d. Massicot is found in 1471 and 1472 only, when the price is 7d. a pound.

Red lead or minium is 2½d. a pound in 1449, 2d. in 1465, 1½d. in 1533, 2d. in 1549, and 3d. in 1557. In 1577 it is bought at 22s. the hundredweight. White lead, with which 'cerussa' is probably to be identified, is rather dearer. It costs 3d. in 1465 and 1549, and 26s. 8d. the hundredweight in 1577.

In 1537 pink is 5d. a pound, in 1549 roset is 8d., in 1577 russet is 6d., and in 1578 spruce ochre is 3d. a pound.

The cheapest colours are the Spanish whites, blacks, and browns, and red and yellow ochre, red being the cheapest of

all. The whites, blacks, and browns are about 1*s.* the dozen pounds. White in 1571 is 10*d.* the dozen, and once, in 1577, 3*s.* the hundredweight. Red ochre is from 1*s.* 8*d.* to 4*s.* the hundredweight. The average is 2*s.* 8*d.* Yellow is 8*s.* 6½*d.* the hundredweight.

'General,' which occurs in 1524 with other pigments, is 4*d.* the pound.

MILITARY AND NAVAL STORES. My notes supply me with several entries of gunpowder purchased for royal and private uses. It is bought by the barrel, the pound, and the last. It undergoes slight fluctuations in price, but in the last year before us, it is only a little dearer by the pound, though purchased for private use, than it was in the first entry (1462) of powder by the pound, when it was bought at Stoke.

In 1441 it is bought for the use of the navy at 72*s.* and 68*s.* 5*d.* the barrel. In 1548 it is also bought by the barrel at Newcastle, the rate being 26*s.* 8*d.* I have no means of determining what the weight of these barrels was, or even whether they were of the same dimensions after an interval of over a century.

I find it purchased by the pound between 1462 and 1482, and in 1570 by the last, when the value of the same parcel is also reckoned by the pound. It appears that the last was 2400 lbs.

Gunpowder appears to have been of three qualities at least, serpentine, common, and fine, and to judge from the entries, the price of these qualities rose by a penny a pound on each. I fancy that the fine powder was used for priming, as the quantities purchased are comparatively small. Perhaps it is the same as the touch-powder bought in 1559 in a small quantity for soldiers' equipments, each soldier having a flask for the ordinary powder and a touch-box. In these equipments, each soldier is also furnished with a pound of powder and a quarter of a pound of finest powder. The entries of 1572 are all small quantities purchased by a private person, and by the Oxford Corporation, as is also the entry of 1573. But the

average by the pound is $11\frac{1}{2}d.$, the purchases of the Crown being generally made, and in very large quantities, at $10d.$

The ordnance was discharged by match, which is bought by the hundredweight, at $30s.$ in 1570, at $28s.$ in 1578, at $22s.$ in 1581. The decrease in the price is significant.

Saltpetre is bought at $70s.$ the hundredweight in 1569, at $70s.$ and $65s.$ in 1570. Sulphur in 1570 costs $25s.$ the hundredweight.

BOATS, NETS, &c. Boats, called also by the names *navicula* and *cymba*, occur not unfrequently, especially in the Cambridge accounts. In 1408 a new boat at Jarrow costs $18s.$, and in 1413 another at the same place $19s. 3d.$ In 1466 King's College buys a *cymba* for $15s.$, evidently for fishing, as a net on the same occasion costs $8s. 4d.$ In 1482 the same society gives $8s. 8d.$ for a *cymba*, and in 1486 a *cymba* costs Jarrow $13s. 4d.$ In 1529 Sion gives $46s. 8d.$ for a boat. In 1552 Cambridge buys a *navicula* for $23s.$, and Oxford a *cymba* for $35s. 4d.$ In 1569 two boats, one 38 ft. long by 9 ft. 3 in. deep, and 3 ft. 2 in. in beam, and a second 35 ft. by 9 ft by 3 ft. 2 in. cost £24 and £22 respectively. These are sea-going boats. In 1573 the Crown buys three sea-going boats at £24, the size only slightly varying. In 1578 two other boats, slightly deeper, cost £26 each. At the same time 532 ft. of wooden pump are bought at $1s. 2d.$ the foot.

In 1420 a boat with oars is bought at Jarrow for $10s.$, and in 1492 a similar purchase is made at Wearmouth. A boat and two oars is bought at Sion in 1527 for $44s.$, a little less than the price paid for a boat two years later. A boat sail is bought by Sion in 1530 for $1s. 6d.$

Two fishing-nets are bought at Finchale in 1423 for $5s. 8d.$ together. A net, ten fathoms long, is purchased in 1448 at Selborne for $11s.$ In 1530 Sion pays $2s. 8d.$ for a fishing-net, and in 1532 a net for a fish stew costs $10d.$ There is the rethe of Cambridge, 1466, which costs $8s. 4d.$; and in 1516 two trammel nets at Hulme, in Norfolk, cost $8s.$ and $7s.$ severally.

Cork, used for floats, perhaps for other purposes too, costs

2½*d.* the pound in 1566 and 1574. Flags with St. George's Cross are bought at 16*s.* 8*d.* in 1562.

Ships were furnished with running-glasses, i.e. sand-glasses. They cost 10*d.* each in 1561, 1577, 1578. The mariner's compass costs 2*s.* 8*d.* in 1561; 2*s.* 4*d.*, 3*s.* 3*d.*, and 6*s.* for great compasses in 1562; 1*s.* 4*d.* in 1571; and 3*s.* 4*d.* in 1577 and 1578. The entry of 1571 seems suspicious.

THREAD AND TWINE. Thread is bought of all colours, red, white, blue, and green. It is described as utnall, oatenall, Coleyn, and Bruges, as single and long skein, the price in the earlier period varying from 4*d.* to 1*s.* 6*d.*, and the average in the early period is nearly 9½*d.* In 1548 green thread, always the dearest, costs 4*s.* a pound, and in 1555 half a pound of divers colours is bought at 1*s.* 8*d.*

In 1527 and 1533 twine is 4*d.* a pound; in 1577, 7*d.* In 1451 it is bought by the heap at Ormesby, the price being 2*d.* In 1442-4-5 whipcord is bought by the wind at Spitling, the price being uniformly 3*d.*, and in 1496 at Oxford by the knot, when it is 4*d.*

A very few items remain. An amfra costs 4*d.* in 1487, and may be the same as an amphora at 5*d.* in 1492. An astrolabe is bought for 20*s.* in 1549. Balances cost 10*d.* in 1495, 7*d.* in 1504; and in the latter year the weights 1*s.* 9*d.* In 1572 balances are bought for 3*s.* 4*d.*, and the weights for 8*s.* In 1428 a bellman's bell was bought by the corporation of Norwich for 2*s.* 4*d.*, and a round of brawn in 1497 cost Sion 1*s.* 2*d.* In 1570-1 caliver stocks cost 1*s.* each, and a costrel, which it seems was a wooden drinking-bottle, cost 8*d.* in 1424. A 'culeus' cost 7*s.* in 1549, and 'morris' pikes, eighteen feet long, 2*s.* 6*d.* each in 1570. An oat-bag is bought for 3½*d.* and 4*d.* in 1521, a quiver for 8*d.* in 1532, and a quiver with two dozen arrows for 3*s.* 6*d.* in 1513. In 1543 a salt-box cost 3*d.*, and a 'semitensoria auri,' which I cannot interpret, 3*s.* 4*d.* in 1555. In 1477 a settle costs 3*s.* 4*d.*, and sye or size appears to be bought by the dozen at 1*s.* in 1568; by the stone in 1561-2, 1*s.* 1*d.* to 1*s.* 4*d.*, and by the pan, 1*d.* in 1534. Scorpets cost

2½*d.* in 1535, and a scrusa 4*d.* in 1419. Joined stools are from 8*s.* to 12*s.* the dozen between 1534 and 1541. Links 4*s.* the dozen in 1567. A lagena costs 4*s.* 8*d.* in 1548, and a lamp-glass, 1½*d.* in 1452, is 10*d.* in 1529.

I am sensible that this chapter is discursive. But in the collection of so large a series of facts as are found in the third volume, it is inevitable that there should be a residue which cannot be dealt with, except in a general manner. The chief value of the particulars contained in this chapter is, that they will enable the reader to reconstruct the furniture and appointments of a fifteenth or sixteenth century house.

CHAPTER XXII.

ON THE PRICE OF FOREIGN PRODUCE. WINE.

HITHERTO I have treated of articles which were, or might have been, of English origin, or were associated with such domestic produce as made simultaneous comment on them a convenient method of dealing with the subject. Thus I have once or twice stated that salt was principally of foreign origin, and was the product of solar evaporation, being cheap or dear according to the amount of solar fertility within the year¹. But much salt was also, as we may see immediately, and by inference, the produce of English salterns on the coast, especially the south-west coast. Much wax and iron, and probably all tar and oil, were imports. But English iron is bought and sold, English wax must have been familiar, the manufacture of tar may have been copied from Norway, and some oil may have been obtained by English enterprise. So, again, silk goods were mainly introduced from abroad, but, as I have stated, they were also manufactured in England as early as the fifteenth century. Linen was imported from Flanders and elsewhere, cloth

¹ My attention has lately been called to a work printed by the Société des Anciens textes français, and edited by the learned Professor Meyer, entitled 'Le Débat des Héraulx d'Armes.' The work must, it seems, have been written between the years 1453 and 1461, since it is posterior to the capitulation of Bordeaux, and anterior to the death of Charles VII. The author may well have been Powntes, the French herald-at-arms, who, as Gascoigne says, 'Locū e libro veritatum,' p. 205, was in England at or about this time. This herald, p. 29, tells us that the two principal ports frequented by the English mercantile marine were Rochelle and Bordeaux; to which French ports English ships repaired especially, 'de venir querir le sel en Bretagne ou en Guienne, et le porter es froides regions,' i.e. for domestic and foreign trade. And after commenting on the vineyards of France, the herald observes, 'Et si a plus, car il a sel, qui se fait par la vertu du soleil habondamment, et tant à la Bace et environ que en Brouage et Xainctonge.'

from Normandy, but much was of home manufacture. Nails were manufactured against a probable demand for them by every smith in every village, but they were also introduced from the Low Countries.

Wine was not exclusively the produce of foreign countries. There is reason to believe that the Otterton entries are of a vintage in the locality. It will be seen, Vol. III, p. 509, ii, that red wine grown at Windsor was produced in quantity sufficient for a sale, though the price, 20s. the tun, does not say much for its quality. The reader may find evidence of the growth of vines, of course in the open air, at Windsor, Cambridge, and Oxford. In a rental of the curtilage of Barking Nunnery, 1546, Vol. III, p. 683, i, a five-acre piece, empaled with elms, and well stored with conies, called the vineyard, is let at 4s. the acre. These instances are casual, arising from notes made in my search after prices, and might have been multiplied. It appears, too, that the vines were trained on spars in the French fashion, these spars being called broches, literally spits, and paxills, except at Barking.

The wine most commonly consumed, and the cheapest—perhaps in some degree because most regularly in demand—is that of Western France and, as the herald referred to in the note states, that which was exported from Rochelle and Bordeaux. It was of two sorts, white and red. It is commonly called, when specially named, Gascony, less frequently claret, the latter name apparently implying a quality, though it does not seem that it fetches a higher price under this name than it does when not specially designated. It is bought by the tun of 252 gallons, the pipe of 126, and the hogshead¹ of 63 gallons. The price of wine in bulk is, however, so much lower than that of the same article purchased retail of the local vintner, that it would have been misleading to have reduced the quantity of the tun to the hypothetical measure of a dozen gallons which

¹ I have sometimes seen in fifteenth-century accounts, which have been engrossed with peculiar care, an elaborate drawing of a boar's head at the commencement of the account of wine purchases.

I have taken in the table subjoined to this account of the price of foreign produce.

Ordinary red and white wines—most commonly the former—were easily and conveniently purchased from dealers. Only a few persons and corporations of considerable opulence bought wine in bulk; such are the purchases of the Countess of Warwick in 1405, those of Salisbury in the next year, those of the Corporation of Norwich in 1417, 1427, 1473, 1491, and 1515, and similar stocks at Chichester, St. Dennis near Southampton, Castre on Fastolfe's account, Winterton, Writtle for the Duke of Buckingham, Pershore, Stoke, London, Canterbury, Farley (Somerset), Sion, King's College (Cambridge), Battle Abbey, Hunstanton, Oxford, Bardney, Durham, Kirling, and the various Wardrobe accounts.

I have been occasionally constrained to omit entries from my estimates. Such are the tuns at Canterbury in 1483, at £2; and the dolea, i.e. tuns of Rochelle wine from the same place in 1515, at £3. Such prices are too low to indicate real market rates. In all probability they refer to the charges incurred in bringing the produce of a grant made to the monks of Christ Church, Canterbury, by St. Louis, of a certain amount of tuns of French wine annually, in honour of Becket's memory. This grant, owing to the frequent wars with France, and to the fact that the produce issued from a royal estate in the centre of France, frequently got into arrear, and was irregularly satisfied. Similarly I have been constrained, though very reluctantly, to omit, especially in the later years, the Wardrobe prices. The Crown bought its wine, as it did its corn, at nominal prices, and the insertion of these prices would have been entirely misleading. I shall, however, refer to them at the conclusion of this chapter.

Much of the wine purchased in the accounts, and recorded in my transcripts, is for ecclesiastical purposes. Many of the entries come from the accounts of Oriel College, a society which was too poor even to supply a common table for its fellows. But it was the impropiator of the great tithes of St. Mary the

Virgin, then the most opulent parish in Oxford. Hence it bought wine for masses, and wax for altar lights, and for the image worship of the time, and received the payments for the masses which its fellows said, and for the tapers which it retailed to devotees. Such, again, is probably the 'singing' wine at Sion in 1522, though the nuns of this opulent house were not deprived of a generous beverage entirely. Hence in the latter part of my period entries of wine are less frequent. The Mass passed away; this is one reason. Prices rose, the ordinary consumer was impoverished, and wine disappears except on state occasions.

The difference of price between entries of the same kind of wine appears to be entirely due to the market, and not to variations in quality. I do not say that the skill with which the wine-dealer detects the merits of various districts, and various seasons within the same locality, was possessed in no degree during the period before me; but it was not developed enough for trade purposes. I conclude that all sound and fairly good wine was at the same value under the few heads which are discoverable in my accounts. The only exception, if it be one, is that of an entry under the year 1405, when the Countess of Warwick buys five gallons of vernage at the high rate of 2*s.* 8*d.* a gallon. Vernage is named by Gower as a specially good kind of wine.

The favourite wine was that which is described in the accounts as sweet, sometimes as Ossey or Osey, as Rumney, Muscadel, Malmsey, Malvesyn, Muscadine. It is not clear that this is the same as Sack, which I have found for the first time, in 1532, among the Stonor purchases. It seems common afterwards. Sweet wine is generally double the price of Gascony wine and its congeners. But it is not so dear as Bastard, which I find for the first time in 1424. In 1425, among other purchases at Oxford, I find red wine at an average of 8*d.* on draught, the greater portion being bought at 6*d.*, while sweet wine is 1*s.* 4*d.* the gallon, and Bastard is 1*s.* 10*d.* Nor is it easy to determine that this dearer wine

is Spanish, for, in 1462, Gascony wine is bought for the manor of Stoke at £5 the tun, Spanish at £5 6s. 8d., a difference too slight to imply any material and permanent variation in value.

Besides the ordinary measures of claret, the tun, its half and quarter, and sometimes the tierce, which appears to be the third of a pipe, as in the year 1498, red wine is measured by the sextary, especially in the royal accounts. The sextary is a portion of from five to six gallons, as I have discovered by making a careful examination of all those Wardrobe entries, which, for reasons given above, I have excluded during the later part of the period from my register of prices. It was not a measure, but an allowance, served to a mess at dinner, or for the daily meal. My reader may find an instance under the charges incurred in 1495, and again in 1432-3, where twenty-one sextaries of Rhenish are valued at 4s. each. But the sextary of Oxford, 1556, must have been a much smaller quantity. At Cambridge again, in 1557 and 1576, the doleum cannot possibly be a tun, and is most probably, as I have treated it, a hogshead. About this time, as I have shown in my chapter on Sundry Articles, King's College used doleum indifferently for all sorts of liquid measures in bulk.

The sweeter and more expensive wines are first found in bulk at Winterton in 1433. This estate belonged to Fastolfe. But the barrels of Muscadel, Romaney, and Malmsey, must have been small, being only 16s. 8d. each, and on no interpretation of prices can they have been butts of this wine. They may have been such small vessels as the rundlet or the tierce of 1566, the price of an analogous article in the latter years corresponding pretty fairly, the change in money values being taken into account, with that of the entry 133 years before. It may be observed that wine is always dearer in the eastern counties than it is elsewhere. The reason is probably to be found in the long sea voyage from the French or Spanish coasts to the Norfolk ports. Wine, on the other hand, is cheap in the south of England.

In 1443 and 1444 entries of Rhenish wine by the butt or fat of thirty-six gallons are to be found. The price of the quantity is the same in both years, and the measures are probably identical. But the fat is said also to contain five aumes, and this quantity no way corresponds with the modern Rhenish aum of 30 gallons. But, in 1504, I find the Rhenish aum purchased at Canterbury at about the price of the fat of an earlier date. In 1478 I find a rundlet of sweet wine bought for 30s. in Norwich. It is said to contain sixteen gallons. In Vol. III, p. 576, iv, an entry will be found of an empty rundlet containing thirteen gallons. It would seem then that a rundlet was a small cask of uncertain quantity.

Malmsey is first entered by the butt in the Wardrobe account of 1500. This is probably the same as the pipe of Spanish white wine, which contains from 100 to 105 gallons. At this time the Wardrobe entries may be relied on, and the price by the butt, i.e. less than half a tun, compared with Gascony by the tun, is fairly proportionate to that which is seen in the same kind of wine purchased by the gallon. Again, at Canterbury, in 1504, the butt of Malmsey is the same price as the tun of red wine. Henceforward such entries are frequent. I shall compare the prices lower down.

The price of a butt of 'Romney' in 1522 at Sion suggests that this wine was probably Rhenish, and that the quantity was the butt and fat of 1443, 1444, and the aum, or aulne, of 1504.

In 1530 occurs the first entry of *Vinum Creticum*. I am unable to give an explanation of this term. It is said in Halliwell, who quotes Topsell, and the *Morte d'Arthur* manuscript, to be a kind of sweet wine. But in the older author it is coupled with claret, from which, at least in the earlier entries, it does not materially differ in price. It is certainly not derived from the island, for it does not seem that English trade in the early part of the sixteenth century extended beyond the ports of the south-west part of Spain. It is found at Oxford only. It is once bought by the tun, and this at the price at

which we might expect fair Gascony wine to be. In 1534, and again in 1545 and 1547, it is bought by the cade, a quantity which must have been small—a rundlet for instance—as the rates are only 16s., 22s. 10½d., and 22s. 6d. Occasionally it is dear by the gallon when other wine is cheap. Thus it is 1s. 2d. the gallon in 1531, when Malmsey, usually 1s. 4d., is only 10d., and again in 1578, when it is 3s. 4d., ordinary wine being 1s. 10d.

Muscadel, as I have stated above, is one of the names for sweet wine, and is generally dear. It is ordinarily used for consumption at feasts. But once it is entered as having been purchased for the communion service. This is in 1579, at Cambridge, when the increasing dearness of the necessities of life had wellnigh banished wine from the college banquets¹.

Sack, like Malmsey, is bought by the butt, and at a later period. It is cheaper than Malmsey, this often being not much more, when in bulk, than two-thirds the price of sack. At the early part of the period, a wine called Tyr, or Tyre, is purchased, generally at the price of sweet or Malmsey. It is found, in 1424, among the charges of the Norwich corporation, in 1445 at Cambridge, when it is at the same price as Bastard; in 1447 at Cambridge, when it is at the ordinary price of sweet wine; in 1474, 1476, and 1481, also at Norwich. This description of wine is, therefore, peculiar to the eastern counties, as far as my notes give information. Once, at Durham, French wine is bought by the puncheon, a measure which does not seem distinguishable from the hogshead.

Spiced wine, sweetened with sugar or honey, perhaps the original of the modern liqueur, was employed occasionally under the name of hippocras. I find it for the first time in the year 1488, when a gallon was served up at a feast given to the King's mother, Margaret of Richmond, at Cambridge. This cost 3s. 4d. a gallon. It next occurs on a similar occasion at the

¹ I do not know whether the cellarer of Battle Abbey was satirical in his note under the year 1498 'that the Abbot was gone to the Roman curia, and therefore but little wine, only two pipes, was bought.' Vol. III, p. 680.

same place and price in 1498. In 1506 and 1507 it is purchased in Cambridge at 2*s.* 8*d.*, the last occasion being another visit of Margaret. In 1534 it is purchased in Cambridge again at 4*s.*, in Norwich in 1537 at 4*s.*, and in 1541 at 5*s.* 2*d.*, at London in 1558 at 4*s.* 8*d.*, and in Cambridge in 1570 at 5*s.* 4*d.* It will be seen below that in none of these later years were prices of such spice as was added to wine particularly high. Many receipts for the manufacture of hippocras exist in old cookery and medicine manuals. It was believed to be a specific against the contagion or infection of the plague.

In the annual and decennial averages, given in the later pages of these chapters, I have supplied my reader with three tables, one nearly continuous, of red or white French wine by the dozen gallons, a second of sweet wine by the same quantity, and a third of Bordeaux by the tun. Entries of sweet wine as Malmsey or sack by the butt are not numerous enough for tabulation, but will be commented on lower down, as also those of such wines as were more rarely purchased.

The average price of wine by the dozen gallons between the years 1401-1540 differs very little from that between 1351 and 1400, and would have been almost exactly the same, or a little lower, had it not been for the high prices of wine by retail in the twenty years 1521-40, for the average of the fifty years is 8*s.* 2½*d.*, and of the hundred and forty 8*s.* 5½*d.* The information for these twenty years of higher prices is not very copious as regards wine by retail, but is abundant for purchases in bulk. Here the high price is not sustained, for wine by the tun or hogshead is lower than the average, and in one decade, 1531-40, is the lowest but one in the whole series. This decade includes the large purchases of the Durham monastery for the five years 1530-4.

Till we come to the years 1521-40 (during which time, by the way, there is a singular and striking exaltation in the price of nearly all foreign produce, a fact to be hereafter commented on), the dearest decade is 1481-90. The entries by retail are nearly all from the Oxford and Cambridge colleges,

the price at Cambridge being about twenty per cent. higher than that of Oxford, which got its supplies it appears through Southampton and Bristol. During this time there was peace between England and France, and no interruption of those commercial relations which (in spite of war in the first half of the fifteenth century, and the union of Guienne to the French Crown—events which might have brought about an exaltation of money values) were, as we shall see, so intimate between England and the western coast of France. Wine, too, by the tun was dear. The only entry in 1471–80 is a pipe at Norwich, the price being £9 6s. 8d., while between 1481–9 it is £10 the tun, twice over in 1482, £6 in 1448, when wine is also cheap by retail, and £8 in 1491. I am disposed therefore to set down the comparatively high prices of these years to deficient supply. Perhaps there is some corroboration of this surmise in the fact that 1482 was a deficient harvest in England¹, grain of all kinds being nearly double the average prices, while 1491 was also rather a dear year.

The author of the '*Débat des Heraulx d'Armes*,' though admitting the greatness of the English mercantile marine, and that the position of the island is singularly advantageous for the transit of goods from the cold regions of Europe to the southern countries, charges the English merchants with sheer piracy on the commerce of France, Spain, Denmark, and Scotland, and asserts that the ruin of all trade but their own is the object of Englishmen, and that which leads them to make war on their neighbours. This, he says, is the great valour of the English. They wish to appropriate the trade of the world, and to shut all other Christians out of it, and they make no war on miscreants, like the kings of Grenada and Belle Marine (northern Africa, from Morocco to Tunis), but every kind of war and pillage on Christians.

'I believe,' he continues, 'that the king (of France) has vessels of 1000 to 1200 tons burden. If he cared to give

¹ After 1438, 1482 was the worst harvest in the fifteenth century, wheat being 10s. 4d. the quarter.

employment to his navy he would get great treasure, for that navy might by freight or otherwise get that which strangers come and carry from his kingdom, which would be a great profit to his people, and the money would stay in the country, for this would be the object which his navy would first effect. I will show you how the King of France, whenever he pleases, without leaving his palace, could destroy the whole great navy of England. It is well known and certain that the employment of that great marine is in the shipment of salt from Brittany and Guienne, and its freight to cold countries. Again, it is the practice of this navy to come to Guienne in the vintage time, and again in March, in order to ship wine to England and other countries.

‘The King should order that no safe-conduct should be given to any English vessel of more than a hundred tons burden, and forbid the carriage of wine and salt in any ships from England. In this way the navy of England would rot in idleness, and the great navies of the cold countries would have the profit which the English marine is now possessed of.’ The writer then proceeds to enforce his position by pointing to the alliance between France and Spain, another country of great naval strength, and to the lordship of the French King over Genoa, whose galleys are thus under his orders.

These references to the suggestions of the French herald, that the King should retaliate on English commercial enterprise (discredited perhaps by some doubtful transactions of English merchants in the narrow seas) by a stringent Navigation Act, are introduced in order to show that in the fifteenth century the English had the greater part of the carrying trade of Western Europe, and in particular that of Western France. The suzerainty of the French King over Brittany was only that of the slightest kind as yet; the acquisition of Guienne, a possession of the English kings for three centuries, was only recent, and events had shown that the Gascons would not suffer their trade to be tampered with, any more than the Russian nobles at the conclusion of the eighteenth century would allow

the Emperor Paul, for political reasons of his own, to destroy their export trade to England. Nor is there any doubt that Charles VII or Louis XI would have had recourse to the stringent navigation law which the French herald suggests, had they thought that the restraint on the export trade would have been endured till such times as, if at all, the mercantile marine of France had grown under the protection which the proposal would have accorded to it. It is therefore probable, as the author allows, that the carrying trade of the narrow seas was in English hands, that it was so permanent as to make the risks of effectual rivalry remote, and so beneficial to French producers and foreign consumers as to make the charges of monopoly and piracy unreal and calumnious.

I do not, therefore, on the whole, discern that political events caused any material change in the value of wine during the whole of the fifteenth century, and the first twenty years of the sixteenth; but I conclude that such variations in value as can be detected, from the evidence supplied by the accounts, are to be assigned to the merely local causes of copious or scanty vintages. In the next twenty years there does occur a general and simultaneous exaltation in the price of nearly all foreign products, though, as I shall have hereafter to point out, with a few remarkable exceptions, or with exceptions which at least require some explanation. Then follows a decade of comparatively low prices, to be followed by a full and permanent rise in money values. Bordeaux wine, which was worth on an average 8*d.* per gallon up to 1520, rises to 2*s.* a gallon in the last twelve years of the enquiry.

It will be seen that the average price in the first and dearest of these ten decades is 11*s.* 9½*d.*, seven years of the ten only being represented in the tables. Of these, 1522 and 1525 are plainly dear years; the average for the dozen in the former being 14*s.* 2*d.*, in the latter 14*s.* They are not dear corn years, for wheat is at 6*s.* 0½*d.* and 5*s.* 5*d.* in these years; the only dear year immediately near them being 1527, when wheat was 12*s.* 7*d.* But this year is not represented by retail pur-

chases of claret, though it is by Malmsey, and by claret in hogsheads. It may be that the disturbed state of France, which was, from this time to the battle of Pavia, at war with nearly all Europe, was the cause of the dearness. But, on the other hand, French wine by the hogshead and tun is not dear. In the next decade six years are again represented by retail prices of French wine, the average being for the whole time 11s. 2½d. the dozen gallons. Here one year is dear, 1537, for the entry from Magdalen College of 18 gallons at 4d. is impossible, and must be a clerical error, though it is copied from the college account book. But the price of wine by the tun does not vary materially from the average price, except in the years 1530 and 1531, when it is relatively high, large purchases being made at Durham. It is noteworthy that during the whole of this decade Malmsey or sweet wine is very cheap.

Entries of all kinds of foreign produce are very scanty between 1540-50. This decade comprises the period in which the most copious issues of base money were made, and in which, as it appears, the English people were impoverished, and foreign trade almost annihilated. If, as seems certain, the Vinum Creticum was Gascon wine, and the cade was half the hogshead, as is highly probable, the price by the tun is £9 3s. in 1545, and £9 in the year 1547. I have taken these prices as trustworthy, and included them in the account.

In 1555, when retail prices are again discovered, and continued with some breaks to the end of the period, prices, though liable to considerable fluctuations, are permanently raised to double, and in the last part of the period to treble, the original rates. I have no entry of French wine by the tun between 1561-70; but, judging from the price by the gallon, the tun must have been worth about £12 10s., for the average by the gallon would give £17 6s. 6d. the tun. Now, wine sold at an average of 8½d. the gallon, would be worth by retail £8 18s. 6d. the tun; and, by parity of reasoning, wine sold by retail at 1s. 3½d. the gallon, or 15s. 10d. the dozen, would be worth in bulk about £12 12s. 8d. Could I have interpolated

such a hypothetical sum by the tun, the general average for the last forty-two years would have been almost exactly £13, which will, when compared with the averages of 1401-1540, of retail prices, and those of 1541-1582, be found to represent a proportionate rise on the wholesale side of the purchases.

Coke's English 'Debate between the Heralds,' republished simultaneously by the 'Société des anciens Textes' with the French debate between the heralds, and originally printed in 1549, in reply to the taunt of the French advocate as to the absence of wine from England, says, 'For your wine, we have good ale, beer, metheglin, cider, and perry, being more wholesome beverages for us than your wines, which maketh your people drunken, also prone and apt to all filthy pleasures and lusts.' This passage, as do certain others in the rejoinder, seems to imply not only that English people may be content to do without French beverages, and is the ordinary cry of sour grapes, but that wine had ceased to be imported into England in any quantity, a considerable decline from the plenty of a previous century. Henceforward wine is employed for religious purposes, for the consumption of a few rich men, and for extraordinary feasts.

Sweet wine, the price of which is generally double that of ordinary red and white Bordeaux, is known by several names. It occurs far less frequently in the accounts than red and white French wine, and is considerably dearer as a rule. But in the early part of the sixteenth century it is often cheaper than French wine. The origin of this wine is almost certainly Spain and Portugal, and, as I have observed above, p. 145, the act of 32 Hen. VIII, cap. 14, was intended to promote trade with South-Western Europe, the ordinary limit of English commerce at that time (1541) being Malaga. But I have not found wine described as Spanish on more than one occasion. This is in 1462, when two tuns are purchased by the lord of Stoke at £5 6s. 8d., a rate only slightly in excess of the price of Bordeaux.

Malmsey, the commonest name given to sweet wine when

it is specified, is also bought by the butt, which contained from 104 to 105 gallons. I find eleven such entries in my accounts between 1504 and 1566, the last entry, 113*s.* 4*d.*, not being at so high a rate as that of 1511, when it is 131*s.* 11*d.*, the purchase being made at Osney Abbey, near Oxford. The average of ten entries between 1504 and 1548 is £4 16*s.* 2½*d.* On one occasion (1522), when Malmsey is also bought by the gallon, the butt is called 'doleum manseti.'

Sack is distinguished from Malmsey, as, for example, at Stonor in 1533, and London in 1566. It is bought largely for the use of the navy in 1546, as Malmsey is in 1548. In the first entry it is cheaper than Malmsey by the butt. But in the other entry it is dearer. In 1578 and 1579 sack is bought at £10 the butt, the prices of 1546 (an average) and 1566 being £3 11*s.* 10*d.* and £5 15*s.*

Bastard is found eight times, becoming cheaper in the later years. It is always bought by the gallon. The average of these eight entries is 1*s.* 3½*d.* the gallon. Muscadine is another Spanish wine. Four entries between 1561 and 1573 give an average of 2*s.* 8*d.* Three entries of Muscadel between 1568 and 1581 give an average of nearly 3*s.* a gallon.

Sweet wine is twice bought by the rundlet. On one of these occasions (1470) the quantity of the cask, sixteen gallons, is given. The price is high, 1*s.* 10½*d.* the gallon in bulk, the highest price which I have seen for sweet wine till the year 1522. On the other occasion (1518) a rundlet, the quantity of which is not given, is bought at almost exactly half the price.

In 1522 a butt of Romney is bought by Sion for 36*s.* 6*d.*

Rhenish wine is occasionally found. In 1443 a butt of 36 gallons costs 51*s.* at Writtle, and next year at the same place a fat, said to contain five 'ames,' is purchased also at 51*s.* It is impossible to identify the 'ame' with the modern aum, unless a prodigious fall in price be assumed. Twice it is bought by the sextary, and for the royal household; on the first occasion in 1496 for Henry VII, at 3*s.* 8*d.*; on the second,

1532, for the infant Elizabeth's establishment, at 4s. Rhenish wine is also bought by the gallon. Four such entries between 1522 and 1558 will be found, when the rates are 1s., 1s. 1½*d.*, 1s., and 1s. 8*d.*

In the early part of this chapter I commented on the prices at which wine bought on the Wardrobe account, that is, for the use of the royal household, was valued in the comptroller's annual audit. The quantities bought are large, and almost always of two kinds, Gascony and sweet. The valuation was real; i. e. the quantity carried on from the account of a previous year as a debit to the comptroller, was occasionally set at a higher or lower price in the subsequent year. But when the exaltation of all prices was effected, no similar rise is found in the purchases on behalf of the Crown. It is impossible that when Gascony wine is bought in Kirling during the years 1577, 1578, and 1579, at £18, £20, and £17, and at Ipswich at £14 in 1579, the Court could have procured its supplies in the open market at £7 4*s.*, £7 9*s.*, and £6 16*s.*, the prices at which the comptroller rates the tun in the above-named years.

The Wardrobe accounts are preserved in considerable numbers, and are sometimes in very good condition. I see no reason to doubt that in the earlier years, say to the middle of Henry VIII's reign, when no material alteration had taken place in general prices, these are fairly accurate estimates of value, with a considerable advantage on the side of the large purchaser, who could take his supplies by purveyance, but would not press too hardly on the importer. In two years, 1574, 1575, when the Wardrobe price is very much in excess of the ordinary rate for Gascony, and that of sweet wine is rather high, one seems able to trace the effect of a deficient market in the price.

The interpretation of the figures was exceedingly difficult. The tun, as I have said, contained 252 gallons. It is not however divided, as in ordinary accounts, into two pipes and four hogsheads, but into an arbitrary measure of sextaries, the

fractions of which are pottles, quarts, and pints. Now it is known that a sextary was an allowance to a table, and is so described in divers monastic records, being stated to contain about five gallons. A careful examination of all the entries from the Wardrobe accounts which I have been able to collect so far confirmed this statement, that I was able to determine that the number of sextaries in the tun of Gascony, according to the Wardrobe estimate, was fifty-two; and thus the key was found for reducing the aggregate price of the quantity bought and debited to the comptroller annually. Sometimes Gascony wine is not found in the account, or the part of the page in which the entry should appear has been destroyed.

The comptroller's account also contains entries of sweet wine by the butt of 104 to 105 gallons. Here, again, there are a few deficiencies, but only in the earlier years. The butt of sweet wine is also divided into fifty-two sextaries, but the sextary only contains two gallons, as I have found not only from the obvious fact of the butt's capacity, but from the fractions of the sextary which are reckoned in the several years.

It will be seen that the prices at which the tun of Gascony and the butt of sweet wine are bought vary from year to year. Generally the tun is rated at a higher price than the butt, and in the later years invariably so. But on several occasions the butt is dearer than the tun. Had the quantities been divided into gallons and valued on this basis, the proportion between the gallon of French wine and that of Spanish would not have materially varied from that which will be seen in the price of these articles when they were bought by retail for the use of private persons, monasteries, and colleges. I have collected the evidence for sixty-two years, between 1489 and 1579.

The comptroller sometimes acknowledges the receipt of small quantities of Rhenish wine. Once, in 1515, a 'fat' is included. No estimate is given of the quantity contained in this vessel, but the price, £8 13s. 9d., implies that it was large. If it contained, as the entry of 1444 suggests, five aums, the value of the aum would be £1 14s. 9d., a price which does not

materially differ from that which is assigned to the aum in subsequent years.

The aum of Rhenish is found in twenty-two out of the sixty-two years. The aum is divided into, or reckoned to contain, twenty-four scrives, sometimes also called sextaries, probably because they were like the Gascon and sweet wine subdivisions, allowances to a mess. It seems that the aum contained 36 gallons, and the scrive must have been, therefore, six quarts. Such a quantity accords with the price of Rhenish by the gallon, the difference between purchases in bulk and retail being taken into account. For the six years—1516, 1521-3, 1541, 1543—the price of the aum is 30s. In 1544 it is 31s.; in 1546, 36s. In 1559, the next entry, it is 43s. 6d.; in 1560, 100s.; in 1561-3, 50s.; in 1566 and 1568-9, 43s. 4d.; in 1570, 1572, and 1575, 40s.; in 1573, 40s. 6d.; and in 1574, the dearest year in the Wardrobe accounts, it is again 100s.

The subjoined table is an account of the prices for the years prefixed to them of the entries of wine purchased for the King's use, Gascony and sweet, and registered in the comptroller's account of the Wardrobe. The other prices of wines will be found at the conclusion of the next chapter, in conjunction with other articles generally of foreign origin.

AVERAGE PRICE OF WINE.

Wardrobe accounts.

	Gascony, tun = 252 gallons. 52 sextaries to tun.	Sweet, butt = 105 gallons. 52 sextaries to butt.		Gascony, tun = 252 gallons. 52 sextaries to tun.	Sweet, butt = 105 gallons. 52 sextaries to butt.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.		£ s. d.	£ s. d.
1489	7 5 10	5 6 2	1547	4 9 6	4 0 0
1494	5 19 11½	.....	1548	4 7 10	5 0 0
1495	6 4 5	.....	1549	.....	4 1 8
1496	6 4 5	.....	1550	6 14 0	5 2 6
1498	4 12 3	.....	1552	8 16 8	6 8 0
1499	4 19 2	4 6 8	1553	5 18 4	8 4 0
1501	4 0 6	4 11 6	1554	6 18 0	6 9 0
1504	4 9 1	4 6 2	1555	6 18 0	6 10 0
1505	4 9 8	4 18 6	1557	5 6 0	6 11 3
1510	4 5 0	4 8 6	1558	.....	6 10 0
1515	5 16 0	7 0 7	1559	4 18 0	6 10 0
1516	5 15 1	4 1 0	1560	5 16 0	6 5 0
1519	4 13 9	3 12 10	1561	6 2 6	6 0 0
1520	4 14 8	3 7 10	1562	6 6 6	5 15 6
1521	4 10 10	4 0 0	1563	6 6 0	5 12 6
1522	5 13 4	4 0 0	1564	6 2 0	5 14 6
1523	5 14 8	5 4 0	1565	7 10 6	6 5 6
1526	5 13 8	4 18 2	1566	6 10 0	6 0 0
1529	6 1 0	3 18 10	1567	6 8 6	5 16 0
1531	6 1 6	4 0 0	1568	6 6 8	5 14 0
1534	4 5 6	3 14 2	1569	6 10 6	5 13 6
1535	4 5 3	3 14 0	1570	6 7 6	5 13 6
1537	4 1 8	4 0 10	1571	6 13 4	5 6 0
1538	4 4 5	4 2 11	1572	.....	5 16 4
1539	4 8 0	4 5 11	1573	7 9 0	5 9 6
1540	5 6 4	4 0 0	1574	13 11 9	6 10 0
1541	4 8 8	4 3 3	1575	12 10 0	6 5 6
1542	3 15 5	3 16 11	1576	7 14 6	6 4 0
1543	4 9 10	4 1 4	1577	7 4 0	6 2 0
1544	5 12 10	4 0 10	1578	7 9 0	6 1 0
1545	.....	3 19 6	1579	6 16 0	6 0 0
1546	6 1 10	4 6 6			

CHAPTER XXIII.

ON THE PRICE OF FOREIGN PRODUCE. SPICES, FRUITS,
SUGAR, CONFECTIONERY.

THE Englishman of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries was accustomed, as we have seen above, to a copious but coarse diet. During several months of the year, all, except those opulent persons who possessed parks and chases, and were therefore able to supplement their ordinary food by the flesh of wild animals, were constrained to subsist on salted meat. Before the Reformation, salt fish was a common and obligatory article of diet with all classes, and when the alimentary restraints of the old creed were released, policy, and indeed thrift, required that a fish diet should be maintained by custom or enforced by law. The familiar vegetables of our experience were generally unknown. Onions were, apparently, in common use. There are numerous entries of garden peas, and a few of edible beans. I have found one record of the purchase of cabbage-seed. But garden roots, the turnip, parsnip, and carrot, are, as far as my researches supply me with information, unknown, and remained unknown until, in the reign of James I, they were introduced from Holland. Potatoes came in at about the end of the sixteenth century, for I have found, at a period later than that at which these volumes close, purchases made on the great Queen's account at 2*s.* 6*d.* a pound. The only native flavours were a few wild plants.

For seasoning to their viands, our forefathers depended on the traffic with the East, which, as I said in my first volume, p. 147 sqq., originally went over several routes. The gradual downfall of the Greek empire, and the desolation induced upon Central and Western Asia by Tartars and Turks, appear

to have blocked every passage but one, that which passed along the coast of Asia to Aden up the Red Sea, and by a short caravan journey overland to the Nile, whence at Alexandria produce was distributed to Venice, Genoa, and other trading towns in Italy. The Soldan of Egypt levied heavy tolls on this traffic, not indeed, we may conclude, heavy enough to destroy a lucrative branch of revenue, but enough to make the cost of that, which in its place of origin was worth little more than the labour of collection, very considerable to the Western consumer.

The distribution of this produce in Europe was, it appears, generally effected by carriage over the Alpine passes to the free cities of Southern Germany and of the Rhine. In the fifteenth century, such towns as Nuremberg and Ratisbon, Mayence and Cologne were at the height of their opulence. The water-way of the Rhine bears ineffaceable traces of the wealth which was carried down it, in the numerous castles of the robber barons, the extirpation of whom became the first object to which the resources of civilisation were directed. The trade of the East enriched the burghers of the Low Countries, till after a long and tedious transit, the abundant spices of the East, increased in price a hundredfold by the tolls which rapacity enacted, and the profits which merchants imposed, were sold in small parcels by the grocer or apothecary, or purchased in larger quantities by wealthy consumers at the great fair of Stourbridge, or in the perpetual market of London.

At the middle of the first quarter of the sixteenth century, Selim I (1512-20), the Sultan of Turkey, conquered Mesopotamia, got possession of the holy towns of Arabia, and finally annexed Egypt to his empire. The result of this conquest was to block the only remaining road by which Eastern produce had hitherto been conveyed to Europe. The Turk in those days, as the Turk in ours, turned what were once thriving and opulent regions into deserts, and Selim was the incarnation of all Turkish vice, and of every Turkish energy. Had these people been like other savages, they would either have been

absorbed into the civilisation with which they came in contact, or have been exhausted by the efforts of conquest. But the Turk could not be assimilated by civilisation, and his physical vigour has survived the effects of victory. He is patient, sober, and possessed of stubborn courage, and apt to the obedience of a fatalist. He destroys, but he can subsist for a long time in the ruin which he has made. It might have seemed almost impossible to make havoc of Egypt, of Asia Minor, of the plain of Mesopotamia, of the great garden which lies between the Danube, the Euxine, and the Ægean. The Turk has made some of these regions a howling wilderness, and has wasted the rest. At the beginning of the sixteenth century his hateful presence almost severed Europe from the East.

The only means by which this vast frontier occupation¹ of barbarism could be eluded was by a movement to the rear. At the conclusion of the fifteenth century, the Portuguese Vasco di Gama doubled the Cape of Good Hope, rightly named by those who foresaw what a boon the sea passage would be, as an escape from isolation, or from the progress of intolerant, destructive, but disciplined savages. The fall of Constantinople, beyond doubt, stimulated research into the unknown oceans of the west and south. The voyage of Columbus was undertaken with the view of discovering a new route to Hindostan. That of the Portuguese prince and of the Portuguese captain had the same object, and effected the object.

The commercial decline of Venice, Genoa, Florence, and of the free German cities near the sources of the Danube and down the Rhine, begins with the conquest of Egypt by the Turks. The stream of commerce which passed through Egypt as far as Antwerp and the other Flemish towns—slender rivulet as it was by the side of what we know now—had been marvellously fertilising to all who lived upon its banks. The Turk dried it up, it became in truth *flumen epotum Medo*. The wealth of many a burgher, the resources of many a prince, began to dwindle, although no one anticipated what was passing and

would ensue, when Selim won the battles of Cairo and of the Pyramids.

The turn of Western Europe came. During the period in which the Roman empire and the savage imitations of it were destroying ancient civilisation in the West as well as in the East, opulence had shifted from Asia Minor to Italy. Subsequently, Portugal opened a new way to India, and for a time had a trade and an empire there. Fortunately for the Dutch, Philip the Second of Spain seized the throne of Portugal in 1580, and his Eastern conquests became prize of war to those whom his fanatical bigotry drove into revolt, and to an almost desperate attempt at independence. A century later, and the English became the rivals of the Dutch. In our own days, the route to the East, which the conquests of Selim closed, has been reopened in a more effectual and permanent manner by French enterprise, and has become, after the lapse of three centuries and a-half, the water-way of commerce with India.

The effect of the conquest of Egypt will be curiously illustrated by the facts contained in the tables at the conclusion of this chapter. If my reader will consult the annual prices, or still more conveniently the decennial averages, he may notice that during the twenty years, 1521-1540, a marked rise takes place in all articles of Eastern produce. The progress of the Turkish arms in Western Asia and Eastern Europe had undoubtedly, as it dammed up the old channels of trade and drove commerce into the only course left to it through Egypt, heightened the price of that produce continuously for fifty years and more. But the sharpest rise takes place after 1520. The rise is about 35 per cent. on pepper, over 40 per cent. on cloves, over 90 per cent. on mace, over 25 per cent. on cinnamon and on dates, then produced entirely in Egypt.

The case of sugar is more striking still. In the latter part of the fourteenth century sugar was worth 19s. the dozen pounds. It became still dearer in the first half of the fifteenth century. The entries indeed are very few, for the price, 24s. the dozen, was almost prohibitive, and two out of the three

entries are from the expenditure of opulent persons. Nor do I doubt that the price of this article was during this period everywhere in England at such rates as my entries represent, for I am sure that it would have been found for occasional feasts given at the visits of distinguished persons, if the price had not been considered too extravagant for prudent purchase, and too much to expect from any host, however grateful, expectant, or anxious he might be. Between 1490 and 1510 it rapidly declines. In 1495 and 1503 it is about 2s. 9d. the dozen. After the conquest of Egypt these later prices are more than doubled.

Sugar was manufactured (Vol. I, p. 147) at Sicily, Cyprus, Crete, Amorea, Marta, but especially at Alexandria, for the last place is named as its origin. I make no doubt that an industry had been developed in Egypt, to the great convenience of Western Europe, in this article, and that the produce had been rapidly cheapened. The conquest of Egypt annihilated both manufacture and trade, and left Europe dependent upon other and minor sources of supply, till such time as the passage round the Cape became familiar and convenient. But this new traffic was developed slowly. It is possible, sometimes easy, to ruin centres of trade, it is very hard to establish new entrepôts. In the sixteenth century, for instance, Englishmen spoke with pride of Milford haven as the finest in the world, and predicted for it a great future. But the creation of a considerable trade at Milford haven is still a prediction¹. Similarly the growth of commerce by the Cape was very slow, and the merchant's venture very precarious for some time after the period with which these volumes close. It was probably owing to the block of the last remaining channel of ancient and medieval commerce that an attempt was made to establish a caravan trade through Central Asia to Astrachan, and thence by the Volga into Eastern Europe, and that Edward VI in 1553 sent Willoughby on his unlucky voyage to Archangel.²

¹ Coke's 'Debate between the Heralds,' p. 102.

² See Vol. I, p. 626

I shall now proceed to deal with the various spices of Eastern or foreign origin, of which entries are found in the third volume, and of such similar products as were of European, possibly of home growth. After this I shall treat of foreign fruits, and lastly of sugar and of confectionery.

PEPPER. The most common and the most important of Eastern products is this spice. I have numerous entries of the article, more by far than were registered during the earlier period, and these entries would have been, except perhaps for one period, continuous, had it not been the practice, especially with the bursars of the Oxford colleges, to enter the annual purchase of spices in an aggregate sum, and therefore in a form wholly useless for my enquiry.

I have given the entries in the nominal quantity of a dozen pounds, in order to avoid unmanageable or inconvenient fractions in the averages. The price of pepper varies considerably during the same year and at the same place. Thus, at Netley Abbey, in 1455, it ranges from 15s. the dozen to 9s. 6d. Proximity to the great fairs and purchases made at convenient times would be elements of cheapness, occasional demand or inconvenient and sudden emergencies of the contrary. This is illustrated by the Oxford purchase in 1411 of half a pound at 8s. The cause of this was the fact that Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester, visited the college of which his predecessor was the founder, and as his appearance might have been unexpected, and the college was certainly unprovided with the spice, the society felt itself obliged to give whatever the local apothecary ventured on charging for his small stock of the condiment, as it had to entertain the King's brother, an authoritative Visitor, and possibly a benefactor in future. Still, in the year 1412 pepper was 34s. a dozen, and in 1414, 29s. 11d., prices which were rare even in the last half of the fourteenth century. Again, in 1418, it was 28s. 6d. on the average.

Pepper is high during the twenty years 1411-30. It then falls in value, and is very cheap, relatively speaking, between

1431-80, the price being frequently 8*d.* a pound. Once in 1445 it is as low as 7½*d.* The entries also are numerous, and suggest that when the article was accessible it was purchased in considerable quantities. Still, throughout this comparatively cheap period, when during the fifty years the average price was 12*s.* 9½*d.* the dozen pounds, against 17*s.* 1*d.*, the general average for the 140 years, 1401-1540, a pound of this spice cost more than two bushels of wheat.

In the twenty years, 1521-40, which followed on the capture and conquest of Egypt by the Turks, the average price of pepper is 23*s.* 2*d.* the dozen, or about 35 per cent. above the average. In 1541-50 it falls, though not to the old prices. During the decade 1561-70, it is again very dear, one entry being at the rate of 64*s.* the dozen. At the conclusion of the period it becomes decidedly cheaper, owing, as I think, to importations by the long sea passage.

In 1573 and 1576 an article styled 'case' pepper is found. I conclude that the term merely refers to the manner of packing. In 1443 I find an entry of 'long' pepper, which may be the drug still known by the name. It is double the price of common pepper at the same place.

SAFFRON. It is convenient to deal with this article here, though it was not unfrequently of English growth, as the accounts specify. This drug or spice is nearly as common in the accounts as pepper is. I have estimated it by the apothecaries' pound of twelve ounces, by which, as the internal evidence of the entries proves, it was always sold. Our ancestors believed that the drug was a protective or prophylactic against the plague, and probably the price rose and fell as those who could purchase the article were alarmed at the contingency of a visitation from the deadly and dreaded disease which was from time to time endemic in England after the year 1349. I cannot, however, trace such an effect on the price of saffron during the years 1477-8-9, 1486, 1508, 1521, 1545, 1555-6, 1577, and 1579, in each of which years some one account or the other (see Notes, Political and Social,

vol. iii, pp. 675-686) chronicles the occurrence of a plague or pestis, the name being of course generic for all exceptional mortality. In one of these years, 1508, a large quantity is bought at Cambridge, *tempore pestis*.

The price of saffron, before the general rise occurred, is highest in 1531-40, one of the decades in which foreign spices are so dear. Saffron was never, I imagine, imported from the East. But it doubtlessly was from south-eastern Europe, and may have been indirectly affected by any cause which made other spices dear. It does not rise in price to anything like the same extent, after 1541, that other articles do, the increase in money value being under fifty per cent. Nor does it seem to have been so extensively used in later times.

Saffron was grown in England, especially in the eastern counties. Harrison tells a story to the effect that in one year there was an exceedingly plentiful crop of the article, and that the growers, embarrassed by abundance, vented their discontent in a coarse and profane comment, and that thereupon they were visited with a general scarcity of the article. I have found saffron designated as English in 1467, and bought apparently at a cheap rate. In 1557 some is bought which is designated as best, and in 1499 the Grantchester saffron-ground, belonging to King's College, is let at a rental of 28s. 4d. a year. This must have been a plot which was stocked with the bulbs. It is very probably the case that the cheaper saffron was of English growth. I find no information as to the origin of foreign supplies.

CLOVES. After pepper, cloves are most frequently mentioned in the accounts. They are cheapest in the twenty years 1471-90. But in the twenty years 1521-40 they are raised proportionately to a higher price than any other spice, except mace. The strongly aromatic and almost acrid oil of these buds must have made them peculiar favourites with our ancestors, who preferred strong to delicate flavours. After the rise in prices the money value of cloves is increased in nearly the same ratio as that of pepper and of other spices, though

occasionally during the dear period, now several times referred to, the price was nearly as high as it was after all money values had been raised.

MACE. This kind of spice is frequently coupled with cloves, the entry indicating that it is sold at nearly the same rate. But on the whole, mace is, as the separate entries indicate, rather dearer than cloves in the earlier period, though in three of the decades it is bought at a slightly lower price. The rise in 1521-1540 is even greater than that of cloves, being more marked than in any other commodity of Eastern origin. The price remains high, for when the rise occurs, the average is more than double that of the earlier time. Towards the conclusion of the period which these volumes embrace, the price falls slightly. At no time do cloves reach the prices at which they are found in the fourteenth century, and mace does so rarely.

NUTMEGS. It is singular that while the arillus in which the nutmeg is enclosed is so frequently introduced by commerce into Europe, the nutmeg itself is found rarely and very late, and then under circumstances which suggest that it is a recent importation. I find it for the first time in 1527, when a 'mark' of nutmegs and cloves is bought for a royal feast at Windsor, the price being 1*s.* 6*d.* The weight indicates the foreign, probably Flemish, origin of the purchase. I do not profess to interpret the measure. It cannot possibly, I think, be two-thirds of a pound, for cloves and mace are bought on the same occasion and for the same feast at an average of 13*s.* the pound, cloves alone at 6*s.* The next appearance is in 1554, when nutmegs are 14*s.* the pound, the highest price at which I have found them. In 1557 they are 6*s.* 8*d.*; in 1559, 5*s.* and 6*s.*; in 1573, 6*s.*; in 1576, 9*s.*; and in 1578, 10*s.* the pound.

CINNAMON. This is a much less frequent spice. I have not discovered a single entry for the first thirty years of the fifteenth century. I found it only twice in the fourteenth. It will be found in forty-one entries or averages for the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Cinnamon is not so dear as either

cloves or mace. Like them it is affected by the events which accompanied or followed on the conquest of Egypt, the rise being fully fifty per cent. But it is not affected so considerably as cloves and mace are. The use of the article, I conceive, was new and occasional, and therefore the deprivation of it, or at least its scarcity, was met by abstention or economy of use.

It is possible, as I suggested in my first volume, that 'cannel' and cinnamon are to be identified. If this be the case, the few entries of the first-named spice point to great fluctuations in price. Cannel is bought at 1s. 1½*d.* in 1406. I find no other entry till 1514. In this year, and in 1515, 1516, and 1518, it is bought at Hickling Priory at 5*s.*, 4*s.*, and 8*s.* the pound. In 1514 cinnamon is 2*s.* 6*d.* at Cambridge. It does not occur in the other years. In 1519 it is 6*s.* 8*d.*, the highest point which it reaches during the early dear period. It seems clear, then, that this spice is not inferior in value to cinnamon, and that the cheap article now known by the name can hardly be that which is quoted in these accounts¹.

GINGER. This spice is commoner than cinnamon, less frequent than cloves and mace. I have found it forty-six times in the accounts. It is a product, like the rest of these spices, of the East Indies. But for some reason or other it is not so markedly affected by the political events of 1511-20 as other spices are, for, though in 1521-40 the price is higher than it had been during any part of the fifteenth century, the rise is not very considerable, being about twenty-five per cent. above the average. It is dearest after the general rise of prices, as indeed all spices are in the years 1561-70, a result which is probably due to the efforts made to resist Spanish monopoly in the Old World, and to the buccaneering expeditions, which were most energetic and most successful under Drake, whose own voyage, however, began in 1577.

GRAINS OF PARADISE. These seeds, the origin of which appears to be Central Africa, were conveyed to Tripoli by

¹ The French name for cinnamon is 'cannelle de Ceylan.'

land carriage, as we are told they are to the present time. They do not often occur in my accounts, and the price varies exceedingly. They are 6s. a pound in 1405, 2s. 6d. in 1443, 2s. 4d. in 1482. The rest of the entries are in the sixteenth century, and the article becomes cheaper. They are only 8d. a pound in 1515. But in 1524 they are 3s. 10d. In 1527 they are 1s. 9d.; in 1532, 1s. 4d.; in 1534, 1s. 2d.; in 1535, 1s. 3d.; in 1536, 2s.; and in 1559, 1s. 6d.

SANDERS. The red wood of the *Pterocarpus santalinus* was frequently purchased in the fifteenth century and first forty-two years of the sixteenth. But after 1542 it disappears from the accounts. The price of the article is very various. In 1473 a large quantity is purchased at 5d. the pound. In 1479 it costs 5s. 4d.; in 1480, 5s.; in 1481, 3s. 8d. The price of sanders does not seem to have been heightened so much as that of other Eastern produce was. There are in all sixty-five entries between 1405 and 1542. The average will be seen to be for the sixty-four entries, from 1405 to 1537, 19s. 7½d. the dozen pounds, and this may be compared with the later entry at 32s. But the earlier average is considerably heightened by the high prices of 1471-1490, though the first of these decades contains the cheapest as well as the dearest entries.

TURNESOL. This is another vegetable dye used in cookery. I have found eight entries between 1426 and 1534. The price in one of the years is 2s. 4d., generally it is from 1s. 8d. to 1s. 6d. a pound. The average is 1s. 5d. It is found once in the later period, in 1569, at 2s.

ANISE AND CARRAWAY SEED. I have collected fifteen entries of anise seed between 1406 and 1574. The price up to 1527 ranges from 6s. a dozen pounds in 1443, to 1s. a dozen in 1517, 18, 19. Between 1530 and 1537 there are five entries, ranging from 3s. 8d. to 2s. 10d. the dozen. In 1537 the price is 12s. the dozen, and in 1574, 10s. The average of the first thirteen entries is 2s. 8¾d., of the last two 11s., and I think it probable that the first average represents what the

ordinary price of anise was before the general rise, though it is also probable that the price in the later period was a good deal less than the two entries would suggest. The origin of anise is Asia Minor, the Greek islands, and Egypt. The carraway is of much wider geographical distribution. It is found wild from Iceland and Siberia to the south of Spain. But it is plain from my accounts that it was not familiar in England, that it is not indigenous, and was not, as it now is, or lately was, cultivated. It does not appear till 1527, when it is bought at 8*d.* a pound. The same price is paid in 1536. In 1554 it is 1*s.* 1½*d.*; in 1556, 1*s.* 1*d.*; in 1559, 1*s.* 4*d.* and 1*s.* 8*d.*; in 1569, 1*s.* 8*d.* Such prices, especially when compared with those of anise, an aromatic seed which has always been of foreign origin, show conclusively that carraway seed was of foreign origin also.

A pound of coriander is bought in 1569 for 2*s.* 8*d.* Coriander has been long cultivated in England, but it is impossible that its culture could have been English at a time when such a price was paid for it. In 1569 a pound of camphor was purchased for 32*s.* The price even for the time is enormous. The history of the drug will be found in the valuable work of Messrs. Flückiger and Hanbury¹.

Occasionally powdered spice is bought. I have found powdered cinnamon in 1468 and 1482 at 1*s.* 2*d.* and 1*s.* 8*d.* the pound, powdered ginger in 1466 at 1*s.* 4*d.* Except in the first case, that of cinnamon in 1468, the powder is cheaper than the unmanufactured spice.

I have found only two entries of cumin, in 1405 and 1406, when the prices are 2*s.* 3*d.* and 3*s.* the dozen.

LIQUORICE. I have made nine entries of liquorice, one of which only is in the fifteenth century. Here it is cheap, 1*s.* 6*d.* the dozen. The general average is 3*s.* 2½*d.* the dozen.

¹ Pharmacographia, p. 461. There are few books of such remarkable and exhaustive research as this valuable treatise. It was hardly published when one of the authors, Mr. Hanbury, died most prematurely. I am much indebted to the work, and I know that I was of some service to the authors.

The entries are of course of the inspissated juice, such as has been manufactured for centuries in Italy and Spain.

The 'treakill' of 1458, sold at 1*s.* 2½*d.* the pound, and that of 1531 at 3*d.* the pot, are not of course the substance with which we are now familiar, but theriacum, a medicine containing a vast number of ingredients, and traditionally held to have been an alexipharmic compounded by Mithradates the Great.

Here I may mention the single entry of senna in cods at 8*d.* the pound in 1530, an entry which seems to imply that the seeds and not the beans of this leguminous plant were imported on this occasion; that of ambergris at 1*s.* the pound in 1481; and that of isinglass at 2*s.* in 1527. I include the last because I can find no more convenient place, the King's College account reckoning it among the spices of the year.

Twice, in 1421 and 1422, green ginger is bought by the jar at York, the price being 3*s.* 6*d.* and 3*s.* 9*d.* Once it is bought by the 'pot,' in 1534, at 10*d.*, and once in the same year by the pound at the same price. I have also found ginger minced, which is, I conceive, the dry confection, at 1*s.* 8*d.* and 2*s.* 8*d.* the pound, in 1467 and 1488. Confections of ginger were special luxuries in the middle ages.

FOREIGN FRUITS. The principal foreign fruits are currants, raisins, figs, dates, prunes, and almonds, prunes being found far more frequently in the later than in the earlier part of the period. I have again reckoned, in order to avoid inconvenient fractions in my averages, these fruits by a factitious dozen. There are, however, many other measures, the interpretation of which gives me no little trouble. These are the 'copla' of figs and raisins, the sort of figs and raisins, the frail or piece of figs or raisins, the toppet, topnet, or tope of figs, the caput of figs (a measure peculiar to Pershore), the piece or frail of raisins (a larger quantity apparently than that given above), the tope of raisins, and the barrel of figs and of prunes. Almonds are constantly sold by the hundredweight of 112 pounds, and

I have adopted this measure in my tables, reducing such quantities of pounds as I have found to the hundredweight.

CURRENTS. The small grapes of the Morea and islands of the Ægean, which got the name of 'raisins of corauntz' from Corinth, are always sold by the pound or dozen pounds. They are the commonest kind of foreign fruit, except almonds, occurring in a hundred and fourteen years out of a hundred and eighty-two. Sometimes I think that an entry of raisins should have been of currents, as in 1410, the scribe having neglected to qualify his entry of the fruit. In later years the word 'currents,' as it is now spelled, becomes customary in the accounts.

The price of currents varies greatly. They are dear, relatively speaking, for the first fifty years of the fifteenth century, and gradually decline in price, till in 1491-1500 and in 1511-20, they are more than fifty per cent. below the average of the whole 140 years. The price rises in the twenty years, 1521-40, but not to the amount at which they stood, on an average, between 1401-50, for the Turks had not got possession of all the islands in the Ægean. After 1541 they rise in price, and at the close of the period are dearer than at any time. This is indeed the case with all kinds of fruit and with sugar, the dearest period—I shall have to make an explanation below in the case of sugar—being that comprised in the last twelve years.

In my first two volumes (Vol. I, p. 632) it will be seen that currents are found only four times, and then chiefly in the later part of the fourteenth century. The entries are in 1345, 1376, 1377 and 1392. In each case they are bought in small quantities. In the first entry they are at 1s. the dozen, in the second at 3s. 6d., in the third at 3s., in the fourth, when they are coupled with raisins, at 4s. The first entry is, it will be seen, before the plague, and should have been distinguished in the average drawn from the later entries. But the notes were few, and in the earlier stage of my enquiries hardly suggestive. My reader will doubtlessly agree with me, that a

trade in this produce, which might have grown up at an early date, was arrested by the plague which devastated Europe, and assisted, concurrently with the invasion of the barbarians, in making Western Asia and Mesopotamia the desert which it has remained. The disease, as its later name, the Levant plague, implies, remained endemic in south-eastern Europe.

Nothing seems to me to indicate more clearly the growth of trade with the East, during the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth century, than the frequent use of this fruit and its declining price. It is, I think, also clear that exceptionally dear years, such as 1403, 1422, 1430, and 1431, point to deficient crops of the article, while some of the very cheap years may equally indicate abundant supplies. These low rates continue till 1545, when the price suddenly rises to 10*s.* a dozen. In 1572 and 1573 it is 10*s.* 6*d.* and 7*s.* 6*d.* But even in the last few years of the period before me, it does not rise to such a height as it reached in certain years of the fifteenth century.

It will be noticed that the final rise in the price of currants is not nearly so considerable as that in other articles of consumption. This is not to be ascribed to the fact that the demand was diminished, for though the trade with England, as we know from the history of Elizabeth's Charters to the Levant Company, was not considerable enough to supply any notable amount of revenue, much was hoped from it. The attempt of the Crown to obtain a larger revenue from the trade than it could under the old customs was made at a later date than the year with which these volumes close, as was also the arbitrary tax of 5*s.* a hundredweight imposed by James I, at the instigation of Cecil—an act which gave immediate occasion to the judgment of the exchequer in the case of Bates, and made Parliament steadily resolute in its determination to deny the Crown the right to any tax of any kind save that which was granted by the Commons. The supply of the article had, it is clear, become abundant, and the trade with the Levant, whether in the hands of

English merchants or foreign importers, was plainly on the increase¹.

RAISINS. Information on this kind of foreign fruit is by no means so plentiful as that for currants. Occasionally the price is higher than that of currants, as in 1490, when a small quantity is bought at Sutterton at 4*d.* the pound, while currants at Cambridge are in large quantity only 2½*d.* But the general proportion of value is, I am confident, fairly represented in the first and second periods ordinarily taken, though the rise in the price of raisins is less than that of currants.

Were it possible to disintegrate certain double entries, and to arrive at a fair interpretation by weight of certain merchantable quantities, it would have been possible, due allowance being made for purchases in bulk, to have made considerable additions to the annual register of the price of raisins. These difficulties are as follows.

It was customary, from the early part of the fifteenth century, to make purchases of figs and raisins together. The earliest name for this kind of assortment is *copyl*, or *copla*, the first in 1411, when it is priced at 9*s.* 10*d.*, the second in 1416, when the quantity costs 10*s.* 8*d.* Both are bought at Cambridge. In 1427 the term used is 'sett,' also at Cambridge, and the price is 9*s.* I think that these two words are synonymous, as is also the third, 'sort,' which is first used in 1438, and is said to contain two frails of figs and one frail of raisins. But in 1443 the word appears to be used of figs only, the Buckingham family at Writtle having purchased two sorts, half a frail, a piece, and eight pounds in gross for 32*s.* 6*d.* Again, in 1494, Sion buys two sorts and one frail of figs for 17*s.* 2*d.* In 1491 the same monastery bought figs by the sort at 6*s.* 4*d.*

In 1449 the sort of 'fruit' is 9*s.* 4*d.*; in 1453, three sorts of figs and raisins are at 8*s.* 1½*d.*; in 1460, 8*s.* 10*d.*; in 1465, 14*s.*; in 1466, 10*s.* 6*d.*; in 1467, 10*s.* 6*d.*; in 1468, 8*s.* 6*d.*; in 1472, 9*s.*; in 1476, 12*s.*; in 1482, 12*s.*; this last entry confirming the

¹ For the state of Greece and its trade in the sixteenth century, see Finlay, v. 126.

interpretation given in 1438, that the sort is two frails of one fruit, and one of the other, each frail being worth 4s. In 1498 the sort is 11s., this being the last occasion on which the measure is recorded. I conclude, therefore, that the sort was three frails of fruit, generally of raisins and figs; though sometimes, as in 1490, 1491, and in 1494, the sort is, according to the entry, of figs only. The term is found at Cambridge, Finchale, and Sion, and there is no real discrepancy in price at Finchale and Oxford in 1490, when the sort costs at the former place 5s., and at the latter the frails are bought, taking three to the sort, at 4s. the sort, seeing that Oxford was so much nearer to the market. Finally, I infer that when raisins and figs are taken together, whether by the pound, the frail, the piece, or the sort, the market price of each quantity, and most probably the weight of each parcel, was the same. The average price of the above entries of the sort of figs and raisins is 10s. 5½d., and agrees with the hypothesis that the 'sort' is 84 lbs., as this would be 1s. 6d. the dozen.

I do not find any weight assigned to the frail of raisins or figs. But the piece, which seems to be sometimes identical with the frail, is of various amount. At Sion, in 1496, the piece of raisins is 39 lbs.; in 1533 the piece of figs at Stonor is 30 lbs.; in 1532 the piece of raisins at Durham is 50 lbs. In 1555 the piece of raisins in Oxford is 82 lbs.; in 1556 the piece of figs is 64 lbs.; and lastly, in 1582, the piece of raisins in Oxford is 84 lbs. It seems impossible to reconcile these variations. Raisins are bought by the piece in 1533 at 10s.; in 1534 at 9s. 4d.; in 1555 at 14s. 5d.; in 1559 at 16s. 8d.; in 1576 at 23s. 8d.; and in 1578 at 21s. 8d. The first and second of these entries are at Durham, the rest are at Oxford, and I feel sure that in these latter cases at least, the piece was from 84 lbs. to 82 lbs. in weight. As we have seen, the Durham piece is 50 lbs. But in 1573 Corpus College, Oxford, buys three 'frails' of raisins at 30s., 29s., and 22s. 2d. respectively. Here the frail seems to be nearly double the piece, for the same college at the same time buys 180 lbs. of raisins for 33s. 4d.,

i.e. according to the piece of 83 lbs., to take the medium, \pm 15s. 4½*d.* the piece. The average of the piece in the four years from 1555 to 1578 is 19s. 1½*d.*, i.e. on the above hypothesis is about 1s. 9*d.* the dozen.

They are bought by the 'tope' in 1531 at 12s. The entry is from Durham, and is, apparently, identical with the piece at the same place. Now in 1531 the dozen of raisins is 1s. 7½*d.*; in 1533, 2s. 4½*d.*; in 1534, 1s. 6*d.*, the price by the dozen in the second year being taken from an average ranging from 3s. to 1s. The other two prices are fairly relevant. I have copied from the Durham household book the entry that the piece was 50 lbs. If we take it as from 82 to 84 lbs., the amount at which it is elsewhere stated, the price by the seven dozen in 1531 would be 13s. 0½*d.*, and in 1534, 10s. 6*d.*, prices which do not suggest any marked discrepancy with other facts, if we take into account the difference between purchases by retail and in bulk. Towards the end of the period, there is a distinction drawn between 'raisins' and 'raisins of the sun.' The latter, probably Malaga fruit, are rather dearer. 'Elegantes' (1579), at 17s. 9¾*d.* the cwt., are perhaps Alicant fruit.

FIGS. The price of figs by the pound is more broken than that of any other foreign fruit, the consumption of which was regular. Still, I think that 1s. 1½*d.* the dozen will be found to fairly represent prices in the early period. The last 42 years are very inadequately represented, though I believe that the last twelve are, when all foreign fruits are at the highest. The true price, were evidence discovered hereafter of the last period, would, I believe, be a little under 2s.

Besides being sold by the frail and piece, which are apparently in early times identical, five entries by the 'caput' are found at Pershore, sixteen by the toppet, tope, or topnet between 1516 and 1582, and three by the barrel, 1576, 7, 9. In the last year we are told that the barrel contained a hundred-weight.

If the frail or piece of figs, during the period in which entries of this quantity are found, and the term is used in-

differently, is uniformly of the same weight, the price must have been much higher in the early part of the fifteenth century than it is from 1454 to 1535, when the last entry is found. In 1403 it is 4*s.* 6*d.*; in 1412, 5*s.* 9*d.*; in 1420, 4*s.* 8*d.*; in 1424, 3*s.*; in 1425, 4*s.*; in 1432, 4*s.* 4*d.*; in 1451, 4*s.* 11*d.*, an average of nearly 4*s.* 5½*d.* After this time twelve entries, in one of which (1533) the frail is said to contain 30 lbs., give an average of a little over 2*s.* 10¾*d.* It may be the case that figs by the frail were of better quality than those sold loosely, but if the quantity was 30 lbs. throughout, the former average is much higher than the article is when sold by the pound, and the latter almost the same, but a little lower.

Between 1516 and 1540 the price of figs by the toppet or topnet is a little over 2*s.* 3*d.*, seven entries occurring. Between 1555 and 1560 five entries give an average of 4*s.* 11¼*d.*, and between 1572 and 1582 five others 6*s.* 9½*d.* These figures again illustrate the rise in the last decade.

Three entries of figs by the barrel give an average of 23*s.* 10*d.* Such a price by the hundredweight suggests again that the toppet contained about 30 lbs., and that it corresponds to the earlier frail. It may serve to illustrate such an inference, that in 1533 figs are bought by the topnet at Cambridge and by the frail at Stonor, at the same price, 2*s.* 6*d.*

The Pershore purchases by the caput are found between 1441 and 1471. The average price is 4*s.* 8*d.*, and the measure seems to be the same as the frail or piece.

DATES. Entries of dates occur for sixty-one years during the period before us, and in every decade. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries they were found only seven times. It will be remembered, however, with respect to these and to other kinds of foreign fruit and spices, that the facts which supplied me with information in my former volumes came principally from the accounts of producers, while those which have been used for the present volume come mainly from the records of expenditure. It is therefore possible that dates were

more frequently bought in the earliest period of my enquiry than the particulars suggest.

The price of dates by the dozen pounds is high in the decade of 1461-70, owing to the highly-priced entries of 1463, 4 and 1466. Sugar is also dear in these years, and as the dates were certainly Egyptian produce, as sugar in the main was, we have here co-ordinate phenomena which may well represent some fact in local history, or some dearth of produce, or some interruption of Egyptian trade; for the medieval price, as I have often had to observe, is a record of facts.

The price of dates rose with all kinds of produce from the south-east of the Mediterranean after the conquest of Egypt. As was also the case generally with these kinds of produce, there is a slight recovery in the decade 1541-50, the price rising again in the next decade, and being highest in the last twelve years. The averages struck between the two parts of the period included in these volumes, and so often referred to, correspond to those of other Eastern produce, and supply the material for certain general inferences, to be commented on hereafter.

PRUNES. This kind of fruit, called also Damask prunes at the end of the period, was not found in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and has only occurred twice in the fifteenth, viz. in 1406 and 1443. Prunes are frequently found in the sixteenth. They are bought by the pound, the hundredweight (first in 1552), and by the barrel, probably of a hundredweight in 1532 and 1533.

The earliest entry is at the highest price which has been found, 6*s.* a dozen. But in 1443 they are at 2*s.* In the second decade of the sixteenth century they are cheapest. In the third they are dear. In the fourth cheap again. Thenceforward they are under the influence of the general rise in prices. For the forty years, 1501-1540, the average is 2*s.* the dozen; for the last forty-two, 1541-1582, 2*s.* 11½*d.* Prunes are found during thirty years of the sixteenth century.

If the barrel of prunes, as seems probable, is the hundred-

weight, entries by this quantity begin in 1532. The average of the barrel in 1532-3 is 12*s.* 4½*d.* The hundredweight is found in 1552 for the first time. The averages are 16*s.* 2*d.* for 1551-60, 16*s.* for 1561-70, and 24*s.* for 1571-82.

'Pines' are found in 1510 and 1527 at 2*s.* the pound. Oranges at 2*s.* 4*d.* the hundred in 1527, and at 2*d.* each in 1560. Quinces are a penny each in 1527; nearly 1½*d.* in 1569. Pomegranates are 1*s.* each in 1535, and olives 4*d.* a pound in 1536.

RICE. This article is found in seventy-six years. It is cheap at the beginning of the fifteenth century, about a penny a pound. But it becomes dearer from 1431 onwards, rising to 2*d.* and 3*d.* There is virtually little variation in the price till after 1541, when it is more than doubled in money value. It is dearest, as is usually the case with these foreign products, during the last twelve years. I have found 'flowers of rice' once in 1443 at 4½*d.* the pound. Rice was probably used for confectionery, as it forms a whiter jelly than any other kind of corn. Its origin was Italy and perhaps Egypt. In one year, 1406, ordinary rice is distinguished from 'de Malikis,' the price of the latter being four times that of the former.

ALMONDS. This kind of fruit is generally sold by the hundredweight of 112 lbs. The accounts generally specify two kinds, Valence and Jordan, the former being considerably cheaper than the latter. The origin of Jordan almonds is Malaga, and thus both kinds are Spanish produce. Jordan are probably garden, or cultivated fruit.

Some cause, forgotten and perhaps undiscoverable, made the price of the cheaper kind of almonds high in 1406 (80*s.* the cwt.). Had it not been for this entry, the average of the first two years would have been 21*s.* 0½*d.* There is another dear year in 1473, when the hundredweight is 88*s.* 6*d.*, while the dear years 1481-2 (34*s.* 7*d.* and 55*s.* 2*d.*) similarly raise the averages for 1471-80 and 1481-90. These years were probably crop failures. There is, as far as I know, nothing besides to explain the apparently dear decades to which reference has

been made. If the high rate of 1473 were omitted, the average would be 25*s.* 2½*d.* If that of 1482 were omitted, the average would be 26*s.* 7½*d.*, i.e. the two decades would be very near the general average.

The entries of almonds are more copious, for the greater part of the period comprised in these volumes, than those of any other fruit. The use of these nuts was very familiar and common, as one may see by looking into medieval cookery books. They were the most cherished luxury of monasteries and colleges. Benefactors often gave gifts to the former, in order to supply, on stated days, a mess of boiled almonds to the monks.

After 1540 the use of almonds becomes rare, and the price rises exceedingly. I have no entry at all for the decade 1561-70, and it will be seen that the average after 1540 is more than doubled—that, in short, the price is higher for this article than for that of any foreign produce, except figs (for which I have given a reason) and rice. If the three particularly dear years were omitted, the difference would be even more striking. But in drawing the averages in my work, I have seen that I had to include high as well as low prices, except in cases where the entry was a manifest error, or the price was evidently due to a merely momentary scarcity.

SUGAR. The entries of the price of sugar, though far scantier, especially in the earlier years, than I could wish, are exceedingly instructive. They require a rather detailed comment.

For the first fifty years of the fifteenth century the price of sugar is very high, and the entries are very few, the prices being virtually prohibitive. In 1455 a small quantity is bought by Netley Abbey at a slightly lower price. In 1458 a larger quantity is purchased by King's College at 18*s.* the dozen. In the next year a large quantity is bought by Sion at 8*s.* 9*d.* There are no entries till 1463, when it is again 18*s.* In 1464 it is 16*s.*; in 1465, 14*s.*; in 1466, again 18*s.* In 1468 it is 11*s.*; in 1469 and 1472, 12*s.*; in 1476, 8*s.* 6*d.*; in 1480, 5*s.* 6*d.*, being bought on this occasion in considerable quantity; in 1481,

7*s.* 3*d.*, also in quantity, the cheaper entries being in London, the dearer at Norwich; in 1482 at 6*s.* 3*d.*; in 1488 at 6*s.*; in 1492 at 4*s.* 5½*d.*; in 1494 at 3*s.* 11¼*d.*; in 1495 at 2*s.* 9¼*d.* the dozen lbs. In 1498 it is 6*s.*; in 1501, 3*s.*; in 1503, 2*s.* 9*d.*, the lowest price reached; in 1505, 3*s.*; in 1510, 4*s.* the dozen. From this point it begins to rise, slowly and with some fluctuations, till, towards the end of the period, the price is occasionally nearly as high as it was during the first half of the fifteenth century.

The origin of the sugar is not given except on one occasion, 1561, when it is exceedingly cheap, and is said to be Barbary sugar. This purchase was made at Norwich, and to judge from the price of the article in the year before, the Barbary produce was probably a very inferior article. It should be observed here that sugar is frequently bought in loaves, the weight of which is sometimes given. The weights will be treated below.

In my first volume I mentioned that the sugar bought in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries was designated as Cyprus, Alexandrian, and Caffetyn, the latter being apparently white¹. It was also clear that towards the close of the fourteenth century the article was becoming dearer. It is 20*s.* the dozen in 1360 and 1376, 22*s.* in 1377, 19*s.* in 1387, 24*s.* in 1392, 18*s.* in 1395, and 14*s.* in 1399. When Alexandrian and Cyprus sugar were bought, they were the cheapest.

I have indeed no proof, but I have no doubt, that up to the end of the first twenty years of the sixteenth century, the sugar industry was steadily growing in Alexandria. It was indeed introduced into Madeira in the early part of the fifteenth century, and into the new world shortly after the discoveries of Columbus. It became an industry in Brazil and Mexico early in the sixteenth century. Supplies from these regions would no doubt check the reaction on prices which the conquest of Egypt in 1518 effected, and the almost entire annihilation of the industry. But they were not sufficient to arrest the rise, and thus prices tend upwards till it becomes impossible to

¹ Pharmacographia, pp. 651-2.

distinguish the effect induced by the destruction of the Egyptian trade from that which came in the first place by the issue of Henry and Edward's base money, and the final exaltation of general prices. But there is no article in which it seems more easy to trace, few as the entries are, the effect of political events on merchantable commodities.

Most of the entries of sugar do not contain any account of the form which the article had in the hands of the vendor. But there are several entries of sugar loaves, in some of which the weight is given, in others the price only of the article. It will, I think, be possible to arrive at some interesting results by examining these facts.

I find no loaf of sugar before 1481. Two loaves are then bought in London each of 7 lbs. weight. In 1529 two loaves are $7\frac{1}{4}$ lbs. each. In 1527 three loaves are nearly 7 lbs. $5\frac{1}{4}$ ozs. each, and one is 7 lbs. In 1530 there are loaves of 8 lbs., and in 1533 of $6\frac{1}{2}$ lbs. In 1534 loaves are 13 lbs. and $9\frac{1}{4}$ lbs.; in 1535 three loaves are at 11 lbs. 11 ozs. each; in 1555 11 lbs. 3 ozs. In 1556 the City of Oxford, at one of its annual feasts, bought a loaf of 5 lbs. weight. In 1572 the same city bought two loaves of 11 lbs. and 10 lbs., and in 1576 a loaf is purchased at Hunstanton weighing 15 lbs. 10 ozs. The sugar is by avoirdupois weight of sixteen ounces to the pound.

The sugar-loaves then, up to about 1533, generally weighed about seven pounds. Afterwards they are manufactured into about eleven pounds, and finally the weight is raised to nearly sixteen pounds. The increase in the weight indicates, I think, an improvement in the process of manufacture.

In 1514 a loaf of sugar was bought for 3s. The average price of sugar by the pound being $5\frac{1}{4}d.$, this loaf must have been a little over 7 lbs. In 1520 two loaves are respectively 3s. 2d. and 3s. $1\frac{1}{2}d.$ The price is 6d., and the loaves were probably between 6 lbs. and 7 lbs. In 1522 the loaf is 2s. 11d. I have no price by the pound in this year, but it is probable that the loaf was still 7 lbs. in weight and the price 5d. a pound. In 1527 the loaf is 4s. 4d., i.e. at 7 lbs., a little over what it is in

the same place by the pound, viz. 7*d.* In 1570 it is 8*s.* 3½*d.*, and if we can infer from the average price of the year, the loaf is about 9 lbs. 4 ozs. In 1572 it is 10*s.* 3*d.* Here, at the average price of 1*s.* 1*d.*, the loaf would contain about 9 lbs. 7 ozs. In 1574 it is 17*s.* I have no price by the pound for this year, but the prices of foreign produce are considerably cheaper than in the previous year, when sugar was 1*s.* 3*d.* At 1*s.* 1*d.*, the loaf would contain 15 lbs. 1 oz. Lastly, in 1580 a loaf is 17*s.* 8*d.* The mean price of 1579 and 1580 is 1*s.* 6*d.*, and on this estimate the loaf would contain a little less than 12 lbs. These figures appear to me to imply, as those of entries by measured weights do, an improvement in the process of refining.

In 1555 two 'capita' of sugar are purchased in Oxford at 15*s.* 10*d.* each. In the same year a sugar-loaf weighing 11 lbs. 3 ozs. is bought for 14*s.* It seems clear that the 'caput' and the loaf are the same, especially as the purchases in the summer and Michaelmas quarters of 1555-6, as this account like the others is, were dearer by the pound.

CONFECTIONERY. Several kinds of confectionery are included in the accounts. I will deal with them in order.

SUGAR PLATE. This is probably the sugar cake of the fourteenth century. I have found it five times. In 1406 it is 1*s.* 2*d.* the pound; in 1467, 1*s.* 4*d.*; in 1469, 1482, and 1488, 1*s.* 'Sugarbread' in 1453, at 1*s.* 6*d.* the pound, is probably the same article.

COMFITS. These are much commoner. They are bought by the pound, and the box or pixis, the box plainly holding a pound. They are also described as 'perled' and 'almond,' both occurring in years in which ordinary comfits are registered. These comfits fairly follow the price of sugar. They first occur in 1464. The decades from 1461 onwards are as follows:—1461-70, 1*s.* 1*d.*; 1471-80, 8*d.*; 1481-90, 1*s.*; 1491-1500, 10½*d.*; 1501-10, 8*d.*; 1511-20, 9*d.*; 1521-30, 7½*d.*; 1531-40, 7¾*d.*; 1551-60, 1*s.* 3¾*d.*; 1571-82, 1*s.* 10*d.* Perled comfits occur in 1467 and 1492 at 1*s.* 4*d.* and 1*s.* Almond comfits are found in 1469 and 1488 at 1*s.*

PENEDYS AND DRAGGE. Two other sweetmeats of the fifteenth century are known by these names, the latter being called also Dragie, Dragge¹, or Dregge Royal. The former occurs five times between 1467 and 1492, at an average of a little less than 1s. 2½d. the pound; the latter six times, at a little over 9d., between 1467 and 1496. The two articles occur, except in the last case of Dregge, in the same year and at the same place. Dregge is known to Halliwell under the name of Dragee, who describes it to be a small comfit.

BISCUIT. In 1533 this article is priced at 10d.; in 1534 and 1536 at 8d.; in 1555 at 1s. 1d. and 1s. 4d. This confectionery appears to be marchpane or maccaroons. Marchpane is found, Vol. III, p. 578, iv, but the quantity is not given. It cost 10s., and is a present to the judges. It was probably a little over 7 lbs. In 1572 carraway biscuit is 1s. 6d. the pound.

MARMALADE. Information as to this article is given for five years, 1554-1559. It is 1s. 4d. the pound in 1554; 1s. 3½d. in 1555; 1s. 4d. in 1557; 1s. 4d., 1s. 2d., and 1s. 6d. in 1551; and 1s. 6d. and 1s. 4d. in 1559.

A pot of securades and sugar in 1433 cost 2s. 8d. Sucket in 1480 is 1s. the pound; 'limons' in the same year are at the same price; 'Cassons'² in 1443 at 8d.; Oreniado and 'Trous-alwyk' in 1536 at 10d. and 1s. complete the list, except a cade of 'Amolassarum' in 1510, which is entered with the spices, but is unintelligible to me.

In the subjoined tables, the first is that of Gascony wine by the dozen gallons, the second that of sweet wine by the same measure, the third that of Gascony wine by the tun.

The fourth is that of pepper by the dozen lbs.; the fifth that of saffron by the pound; the sixth that of cloves by the pound; the seventh that of mace; the eighth that of cinnamon; the ninth that of ginger; the tenth that of almonds by the hundred-

¹ 'Dragées' is still the French name for sugar-plums.

² 'Cassonade' appears to be still (Michelsen's *Merchants' Polyglot Manual*), a synonym for brown sugar.

weight ; the eleventh, twelfth, thirteen, fourteenth, fifteenth, and
sixteenth, of currants, raisins, figs, dates, rice, and sugar, by the
dozen pounds.

The decennial averages are of the above, but averages of
sanders by the dozen are also given, and put after those of
ginger.

TABLE I.
AVERAGE PRICES OF FOREIGN PRODUCE.

	Wine.			Pepper, doz. lbs.	Saffron, lb.	Cloves, lb.	Mace, lb.	Cinna- mon, lb.
	Red, doz. gls.	Sweet, doz. gls.	Gascony, tun.					
	s. d.	s. d.	£ s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
1401	7 0	.....	.....	13 0	.....	.....	.....	.....
1402	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1403	.....	.....	.....	11 10½	13 2	3 2	.....	.....
1404	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1405	9 6	12 0	9 0 0	13 0	13 2	3 8	4 0	.....
1406	9 0	15 0	9 13 4	12 9	13 8	2 7½	6 0	.....
1407	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1408	6 0	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1409	8 0	.....	.....	10 9	13 0	2 2	.....	.....
1410	6 9	.....	.....	12 0	.....	.....	.....	.....
1411	6 0	.....	7 0 5	96 0	10 0	3 2	6 0	.....
1412	.....	.....	.....	34 0	12 0	4 0	.....	.....
1413	6 0	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1414	5 6	16 0	.....	29 11	.....	.....	4 0	.....
1415	.....	.....	.....	15 9	14 0	2 10	4 0	.....
1416	.....	.....	.....	19 3	10 0	3 0	.....	.....
1417	.....	.....	5 13 4	17 4	13 0	3 2	3 8	.....
1418	9 0	.....	.....	28 6	16 3	3 6	2 8	.....
1419	.....	.....	.....	.....	14 0	.....	.....	.....
1420	5 6	.....	.....	19 3	10 0	3 8	3 8	.....
1421	12 0	.....	.....	20 0	.....	2 4	2 0	.....
1422	4 0	.....	.....	19 0	10 0	2 4	.....	.....
1423	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1424	6 9½	16 9	.....	19 4	11 8	3 2	3 9	.....
1425	8 4	19 0	5 6 8	19 6	14 0	.....	3 0	.....
1426	5 6	.....	3 6 8	15 0	14 0	3 8	3 8	.....
1427	8 3	.....	6 13 4	15 0	.....	3 8	.....	.....
1428	6 6	.....	.....	12 0	.....	.....	.....	.....
1429	7 3	.....	.....	.....	.....	3 4	3 4	.....
1430	6 0	.....	.....	11 0	9 6	3 6	4 3	.....

TABLE I.
AVERAGE PRICES OF FOREIGN PRODUCE.

Ginger, lb.	Almonds, cwt.	Currants, doz. lbs.	Raisins, doz. lbs.	Figs, doz. lbs.	Dates, doz. lbs.	Rice, doz. lbs.	Sugar, doz. lbs.	
<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1401
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1402
.....	23 0	6 0	1 0	1 0	2 2	1 0	.....	1403
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1404
.....	21 11	.....	1 10 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 10 $\frac{1}{2}$	.....	1 0	.....	1405
1 9 $\frac{1}{2}$	22 3	4 3	.....	.....	.....	1 3	24 0	1406
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1407
.....	.....	3 0	.....	.....	1 6	0 6 $\frac{1}{2}$	.....	1408
.....	80 0	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1409
.....	17 0	.....	3 0	.....	2 0	1 0	.....	1410
2 2	18 6	2 9	.....	.....	.....	1 0	.....	1411
.....	23 4	4 0	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1412
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1413
.....	17 4	4 1 $\frac{1}{2}$	.....	.....	.....	1 0	.....	1414
.....	17 10	4 0	.....	.....	.....	1 0	.....	1415
.....	.....	3 0	.....	.....	2 0	1 0	.....	1416
.....	19 4	.....	1 6	1 0	3 0	1 0	.....	1417
.....	17 0	3 6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1418
.....	15 0	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1419
.....	20 1	3 5	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1420
.....	18 10	3 0	.....	.....	.....	0 6 $\frac{1}{2}$	.....	1421
.....	18 0	7 0	.....	.....	3 0	.....	.....	1422
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1423
.....	19 1	4 6	2 3	.....	3 0	1 2	.....	1424
.....	18 8	5 0	1 6	.....	.....	.....	.....	1425
.....	18 8	4 0	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1426
.....	27 9	4 0	.....	.....	3 0	2 0	.....	1427
.....	16 0	4 0	.....	.....	.....	1 8	.....	1428
.....	18 8	4 0	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1429
.....	17 0	6 0	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1430

	Wine.			Pepper, doz. lbs.	Saffron, lb.	Cloves, lb.	Mace, lb.
	Red, doz. gls.	Sweet, doz. gls.	Gascony, tun.				
	s. d.	s. d.	£ s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
1431	7 0	.....	5 6 8	12 0	12 10½	3 4	3 2
1432	.....	.....	.....	15 8	13 4	3 8	4 4
1433	7 5½	.....	.....	18 0	.....	... ..	.....
1434	7 6	10 0	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1435	7 0	.....	.....	12 0	16 0	.....	.....
1436	6 0	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1437	8 3	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1438	12 0	.....	.....	14 2	14 8	2 6	2 4
1439	8 0	.....	.....	12 9	.....	4 0	3 0
1440	.....	.....	.....	10 0	.....	.....	.....
1441	7 4	.....	.....	9 0	.....	.....	.....
1442	8 0	16 0	.....	8 6	13 4	.....	.....
1443	9 4½	.....	6 12 8	8 0	18 10	4 7½	3 2
1444	.....	.....	6 6 8	8 0	9 4	.....	.....
1445	7 5	16 0	.....	8 2	11 8	.....	.....
1446	.....	.....	.....	16 0	9 2½	.....	.....
1447	8 0	16 0	5 0 0	8 0	11 1	.....	3 0
1448	7 0	.....	.....	9 1	13 11	.....	.....
1449	8 9	16 0	6 16 8	10 6	10 6	.....	.....
1450	8 1	.....	.....	.....	8 4	.....	.....
1451	6 0	.....	.....	10 4½	5 10	2 2	2 2
1452	8 0	.....	.....	9 6	6 8	.....	.....
1453	6 0	.....	5 17 6	10 0	10 7	2 5	2 5
1454	8 0	.....	.....	9 9	9 2	2 4	2 4
1455	9 2	.....	.....	12 8	.....	5 0	.....
1456	10 1½	.....	.....	.....	11 6	.....	2 0
1457	7 9	.....	.....	12 11	12 0	.....	3 0
1458	7 0	.....	7 13 4	18 3½	11 7½	4 0	3 4
1459	6 0	.....	.....	16 6	10 6	3 2½	3 8
1460	8 8	.....	7 1 8	17 0	10 11	3 4	4 0
1461	9 6	.....	.....	13 3	10 0	4 0	4 0
1462	12 0	.....	9 2 2	14 0	10 0	.....	.....
1463	10 0	.....	4 18 0	14 0	9 6	.....	4 0
1464	8 0	.....	.....	12 7½	10 9	8 0	5 6
1465	7 4½	.....	.....	13 0	11 3	2 6½	2 6
1466	9 0	16 0	5 6 8	13 3	12 0	2 0	2 6
1467	8 1½	16 0	6 17 4	14 11½	7 3½	2 4	2 4
1468	8 0	.....	4 0 0	12 9½	12 4	2 1½	2 2

Ginger, lb.	Almonds, cwt.	Currants, doz. lbs.	Raisins, doz. lbs.	Figs, doz. lbs.	Dates, doz. lbs.	Rice, doz. lbs.	Sugar, doz. lbs.	
<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	
.....	26 2	7 0	1 0	0 9	2 6	2 0	24 0	1431
2 4	37 4	.....	1 7½	.....	2 9	2 0	.....	1432
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1433
.....	23 4	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1434
.....	37 4	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1435
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1436
.....	21 9	.....	1 6	1 0	.....	2 0	.....	1437
.....	22 0	3 0	.....	.....	.....	2 0	.....	1438
.....	.....	3 0	.....	.....	3 6	2 0	.....	1439
.....	23 4	3 0	.....	.....	.....	2 0	.....	1440
.....	26 0	3 6	.....	.....	.....	2 6	.....	1441
.....	23 4	4 0	.....	.....	.....	3 0	.....	1442
.....	26 10	4 0	2 6	.....	2 9	2 6	24 0	1443
1 0	28 0	.....	.....	.....	.....	2 0	.....	1444
.....	22 2	3 3	.....	.....	3 0	2 0	.....	1445
.....	28 0	.....	3 2	0 11	.....	.....	.....	1446
.....	20 1	3 6	1 6	1 6	.....	2 0	.....	1447
.....	27 0	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1448
.....	26 8	3 9	.....	.....	5 0	2 4½	.....	1449
.....	28 0	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1450
.....	28 6	2 6	.....	.....	.....	2 0	.....	1451
.....	21 4	2 2	.....	.....	.....	2 0	.....	1452
.....	34 4	2 0	.....	.....	.....	1 7	.....	1453
.....	24 9½	2 0	.....	.....	.....	2 6	.....	1454
4 0	22 8	4 0	.....	.....	4 0	.....	16 0	1455
.....	23 4	2 6	0 10	0 10	.....	.....	.....	1456
.....	32 11	2 6	.....	1 3	.....	2 0	.....	1457
1 4	32 8	2 7½	2 0	.....	.....	2 0	18 0	1458
1 1½	23 9½	3 6	2 0	.....	2 6½	2 0	8 9	1459
.....	15 10	3 6	.....	.....	2 0	2 0	.....	1460
.....	19 4	3 6	.....	.....	3 0	2 0	.....	1461
.....	18 8	3 0	.....	0 6	.....	2 0	.....	1462
1 0	30 4	3 3	.....	1 3	6 0	.....	18 0	1463
1 4	28 0	2 10½	.....	.....	5 0	2 6	16 0	1464
1 4	23 8	2 6	1 10	.....	.....	2 0	14 0	1465
1 8	25 8	2 7	.....	.....	6 0	2 0	18 0	1466
0 9½	24 0	2 6	.....	.....	4 0	2 0	.....	1467
1 4	23 8	1 10	.....	.....	2 5½	2 0	11 0	1468

	Wine.			Pepper, doz. lbs.	Saffron, lb.	Cloves, lb.	Mace, lb.	Cin- na- mon.
	Red, doz. gls.	Sweet, doz. gls.	Gascony, tun.					
	s. d.	s. d.	£ s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
1469	8 7	13 10	.....	13 3½	12 1½	2 1½	2 7½	1 3
1470	7 0	.....	.....	16 2	8 0	1 11½	2 3	.....
1471	8 0	.....	.....	12 0	13 4	2 4	2 4	.....
1472	7 8	.....	.....	13 0	16 8	2 2	3 0	.....
1473	9 6	16 0	9 6 8	13 7½	9 11½	2 0	2 2	.....
1474	9 0	16 0	.....	14 6	15 6	2 4	3 8	.....
1475	8 0	.....	.....	12 6	13 4	.....	4 6	.....
1476	9 0	16 0	.....	.....	10 0	.....	.....	1 3
1477	7 6	16 0	.....	.....	13 4	.....	.....	.....
1478	8 2	16 0	.....	.....	8 8	.....	.....	.....
1479	8 0	.....	.....	17 0	15 9	3 2	3 4	.....
1480	8 0	.....	.....	17 0	9 3	2 6	3 8	4 0
1481	7 0	16 0	.....	14 2	16 5	2 5	2 9	4 0
1482	11 9	17 0	10 0 0	18 10½	6 3½	2 4	.....	4 0
1483	8 0	.....	.....	19 0	.....	.....	.....	.....
1484	9 8½	.....	.....	15 7½	9 4	2 7	3 0	3 0
1485	9 0	.....	.....	18 0	.....	.....	.....	.....
1486	11 0	.....	.....	15 0	.....	.....	.....	.....
1487	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1488	8 3	16 0	6 0 0	16 6	11 0	.....	.....	.....
1489	10 5	16 0	.....	20 0	14 0	3 0	5 0	.....
1490	10 0	.....	.....	.....	13 4	.....	.....	.....
1491	10 0	.....	8 0 0	13 6	13 2	.....	.....	.....
1492	11 6	16 0	.....	13 9	7 7½	2 3	3 0	.....
1493	9 0	.....	.....	13 0	9 0	.....	.....	.....
1494	9 0	.....	8 0 0	13 0	.....	3 2	3 6	3 8
1495	8 0	.....	8 0 0	15 6	12 6	.....	.....	.....
1496	8 8	16 0	.....	.....	.....	6 8	6 8	.....
1497	8 0	.....	5 6 8	.....	14 10½	4 0	.....	3 3
1498	8 10	15 6	3 19 4	.....	11 8	.....	.....	.....
1499	8 0	16 0	.....	26 0	9 5½	5 4	5 4	.....
1500	8 0	16 0	4 1 0	24 8	5 1½	.....	.....	.....
1501	.....	.....	.....	22 0	7 0½	4 8	4 8	3 0
1502	8 0	16 0	4 0 4	17 0	5 8½	3 3	4 0	.....
1503	7 6	.....	.....	19 3	7 2½	7 0	6 0	.....
1504	.....	.....	3 3 4	16 0	10 0	.....	.....	.....
1505	.....	12 0	5 6 8	14 0	.....	5 8	5 8	2 8
1506	8 4	.....	.....	14 0	.....	.....	.....	.....

[illegible]

	Wine.			Pepper, doz. lbs.	Saffron, lb.	Cloves, lb.	Mace, lb.	Cinnamon, lb.
	Red, doz. gls.	Sweet, doz. gls.	Gascony, tun.					
	s. d.	s. d.	£ s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s.
1507	8 0	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	...
1508	7 9	.....	.....	.....	7 8 $\frac{1}{2}$	.....	.....	...
1509	.....	.....	.....	13 0	8 6	.....	.....	...
1510	8 0	15 0	5 2 0	15 0	12 10	4 4	4 4	...
1511	.....	.....	5 6 8	13 0	.....	.....	.....	...
1512	9 0	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	...
1513	.....	.....	.....	14 0	12 6	3 8	3 8	1
1514	8 0	12 0	6 0 0	13 9	8 11	5 10	3 4	2
1515	.....	.....	8 0 0	14 0	10 6	9 0	6 0	...
1516	.....	.....	8 5 4	16 0	8 0	10 0	7 0	...
1517	.....	.....	4 8 0	.....	.....	.....	.....	...
1518	8 0	11 9	4 10 0	20 0	9 0	10 0	10 0	...
1519	8 0	.....	4 15 6	20 8	12 0	6 9	6 9	6
1520	.....	.....	4 19 5	19 0	10 0	6 6	6 8	...
1521	9 1	11 6	5 2 0	.....	.....	.....	.....	...
1522	14 2	24 0	5 3 4	24 0	.....	8 0	.....	4
1523	.....	10 0	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	...
1524	12 0	20 0	.....	24 0	13 0	7 8	7 8	4
1525	16 0	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	...
1526	.....	.....	.....	.....	11 6	.....	.....	...
1527	.....	16 3	5 10 0	19 7 $\frac{1}{2}$	18 0	7 7 $\frac{1}{2}$	9 1	6
1528	8 0	16 0	.....	24 0	18 0	.....	.....	...
1529	12 8	15 0	5 11 4	.....	8 4	.....	.....	...
1530	10 6	12 0	6 10 6	22 11 $\frac{1}{2}$	11 5 $\frac{1}{2}$	8 6	9 6	4
1531	12 0	10 0	7 15 11	22 6	18 1 $\frac{1}{2}$	9 6	11 8	4
1532	.....	10 0	5 16 6	22 0	12 0	6 4	9 6	...
1533	8 6	10 0	4 9 7	27 11	.....	5 4	5 4	6
1534	10 0	10 0	4 8 9	23 0	16 6	6 0	9 0	...
1535	12 0	10 0	.....	22 10	32 0	6 0	7 0	...
1536	8 0	.....	5 0 0	21 6	15 9	6 7 $\frac{1}{2}$	12 8	1
1537	13 4	.....	.....	.....	14 6	.....	.....	...
1538	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	...
1539	.....	.....	.....	.....	19 7	.....	.....	...
1540	10 8	.....	.....	24 0	10 0	.....	.....	...
1541	10 0	24 0	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	...
1542	.....	.....	.....	22 0	11 4	5 4	5 4	...
1543	.....	.....	.....	18 3	12 0	4 6	4 6	...
1544	.....	.....	.....	.....	10 0	.....	.....	...

ANNUAL AVERAGES.

687

[illegible]

	Wine.			Pepper, doz. lbs.	Saffron, lb.	Cloves, lb.	Mace, lb.
	Red, doz. gls.	Sweet, doz. gls.	Gascony, tun.				
	s. d.	s. d.	£ s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
1545	.....	.....	9 3 0	.....	.....	.....	.....
1546	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1547	.....	.....	9 0 0	.....	.....	.....	.....
1548	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1549	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1550	8 0	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1551	.....	.....	8 0 0	.....	.....	.....	.....
1552	.....	.....	.....	27 4½	.....	5 8	.....
1553	.....	10 0	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1554	.....	.....	.....	30 0	18 8	4 0	.....
1555	16 0	28 0	.....	30 0	18 8	5 4	15 0
1556	13 6	24 0	.....	28 9½	22 1	5 5	14 6½
1557	20 0	.....	20 0 0	34 6	18 8	4 8	12 8
1558	17 10	24 0	7 13 4	31 6	16 0	6 6½	14 7
1559	16 0	24 0	.....	35 6	20 0	5 0	13 6
1560	16 0	20 0	.....	36 0	.....	6 8	11 0
1561	14 0	21 4	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1562	16 0	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1563	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1564	17 0	28 0	.....	.....	25 0	.....	.....
1565	16 0	28 0	.....	.....	18 0	.....	.....
1566	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1567	16 0	28 0	.....	40 0	.....	.....	.....
1568	16 0	28 0	.....	32 0	.....	.....	.....
1569	16 0	32 0	.....	64 0	12 0	9 2	13 0
1570	.....	.....	.....	42 0	.....	8 0	.....
1571	.....	24 0	.....	.....	.....	14 0	14 0
1572	.....	.....	.....	40 6	.....	8 0	6 0
1573	22 8	36 0	.....	35 0	.....	13 4	.....
1574	26 8	36 0	.....	31 0	.....	.....	.....
1575	.....	.....	.....	35 0	.....	.....	.....
1576	.....	32 0	20 0 0	35 0	18 0	14 0	13 0
1577	24 0	32 0	18 0 0	.....	.....	.....	.....
1578	22 0	.....	20 0 0	31 6	.....	.....	.....
1579	25 6	35 0	15 10 0	32 0	.....	.....	.....
1580	24 0	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1581	.....	37 0	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1582	24 0	32 0	.....	30 0	.....	.....	.....

Pineapple, lb.	Almonds, cwt.	Currants, doz. lbs.	Raisins, doz. lbs.	Figs, doz. lbs.	Dates, doz. lbs.	Rice, doz. lbs.	Sugar, doz. lbs.	
s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	
.....	10 0	3 6	.....	.....	4 0	18 0	1545
.....	1546
.....	1547
.....	1548
.....	1549
.....	1550
.....	1551
4 8	4 6	2 0	.....	7 0	.....	12 6	1552
.....	4 6	3 0	.....	.....	.....	16 0	1553
3 4	65 4	6 0	1 6	.....	10 0	2 0	14 7½	1554
4 0	56 0	5 3½	2 3	.....	6 0	3 0	15 4	1555
3 7	4 0	2 0	.....	9 0	.....	12 5	1556
6 6½	5 3	1 2½	.....	6 0	.....	13 1½	1557
3 10	4 4	1 1	.....	8 0	2 0	12 4	1558
3 4	65 4	4 0	2 3	.....	8 0	.....	13 9½	1559
4 0	4 0	2 0	.....	.....	.....	15 0	1560
.....	4 6	1561
.....	1562
.....	1563
.....	1564
.....	1565
.....	1566
.....	1567
.....	1568
5 0	3 9½	3 0	.....	4 0	3 0	13 0	1569
.....	4 0	1 7	.....	8 0	3 0	10 9	1570
.....	1571
.....	10 6	4 6	3 0	12 0	8 0	13 0	1572
.....	7 6	2 2	.....	.....	.....	15 0	1573
.....	4 6	3 0	.....	.....	4 0	.....	1574
.....	2 6	.....	.....	.....	.....	1575
2 6	84 0	5 0	3 0	.....	12 0	.....	17 3	1576
.....	65 4	5 0	3 0	.....	.....	.....	19 4	1577
.....	3 3	.....	.....	.....	20 0	1578
.....	93 4	3 11	.....	.....	.....	.....	16 0	1579
.....	1580
.....	3 2	.....	.....	.....	.....	20 0	1581
.....	74 8	3 8	2 2	.....	.....	.....	.....	1582

TABLE II.

DECENNIAL AVERAGE PRICES OF FOREIGN PRODUCE.

	Wine.			Pepper, doz. lbs.	Saffron, lb.	Cloves, lb.	Mace, lb.	Cinnamon, lb.
	Red, doz. gls.	Sweet, doz. gls.	Red, tun.					
	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>£ s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>
1401—1410	7 8½	13 6	9 6 8	12 3	13 3	2 11	5 0	.....
1411—1420	6 5	16 0	6 6 10	32 1½	12 5	3 4	4 0	.....
1421—1430	7 2½	17 10½	5 8 11	16 4½	11 10	3 1½	3 4	.....
1431—1440	7 0½	10 0	5 6 8	13 6	14 2½	3 4½	3 2½	2 0
1441—1450	8 0	16 0	6 4 0	9 5½	11 9½	4 7½	3 1	1 4
1451—1460	7 8	.....	6 17 6	13 0	9 11½	3 0½	2 10½	2 0
1461—1470	8 9	15 3	6 0 10	13 8½	10 4	3 1½	3 1½	3 9½
1471—1480	8 3½	16 0	9 6 8	14 3	12 7	2 9	3 3	3 1½
1481—1490	9 4½	16 3	8 0 0	17 1½	11 8½	2 7	3 7	3 8
1491—1500	8 10½	15 11	6 4 4	17 0½	10 1½	4 3½	4 7½	3 5½
1501—1510	7 11	14 4	4 8 1	16 2	8 5½	5 0	4 11½	3 10
1511—1520	8 3	11 10½	5 18 1	16 3½	10 1½	7 3½	6 2½	3 11½
1521—1530	11 9½	15 6½	5 7 5	22 11	13 4½	7 11½	8 9	4 9½
1531—1540	11 2½	10 0	5 6 2	23 4½	17 3½	6 8½	9 2½	5 9½
1541—1550	9 0	24 0	9 1 6	20 1½	11 1½	4 11	4 11	5 8
1551—1560	16 6½	21 8	11 17 9	31 8½	18 8½	5 5	13 6½	5 11
1561—1570	15 10	27 6½	.....	44 6	18 4	8 7	13 0	7 0
1571—1582	24 1	33 0	18 7 6	33 9	18 0	12 4	11 0	6 0
First 140 years	8 5½	14 6	6 8 9	17 1	11 11½	4 3½	4 7½	3 4
Last 42 years	16 4½	26 6½	13 2 3	32 6½	16 6½	7 9½	10 7½	6 1

TABLE II.

DECENNIAL AVERAGE PRICES OF FOREIGN PRODUCE.

Year,	Sanders, doz. lbs.	Almonds, cwt.	Currants, doz. lbs.	Raisins, doz. lbs.	Figs, doz. lbs.	Dates, doz. lbs.	Rice, doz. lbs.	Sugar, doz. lbs.	
<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	
1401—1410	13 2½	32 10	4 5	1 11½	1 5½	1 10½	0 11½	24 0	1401—1410
1411—1420	10 10½	21 2	3 6½	1 6	1 0	2 6	1 0	.....	1411—1420
1421—1430	10 8	19 2½	4 7½	1 9½	.....	3 0	1 4½	.....	1421—1430
1431—1440	23 6	27 2½	4 0	1 4½	0 10½	2 11	2 0	24 0	1431—1440
1441—1450	17 6	25 7½	3 8	2 8½	1 2½	3 7	2 4	24 0	1441—1450
1451—1460	19 4	26 0½	2 8½	1 7½	1 0½	2 10½	2 0	14 3	1451—1460
1461—1470	15 0	24 1½	2 10	1 4½	0 11	4 3½	2 0½	14 10	1461—1470
1471—1480	27 9	33 4½	3 1½	1 9½	0 9½	3 3	2 7½	8 8	1471—1480
1481—1490	44 0	35 1½	2 5½	3 2	.....	3 0	2 3	6 6	1481—1490
1491—1500	14 6	24 0½	1 11	1 2½	1 0	3 4½	1 10½	4 3½	1491—1500
1501—1510	22 0	29 7	2 4½	1 6	.....	3 6½	2 0	3 2½	1501—1510
1511—1520	17 6	25 5½	1 11½	0 11½	1 0	3 11½	1 11½	6 2½	1511—1520
1521—1530	.....	26 3½	2 8½	2 2½	1 0	4 8	2 1½	6 9½	1521—1530
1531—1540	19 2	27 1	3 2½	1 9½	1 10	5 2	2 4½	7 4	1531—1540
1541—1550	32 0	38 10	5 0½	2 1½	.....	4 0	4 0	11 0½	1541—1550
1551—1560	.....	62 3	4 7½	2 2	.....	7 8½	2 4	13 11	1551—1560
1561—1570	.....	.....	3 10½	2 3½	.....	6 0	3 0	9 5	1561—1570
1571—1582	.....	79 4	5 6	2 11½	3 0	12 0	6 0	17 2½	1571—1582
First 140 years.	19 7½	26 11½	3 0½	1 9½	1 1½	3 5	1 11	12 0	First 140 years.
Last 42 years.	32 0	60 1½	4 9½	2 4½	3 0	7 5	4 4	12 10½	Last 42 years.

CHAPTER XXIV.

ON THE COST OF CARRIAGE.

IN my first volume I took occasion to comment on the cost of carriage over known distances, and by such highways as those kept in repair under the obligation of the *trinoda necessitas*. Many of these, at least, had been in existence from the days of the Roman occupation, perhaps earlier still, and are depicted on a fourteenth century map on parchment, still preserved in Bodley's library. I have little doubt that some of the principal English roads date from the times in which primitive races settled in this country, if they were not the tracks of wild animals before man adopted and used them. So, in the far west of the United States, the buffalo track, well worn by the regular migration of the animal, becomes an Indian trail, a mountain or country road, and is constantly adopted, at last, as the line on which a railroad should be constructed. The instinct of the animal and the shrewdness of the savage, only a little higher in intelligence than the animal, have planned roughly the survey which engineering skill examines and frequently approves.

In commenting on the facts which I had collected for my earlier volumes, I was able to point out that persons were in error who imagined that the cost of carriage in medieval England must have been relatively high, because, as was assumed, the roads were bad. It was clear, from the evidence of prices, that the cost of carriage was low, and that the roads were therefore, *prima facie*, good. Besides, estates were very scattered, especially those held by corporations. Fitzherbert's description of his manor of Dale bears testimony to the fact

that parcels were ordinarily held by monastic bodies in manors, or he would not have quoted as a recurrent fact (p. 94) the portion of the Prior, in the fields meadow and closes of the manor. Now it was clearly the interest of those who possessed these scattered properties to have the communications between them as easy and regular as possible. The worst English roads were those of the Georges, such as are commented on by Smollett¹, and they were perhaps all the worse, because the country party had contrived to shift the cost of repairing them from their own rents on to the purse of the traveller.

As the obvious convenience of access to property was a stimulus to the due maintenance of roads on the part of land-owners, so the habit of frequenting markets and fairs at stated times was an impulse to the same end with all. Almost every person within a radius of sixty miles, who was above the condition of a day-labourer and peasant proprietor, would, if he could, be present at the great Stourbridge fair, which lasted three weeks, from the 8th² to the 29th of September, and was as famous as that of Novgorod or Frankfort. Journeys of considerable length were undertaken both on horseback and by carts in a single day, a thing impossible if the roads had been mere tracks, with ruts and mud holes such as one meets with in the byways of the old and the highways of the new States in the American Union. The Provost of King's College, Cambridge, 1455, starts for London on Nov. 11, and reaches the city next day. In the summer, for Woodlark was in constant attendance on the King and his Parliament, the journey is often completed in a single day; such must have been the expenses of the couriers despatched in Midsummer 1460 (Vol. III, p. 678, ii) to get news of the King's doings, and perhaps of York's measures.

Information as to the cost of carriage is of two kinds, by water and by land. Water carriage is by sea, as from New-

¹ Humphrey Clinker. Letter of June 26.

² In Vol. I, p. 141, eighteenth is a slip for eighth. The reader will notice that the error is corrected by implication in the same paragraph.

castle to Durham, by sea and river as from Norwich to Yarmouth, by river as from London to Henley, the farthest point to which, before locks were erected, the Thames was ordinarily navigable. Land carriage is either of cart and two horses hired by the day, and in the later part of the period by the mile; of known quantities of heavy and easily packed goods, as quarters of corn or lime, carried over known distances; of heavy, valuable, and inconvenient goods, such as wine, copper vessels, cloth, &c., generally by the common carrier, the rate of which is much higher; of heavy goods, the weight of which is indeterminate, as millstones; and of personal effects, as in 1497, the baggage of the Warden of New College, conveyed by the common carrier from London, the charge for which is the highest. To these may be added the payments made for conveying money, when the amount paid appears to include the insurance of the sum entrusted to the carrier.

The load of a cart with two horses appears to have been a ton¹. But four men and six horses were sometimes used, and the load is proportionately increased. Thus, six pipes of wine, carried from Southampton to Oxford in 1406, are taken in three carts, each of which has six horses, the journey to and fro occupying ten days. A load of stone, amounting to 60 cubic feet, must have been carried in a strong waggon by at least four horses. It will also be found, as might be expected, that the carriage of equal quantities over distances which differ in length, the longest of which does not exceed a day's journey, and the shortest of which would spoil a day for other work, are paid at the same or nearly the same rates, for the carriage would include loading and unloading. Thus, the journey by land from Guton manor to Norwich is, we are told in the account, seven leagues (21 miles), and Fastolfe pays 4*d.* a quarter for the whole distance in 1438, but a little less in 1443 and 1444. But in 1447 the Abbot of Fountains pays at the same rate for nine miles, the distance which his account declares to be that between the abbey and Boroughbridge. But

¹ See Vol. III, p. 667, ii.

when the distance is short, and the cart could make two or three journeys a day, as from Headington Quarry to All Souls' College, Oxford, less than three miles, the payment of cartage is proportionate.

WATER CARRIAGE. The principal evidence which I am able to offer as to the cost of this method of conveyance, is that supplied in the payments made for carriage on navigable rivers. As a rule English rivers have a very tortuous course, and a direct measurement of the distance on the ordnance map, the plan which I adopted in my earlier volumes, and have also in this, would require a considerable addition, generally as much again, if one is to arrive at a fair account of the distance actually traversed. Thus, in 1401, forty loads of stone, after being carried by land from Thoredale to Tadcaster, are conveyed on the Wharfe and the Ouse to York. The Wharfe, between Tadcaster and Wharfedmouth, is 'a very winding stream, the Ouse has a straighter course. But I do not think that the distance of the journey by water could have been less than from 29 to 30 miles. The charge is 4*s.* the load, and in this case I imagine that the load must have been considerably in excess of a ton¹.

Again, in 1404, twelve fothers of lead are carried on the Ouse from Boroughbridge to York at 9*d.* the fother. In a straight line Boroughbridge appears to be 15 miles from York, and the stream does not wind very much. The rate is very low, less than a halfpenny a ton per mile, if we take the distance to have been 20 miles in all. It should be noted that the lead is only brought to the pier. In 1418 rather over five fothers are carried from the same place at about 10½*d.* In 1442 a fother and three hundredweights are conveyed at a higher rate, but it may be reasonably concluded that small parcels of goods, either by land or water, would be carried at an increased price.

Far cheaper than any of these is the carriage from Doncaster

¹ The ton and the load by water carriage may be indicated by the distinction drawn under the year 1566, that of eight to thirteen.

to York. In a direct line, Doncaster is over thirty miles from York, and the passage by water must have been down the Don to the Humber, and thence up the Ouse—a long circuit. But in 1415, freight, probably stone, was conveyed at 1*s.* 2*d.* from Doncaster to York. It would appear that on this occasion, advantage was taken of the return of some vessel or vessels in ballast, the out journey from York to Doncaster having been of a more valuable and better paying cargo.

In 1543 the cost of carrying freestone from Dartford to London by water, a distance of fully fifteen miles in a straight line, and certainly twice that amount if one reckons the line of the stream from Dartford to the Thames and thence to London, was 4*d.* the ton. This rate is still lower.

In 1545 nearly nine fethers of lead are carried by water from Deptford wharf to Westminster. In a straight line the distance cannot be less than five miles. The Thames is, however, so tortuous here, that the distance by water may be nearly ten miles. The rate is nearly 8*d.* the fother, and it may be expected that lead was a costlier freight than stone. The rate is certainly higher than that paid for the fethers carried from Boroughbridge to York.

Again, a century and a half later than the Doncaster entry, freight by the Thames, in 1566, from Reading to Scotland wharf, London, i.e. near Great Scotland Yard, Whitehall, was contracted for at 2*s.* 8*d.* a ton. The distance from Reading to London by water cannot be less than 60 miles, is probably more, and the rate is therefore exceedingly low. The year too, is by no means one of low prices, for wheat is 16*s.* 9½*d.* the quarter, while in 1415 it was 6*s.* 3½*d.* The difference, at the times considered, the rate per ton is cheaper than that of the water carriage from Doncaster to York.

The accounts of Pershore supply some examples of water carriage, both on the Avon and the Severn, for this monastery bought goods at Evesham, Tewkesbury, and Bristol. It is clear that the freight from Tewkesbury to Pershore was reckoned at half that from Bristol to Pershore, for two pipes of salmon cost

1*s.* 8*d.* from Tewkesbury to Pershore, but 3*s.* 4*d.* from Bristol to that monastery. Now the Pershore pipe is two butts, which by 22 Edward IV, cap. 2, contained 84 gallons. The pipe was therefore 168 gallons, and could not have weighed much less than 16½ cwt*s.*, and the two must have thus weighed considerably more than a ton and a half. In a straight line Bristol is thirty miles south-west of Tewkesbury, and Pershore is nine miles in a similar line south-east from the latter. The distance from Evesham to Pershore is not much more than half that from Tewkesbury, but the Avon winds remarkably. In 1445 four pipes of salmon are carried from Tewkesbury to Pershore at 1*s.* 2*d.* each. Again, in 1462, the freight of a barrel of oil from Evesham to Pershore is 1*s.* 7*d.*, of two pipes of salmon from Bristol to Tewkesbury 1*s.* 6*d.*, and from Tewkesbury to Pershore 1*s.* 8*d.* The barrel of oil probably contained, to judge from the price paid for it, about 63 gallons. Hence the carriage of a far smaller weight, and for a far shorter distance, is higher than that paid for the large quantity of salted salmon. I must again conclude that the difference is to be explained by some special bargain, or else the Evesham freight was exceptionally high. The closeness of the price paid in 1464 for the carriage of similar quantities of salmon from Bristol, suggests that the usual cost was about 1*s.* 8*d.* the two pipes. The cost for goods of this character is exceedingly low, and points to easy and regular communications.

In 1454 a tun of wine is carried from Hull to York by water. The distance in a straight line is apparently thirty-five miles, but the water-road up the Humber to the Ouse, and thence to York, must be double that distance. It is carried at the same rate as that at which the two pipes of salmon are conveyed from Bristol to Tewkesbury.

The accounts supply certain statements as to the cost of carrying other articles, the bulk of which is not so obviously determinable, by water. Thus, in 1425, a hundred wainscots are carried to Henley for 4*s.*, a further charge of 1*s.* 2*d.* being made for portage. In 1520 thirty are carried for 3*s.* 4*d.* In

1541 two hundred to the same place cost 33*s.* 4*d.*, i. e. 16*s.* 8*d.* the hundred. It is not easy to determine what was the size and shape of this expensive timber. . But, p. 445, the average price about this time was 1*s.* 2*d.* The cost of carrying them is 2*d.* each by water, and the land carriage, which is effected by eight two-horse carts (*bigates*) is 24*s.* the hundred, or nearly 3*d.* each. The timber of 1425 must either have been lighter than that at a later date, when the water carriage is less than a halfpenny a piece, the land a little over a penny, or advantage was taken of a return journey, for it is plain that general prices had not risen notably in 1541¹.

In 1524 two millstones are sent from London to Henley-on-Thames, almost certainly by water, at 5*s.* 4*d.* each. In 1330 the cost of all the charges for conveying millstones by water, from London to Henley, is 3*s.* 8½*d.*

In 1437 barley is conveyed from Wroxham, on the river Bure, to Yarmouth by water, at 1½*d.* the quarter. The distance is at least thirty miles, for the Bure winds greatly.

There are some entries of carriage by sea. Thus, in 1467, 1471, and 1472, freight from Folkestone to Sandwich is 1*s.* 4*d.* a ton. The same rate is paid from Folkestone to Dover. Freight from the Isle of Wight to Bramber is 3*s.* a ton. From Gravesend to Rochester the rate is 10*d.* a load, from Gravesend to London 1*s.* a ton. From Dartford to London it is 4*d.* a ton. In 1437 wheat is carried from Sidlesham, near Chichester, to Battle by sea, at 8*d.* a quarter. The distance must be sixty miles.

Some sea freights to Durham in 1533 are also suggestive. Ten barrels of herrings are carried at 4*d.* each; a tun of wine from Newcastle for 2*s.* 4*d.*; eighteen barrels of herrings from Shields for 1*s.* together. In the same year five hogsheads of wine are conveyed from King's Lynn to Hunstanton at a little under 7*d.* each, i. e. about 18 miles. In 1562 two hoys of 40

¹ The cost of carrying these wainscots shows that at this time these pieces of ornamental timber must have been very large, since 200 (2 c) required eight carts from Henley to Oxford.

tons and 50 tons are hired at 3*s.* 4*d.* per ton, per month. But this hiring, I imagine, is of the vessel only.

LAND CARRIAGE. Information under this head is far more copious. I shall comment on the cost of coarser and commoner articles first.

In 1403 eighteen carts are employed on carrying materials from Hitchen to Steeple Morden. In a straight line the places are about $10\frac{1}{2}$ miles distant. The rate is 1*s.* 6*d.* the journey, and assuming, as was done in the first volume, that the distance traversed was about 13 miles, it is a little under 1*½d.* a mile.

In 1410 twenty carts, each with two horses, bring stone from Henley to Oxford, and in 1411 two such carts carry marble. The rate in the first year is 4*s.* 9*½d.*; in the second, 5*s.* Henley could not at that time have been much less than thirty miles by road from Oxford, and the road is hilly. The rate is about 2*d.* a mile.

In 1415 285 tons of stone are carried by land from Huddleston quarry to Cawood pier. The distance in a straight line is nearly seven miles, and the road must have been that called the Bishop's Dyke. The actual length traversed must have been fully eight miles, and the rate is 1*½d.* per ton per mile. In 1421 the whole distance from Huddleston quarry to York is traversed on land. In a straight line the quarry is about fourteen miles from York, and by road is probably nearly eighteen. If this be correct, the rate, 2*s.*, is more than 1*¼d.* a mile.

In 1429 fifty quarters of barley are carried from Heveningland to Norwich, a distance of nine miles by road, at 2*d.* a quarter. If we assume that five quarters weigh a ton, the rate is a little over a penny a ton per mile. In 1436 97 quarters are carried at 3*d.* a quarter, that is, on the above calculation, at about 1*½d.* per ton per mile.

In 1434 seventeen quarters and a half of barley are carried from Framlingham, in Suffolk, to Cromer. The distance must be nearly 43 miles. The cost, 3*s.* 6*d.*, is exceedingly low, the

whole quantity, on the above estimate, being $3\frac{1}{4}$ tons, and being carried at $1d.$ a mile.

In 1437 $100\frac{1}{2}$ quarters are carried by land from Heveningland to Wroxham at $2d.$ a mile. Wroxham, as I have stated, is on the Bure, and the distance is about ten miles. This rate is again a penny per mile.

In the same year stone is carried by the load from various places for building All Souls' College. From Teynton to Burford, from Sherborne to Burford, and from Burford to Oxford. From Teynton to Burford is about three miles, from Sherborne to Burford about $6\frac{1}{2}$ miles, from Burford to Oxford about $22\frac{1}{2}$ miles. The rate of the latter varies from $2s.$ to $2s. 6d.$, and if the load and the ton are equal quantities, this will make the rate rather over $1d.$ per ton per mile on the long distance, but a little less than $1d.$ from Sherborne to Burford. Chicheley pays high prices for his labour, as high as any paid in the fifteenth century at any place.

In 1438 a hundred quarters of barley are carried from Guton manor to Norwich. The distance is said to be seven leagues, or 21 miles. Now, on the calculation made above, a hundred quarters would weigh 20 tons, and the carriage would cost, at $4d.$ a quarter or $1s. 8d.$ a ton, almost exactly $1d.$ a ton per mile. Fastolfe, who was exporting this barley, paid $1s.$ for storage at the common stathe, $2s. 6d.$ for carriage thence to ship, and $2s. 6d.$ as a fee to the keeper of the common stathe, this being probably a payment made to the corporation, and one of the sources of their revenue. Next year the same quantity is taken to the same place, and the same charges are made, with the exception that the custom at the stathe is $1s. 2d.$ instead of $2s. 6d.$ Again, in 1443, the same quantity is taken at a cheaper rate, and we are further told that twenty carts were employed. The cost is now $30s.$ instead of $33s. 4d.$, i.e. less than a penny per ton per mile. It may be noticed that in 1441 divers carts were hired to make the journey at the same price as is paid in 1443, $1s. 6d.$ each. In 1444 the knight makes a larger venture, for 138 quarters are

sent in 24 carriages, i.e. each load was $5\frac{3}{4}$ quarters. But he contracts to convey it at even a cheaper rate still, at 1s. $5\frac{1}{4}d.$ a cart. Unfortunately, I find no later records of these transactions.

In 1442 the Minster at York was supplied with 500 wainloads (plaustratæ) of stone from Huddlestone quarries. They are carried to Cawood for subsequent water carriage at a shilling the load, plus 1s. 10d., i.e. about three-eighths of a penny per load additional. The sum paid points to a contract with the carriers. The rate is the same per wainload that is paid by the ton in 1415, plus the fraction of a penny. In 1446 wainloads are carried from the same place at a little less than 11½d. and 10d. In 1449 160 wainloads are carried over the same road at 10d.

In 1447 ninety-five quarters of corn are carried from Boroughbridge to Fountains Abbey. The distance is said in the account to be nine miles, and the payment is 4d. a quarter, double the rate paid by Fastolfe in 1438. But it is clear, from other examples, that the shorter the distance the dearer was the rate, except in those cases where several carriages could be made in one day. If, as is almost certain, the contract made by the abbot or bursar of Fountains left the carriers no other occupation for the day, the price is virtually a day payment at 1s. 8d., the rate, as we shall see presently, at which cart, two horses, and carter were frequently hired.

In 1448 King's Hall pays 95s. for eleven score and eight bigates of stone from Histon, i.e. 5d. a carriage. This village is between four and five miles from Cambridge, and the rate per mile is that which is customary.

In 1452 eighty-six quarters of corn are sent from Spitling on a journey of four miles, at 2d. a quarter. Here the rate is nearly the same as that from Boroughbridge to Fountains, if we reckon that two journeys were made by the same carts in the day, sixteen miles being taken as, under the circumstances, a day's work.

In 1458 forty quarters of malt are carried from Ormesby to Yarmouth in four carts. Here, again, it is clear that each cart

carried five quarters and made two journeys to the port, from which the malt was to be shipped to Flanders. Ormesby is about five miles north-west of Yarmouth, and the malt is carried at 4*d.* the five quarters, i. e. less than a penny the ton. In 1464 two treyes of lime are carried from Yarmouth to Ormesby. A treye of lime is a double quarter, and five quarters of lime can hardly be less than a ton. Here the price is over 2*d.* the ton. In 1467 and 1471 the rate by load from Ash to Sandwich is a little over 2*d.* a mile.

In 1468 three carts carry each forty-two cubic feet of timber from Dorking to Kingston, a distance in a straight line of over twelve miles, at nearly 1*s.* 1*d.* the journey. The ton of timber is forty cubic feet (p. 447), and the rate is a good deal under 1*d.* a mile, if we allow anything for the winding of the road, which is, however, fairly straight from Dorking to Kingston. Surrey is naturally a very barren county, and abundance of straight roads are always found in such counties. In one like Oxfordshire they were few, and in the neighbourhood of the rivers tortuous.

In 1477 Oriel College hired two carts to bring two loads (bigates) of poles or planks from their estate at Wadley, near Faringdon, at 2*s.* a journey. The time was June 10th, and the distance from Oxford about 15 miles. The rate is rather more than 1½*d.* per mile by road. But the road to Wadley from Oxford has been greatly shortened in modern times, and I think it probable that in the fifteenth century it was more nearly twenty miles off, and that here again we have a carriage of a little over a penny a mile.

In 1478 twenty loads of stone are carried from Henfield to Bramber at 10*d.* In a straight line these places are four miles apart. In the next year eighteen loads of timber are carried from Wykeham to Shoreham, places similarly 5½ miles apart, at 1*s.* But Bramber and Shoreham are on a tidal river, with numerous creeks or streams, and here I think that the straight distance is misleading. The cost of the journey is probably about 1½*d.* a mile.

In 1484 forty loads of timber are carried from Kirtlington to Heyford mill at 5*d.* each. The distance is a little over five miles. In 1485 Oriel College pays 8*d.* a load for timber from Stowford wood, then nearly five miles of road from Oxford; in 1515, 9*d.* In 1488 Merton pays 11*d.* and 1*s.* from Stow wood, fully six miles by the road then in existence. In 1490 8*d.* is paid for carrying timber by the load from Shotover wood, about five miles off; in 1494 10*d.*

In 1496 the carriage of stone from Teynton is 2*s.* and 1*s.* 11½*d.* the load. This is less than a penny per mile. In 1500 five hundred feet of Nailsea stone are taken to Churchill, at least seven miles, at 4*d.* the hundred, and five bushels of lime from Bristol, more than fourteen miles, for 4*d.*

I have not commented on the carriage of hay as yet, for reasons which will be given below. But there are entries in Cambridgeshire at this period which are instructive. In 1506 hay was carried by the bigate from Over, about 11 miles distant, at a little below 7*d.*, the quantity being large, and in 1510 at 1*s.*

In 1518 a load from Dorchester, in Oxfordshire, to Oxford is 2*s.* This place is by the present road ten miles distant from Oxford. It is possible that the road has been shortened in modern times. But the rate is high, nearly 2½*d.* the mile. In 1557 a load from the same place is 3*s.*

In 1528 seven loads are carried from Fairford at 2*s.* 8*d.* The distance in a straight line is twenty-three miles, and by the road is thirty. Here, again, we have about 1*d.* per mile.

In the same year York Minster gives £16 10*s.* for the carriage of 120 loads of stone from 'Hamphall by Doncaster' to York, i.e. 2*s.* 9*d.* a load. The quarry is probably that at what is now called Hampole, a place about 7½ miles north-west of Doncaster. In a straight line Doncaster is thirty miles south of York. The rate is again a little over 1*d.* per mile, as is the carriage of six tons of stone from London, i.e. the city, to Greenwich in 1532 at 6*d.*

In 1533 a thousand and a half of bricks are carried from New

Cross, Deptford, to Eltham palace. The account states that the rate is *9d.*, i.e. for the half thousand. The distance is five miles. Bricks weigh over three tons the thousand, for a good dry brick weighs about seven pounds. The rate is about a penny the ton.

In 1534 six loads of timber are carried from Croydon to the Tower at *2s. 4d.* The distance cannot be less than fourteen miles, and the rate is *2d.* a mile.

In 1536 twenty-one loads of wood are carried from South Hinksey to Oxford at precisely *2½d.* the load. The distance is not less than three miles.

In 1538 a load of stone is carried from Frimley quarry to Windsor, a distance of at least sixteen miles, for *1s. 8d.* This is probably the estimate of a good day's work for man, two horses and cart. It is at the same or nearly the same rate. In the same year tiles are carried to Oxford at *2d.* the thousand per mile. Tiles weigh about *2½* pounds each, and the rate is high.

In 1539 loads of timber are carried from certain woods near Canterbury to the city. One still goes by the old name, Thorndon, the middle of which is about five miles from Canterbury. The rate is *8d.* the load. Whitstable is about eight miles by road from the same place, and the rate is *1s.*, i.e. *1½d.* the mile. Tons from the same place and from Faversham, between eleven and twelve miles by road, are paid at the same rate, *1s. 2d.*, and in the latter case are at the average amount. Loads of hay from Headington, between two and three miles from the middle of Oxford, are carried at *4d.* each.

In 1540 bricks are carried from Deptford to Horton, three miles, as the account states, at *4d.* the thousand, a little over a penny per ton. But the carriage of hay from Headington is *7d.* this year, and *1s. 9d.* the next, prices which must be explained by some temporary cause, for in the latter year 931 feet of timber, I presume hewn, are carried from Drayton to Oxford, twenty-seven or twenty-eight miles, for *2s. 8d.*; a ton of timber from Hayling to Greenwich, eleven miles, for *1s. 8d.*; eight loads of wainscots from Henley to Oxford, at *6s.* the load, or

2*d.* per mile; four loads of plank from Heckfield in Hants to New College, at the same rate, the distance being at least twelve miles further, and two loads of stone from Woking to Windsor, the rate being 2*s.*, and the distance being about thirteen miles.

In 1542 goods are carried at 2*d.* a ton to London for eight miles. But again, in 1548 a large quantity of wheat is conveyed by land from Portsmouth to Southampton, a distance by road of twenty-five miles, at 3½*d.* the quarter, a price even lower than that of Fastolfe's contracts in 1438, 1439, 1441, and 1444.

In 1557 hay is purchased by Corpus Christi College, Oxford, at Great Milton, and conveyed thence to Oxford at 2*s.* the load. The distance is ten miles. In 1558 the same service is performed for a little over 1*s.* 10*d.* In the same year Corpus pays 10*d.* a load for hay from Magdalen Meadow; in 1560, 8*d.*

In 1560 a hundred and twenty-four bigates of freestone are carried from Ramsey in Hunts to Cambridge, at 2*s.* 3*d.*; the distance is at least twenty-four miles: and sixty-six loads of timber are brought from Cumnor to Oxford, about five miles by the road then in use, at 1*s.* 8*d.*

In 1562, loads of hay from Wolvercote, less than three miles from Oxford, are carted at 1*s.* 8*d.* But in 1567 carts carry goods from Footscray to Greenwich, then reckoned at six miles, at 3*d.* a mile, and eight loads of slates, which could not have been less than a ton apiece, from Temple Guiting, nearly forty miles from Oxford, at 4*s.* 1*d.*, while nineteen loads of timber were carted from Bagley wood to All Souls', quite three miles or more, at a little less than 5½*d.* the load.

In 1568 carriage from Croydon to Greenwich, described as seven miles, is at the rate of 4*d.* a mile. This is about the rate from Grandpont, near Oxford, to the centre of the town in the same year. In 1571 loads of timber from Southwark to the Minories, probably three miles, are also at 4*d.* In 1572 hay is carted from Witney to Oxford at 5*s.*, the distance being about eleven miles, and the rate being a little higher, while wood from

Hinksey is at about the same rate. In 1574 bigates of wood are carried from Shotover at 1s. 4d. In 1576 loads of hay from Stanton St. John, about seven miles by roads then in use, are conveyed at 2s., or 3½d. the mile. In 1578 the carriage of hay from Magdalen Meadow to the Corpus stables is at 1s. 4½d.

In 1579 and 1581 teams are hired to go to Bristol and Westchester at 4d. a mile, and a load of slate from Temple Guiting, the carriage of which in 1567 cost 4s. 1d., is now set at 5s.

CARRIAGE OF VALUABLE GOODS BY LAND. In 1406, Potcome, the carrier, engages to bring six pipes of wine from Southampton to Oxford. The distance is between seventy and eighty miles. Three carts are employed, and six horses go to each cart. The whole cost is 24s. 10d., i.e. a little over 8s. 3d. the journey for each cart. The journey takes ten days, a length of time which plainly implies that the carrier started from Oxford, and includes his out journey in the charge. But the payment, neglecting all account of the out journey, is only a fraction over 1d. the mile. Again, in the same year, and also in 1452 and 1470, the pannus of cloth is carried from Winchester, nearly seventy miles, for 6d. It could hardly have weighed less than half-a-hundredweight, and was therefore carried at less than 2d. a ton per mile. If we take six of these panni to have supplied twenty-one liveries, the cost of the carriage of them to London from Oxford in 1409 is at about the same rate.

In 1413 goods by the carrier were at a little over 1s. 1½d. the cwt. from Oxford to London. In 1437 they are at 2s. 1d., in 1488 at 2s. 2d., in 1497 at 2s. 1d., in 1501 at 1s. 2½d., in 1517 at 1s. 2d., in 1523 at 2s. 3d., in 1535 at 1s. 4d., in 1538 at 1s. 7d., in 1539 at an average of 2s. 5d., in 1540 at 1s. 4d., the fact being noted that one of the two entries at this rate was in the winter. The average of these entries is nearly 1s. 8½d. In 1494, 64 gallons of oil was carried from Oxford to London: the old road was nearly sixty miles long, and the payment made is 3s. 4d. Now such an amount of oil with the

cask could hardly weigh less than six hundredweight, and was probably more. The rate is thus a little over *2d.* per ton per mile. It is a little less than one third the average price charged for the carriage of goods by the carrier from Oxford to London.

In 1542 the cost of carrying glass from London is *1s. 2d.* the cwt. In 1543 goods are conveyed at *1s. 5½d.*, in 1545 at *1s. 4d.*, in 1546 at *2s. 4d.*, in 1548 again at *1s. 4d.*, in 1549 at about *2s. 4d.*, in 1550 at about *1s. 9d.*, in 1551 at *1s. 8d.*, in 1557 at *2s. 4d.*, in 1559 at *2s.*, in 1560 at *2s.*, in 1570 at *2s. 8d.*

The distance from Oxford to Cambridge is eighty miles. In 1556 goods were conveyed from Stourbridge fair, a mile to the east of Cambridge, to Oxford, at *1s. 6½d.* the cwt. This year contains the dearest corn prices of the whole period.

In 1472 a hogshead of vinegar is carried from Cambridge to London. The charge is high, *4s. 4d.*, and is a considerable item in the price of the article as delivered, for the purchase is *11s.* The hogshead contained probably as much as the cask of oil referred to above, and weighed more. The cost of carriage is much higher. But in 1512 carriage is only *10d.* the cwt. from Cambridge, and this at the end of November. In 1554 and 1555 barrels of eels, each weighing about *2½* cwt., are carried from London to Cambridge for *4s. 2d.* and *4s. 11d.*, and in 1557 the cost of carriage from London to the same place was *2s. 6d.* the cwt. In 1560 it is *2s.*; in 1562, *2s. 4d.*; in 1577, *2s.* These prices are higher than those for carriage from London to Oxford, and suggest that transit was not so regular and customary between Cambridge and London as it was between Oxford and London, since the distance is shorter. In 1428 a pipe of red wine is carried to Hoxne from Yarmouth, twenty-five miles, for *7s.*

It is less easy to interpret other carriages. In 1410 a millstone is carried from London to Oxford for *5s.* The cost of carrying the five millstones from London to Cuxham, a place twelve miles short of Oxford, was nearly *7s.* each in 1330 (see Vol. I, p. 426). In 1429 a pair of millstones are carried from Bridgewater to Taunton, a distance of about twelve miles, for

6*s.* 4*d.* In 1446 a millstone is carried from Colchester to Takley, and thence to Hornchurch, about seventy miles, for 13*s.* 8*d.* In 1448 a millstone is carried from Lymington to Roydon, probably one of the places of this name in Essex, and therefore perhaps by water, for 8*s.* In 1454 another is conveyed from London to Horsham for 5*s.* 8*d.* The distance is about forty-eight miles. In 1499 another is carried from Henley-on-Thames to Mildenhall in Suffolk, a place near a hundred miles away, for 11*s.* 8*d.* In 1529 a great stone mortar is carried to Sion from Wilton for 3*s.* 4*d.* In 1540 two millstones are conveyed from London to Birchanger at 6*s.* 8*d.* each. The distance is about thirty-three miles. In 1552 two millstones are carried from Banbury to Oxford, twenty-two and a half miles, for 5*s.* But between 1567 and 1581 the cost of carrying six millstones from London to Oxford (*supra*, p. 426) is 38*s.* 10*d.* each. I cannot but infer that in this case the conveyance was entirely by land. In 1535 the Charterhouse pays 8*s.* for the conveyance of two 'fardels' to Hull, and 3*s.* 5*d.* for two fardels from Hull. It is not clear whether this carriage is by land or water.

CART HIRE BY THE DAY. Thirty-three entries of this service, sometimes described as of cart and horses and two men, sometimes as cart in harvest time, occasionally as timber cart, give, between 1401 and 1536, an average of a little over 1*s.* 3½*d.* a day. Carts in harvest, at timber carriage, and those hired occasionally, are at higher rates than those for common work, or for continuous employment. There are slight differences traceable to locality. The Heyford hirings are at low rates, as low as 10*d.* a day, once (1416) for eight days at 8*d.* London prices are slightly higher. Altogether, we may conclude that a cart and two horses, with one or two men, was expected to go and return about 15 to 20 miles in a day for 1*s.* 3½*d.*

I have found no direct evidence of carts by the day in the later period. But it may be inferred that the price paid for cart hire during the last forty-two years was not quite double the rate of the above average. Journeys from London to

Bristol or Westchester were naturally more costly, as the carters had to be lodged.

There are a few entries of the rate paid by the pound sterling for the carriage of money. In 1480, 1482, and 1488, Merton College, Oxford, pays 8*d.* in the pound for the carriage of various sums from its Northumberland property. In 1562 the Treasury sends a large sum to Portsmouth, but gets the service done at a far lower rate, at 30*s.* the £1000. I conceive that in the former cases the carrier undertook the full responsibilities of a bailee, and that had he lost the money on the road he would have been compellable to reimburse the parties who had contracted with him. In 1579 New College paid 4*d.* in the pound for the carriage of £50, but the account does not give the distance. In any case, the entries are significant of the fact that in this early time the machinery for the transmission of money from distant parts of the country was in existence, effective, and was taken advantage of at fixed rates.

From the numerous entries quoted and commented on in the foregoing pages, it will be seen that the cost of carrying known quantities over measurable distances, when the distance traversed was from sixteen to twenty-four miles a day, was generally a penny a ton per mile. Sometimes it is 1½*d.* and 1¾*d.*, occasionally 1¾*d.* and 2*d.* But these discrepancies are, I conceive, to be accounted for by the prospect which the carrier had before him of conveying something by return, and by the probability that such engagements being known, the opportunity of hiring the wains or carts for the journey to or fro, as the case might be, would be communicated and made use of. The more remote and disconnected the places were, the more likely would it be that higher rates would be demanded, as, for instance, between Henley and Oxford, where there is indeed a road, and a road which certainly existed in ancient times, but one which is difficult and hilly, and in a district which was thinly peopled. It is possible, too, that the journey from Henley to Oxford may have required two days.

The last year of these cheap rates is 1542, though carriage is

not particularly dear in 1557 and 1558. Afterwards it ranges from 3*d.* to over 5*d.* per ton per mile, though in 1567 a journey is made at 1½*d.* On the whole the cost of carriage by the mile is more than doubled in the last forty years of my enquiry.

The following entries are of the cost of carrying goods by the ton, when the service is plainly performed by the common carrier. They are all from Oxford or Cambridge accounts, most frequently the former. Cambridge was about 54 miles from London, Oxford 59, by the roads then in use. The entries which have c before them are conveyances from Cambridge.

	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>		<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>		<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>		<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
1488	43	4	1533	31	8	1548	26	8	1557	c 50	0
1501	24	2	1539	48	4	1549	46	8	1560	c 40	0
1503	c 16	8	1540	26	8	1550	33	8	1562	c 46	8
1509	26	8	1542	23	4	1551	33	4	1570	53	4
1517	23	4	1543	29	2	1555	53	4	1577	c 40	0
1523	45	0	1545	26	8	1556	35	0			
1535	26	8	1546	46	8	1557	46	8			

It will be seen that in one of the years, 1557, the carriage from both Oxford and Cambridge is given, and that the charge is slightly higher at Cambridge. But it is not easy to interpret the great variety in the charge, particularly as on one occasion, 1540, when the rate is low, the carriage is said to be in winter and at Easter, the rate being the same for both parcels, one of a single hundredweight, the other of three hundredweights. Competition seems to be an anachronism, and there appear to be open only two explanations, special bargain, and return carriage rates¹. Up to 1549 the average is nearly 32*s.*, afterwards it is 42*s.* 2*d.*

¹ In 1488 the goods are cloth; in 1503, wax; in 1509 the article is a 'fardel,' weighing 2½ cwt.; in 1523, the quantity 349 lbs. is not further described; in 1535 it is glass; in 1539, wax; in 1540 again wax. In 1542 it is a large quantity, 55 cwt. In 1535 it is wax. In 1560 and 1562 it is salt eels; in 1570, salt ling; in 1577, a large copper.

It is by no means improbable that some of these cheaper carriages—the cheapest, it may be observed, nearly *4d.* per mile—were effected by return carts or waggons, which, having brought produce to the great fairs held at Oxford and Cambridge, the latter by far the most famous, and disposed of what they had brought for sale, would be willing to bargain at rates lower than ordinary carriers were accustomed to demand for back freightage. Occasionally, too, the price paid will not divide exactly into a rate per hundredweight, though far more frequently the price per hundredweight is given in the account or is manifestly implied. Such indivisible sums suggest that bargains were made by higgling.

That communication was neither so cheap nor so easy after the Reformation and the dissolution of the monasteries, is probable, quite apart from the effects which the base coinages of Henry and Edward, and the permanent stiffening of prices induced. The custom of pilgrimage ceased, and shrines which had been frequented by a host of devotees were desecrated. To a city like Canterbury, which was visited by thousands annually, such changes in sentiment and Church rule must have been particularly disastrous. The abbot and his friars no longer appeared on circuit, inspecting the estates which they possessed, and buying large quantities of produce at the markets and fairs. Needy adventurers had taken their place and their property. The Universities were now a shadow of their former selves, though they certainly became more learned and austere. The high price of all articles of necessary use made the purchase of luxuries, in so far as they were known, rare and more stinted. Internal trade was discouraged, the people were generally poor, and the middle classes were obliged to forego much with which they were familiar a generation before. As the markets were straitened, the roads naturally fell into decay, or were neglected. The desire to have good communications was weakened, and the highways went from bad to worse, until it was necessary to devise some means by which they should be restored, when in the

eighteenth century trade grew rapidly, and agriculture greatly prospered. The most obvious and the most attractive form of remedy was to cast the cost on travellers, and the turnpike was adopted, though often enough the tolls were not devoted to the purpose for which they were collected.

Tolls were always levied on markets and approaches to markets. The earliest example of a road toll levied by the King's authority, is said to be that of 1346, when *ad valorem* tolls were collected for the repair of certain highways leading to London (Rymer, v. 525, 575, 774). Such tolls were extended to the roads from Highgate and Uxbridge in 1363. The first Act of Parliament for mending a highway is 14 & 15 Hen. VIII, cap. 6. In 1555, 2 & 3 Philip and Mary, cap. 8, the obligation of mending its roads, and of appointing two surveyors annually, is cast on every parish. Many such acts are found in Elizabeth's reign. The first Statute by which tolls were exacted, and toll-gates erected, was 15 Car. II, cap. 1. But the principal legislation on the subject, and the general extension of the system, is in the eighteenth century, and particularly the Act of 1773, 13 Geo. III, cap. 84.

I have found no instance of charges incurred for the carriage of letters. The conveyance of the new statutes of King's College, Cambridge, in 1454, is the nearest approach to such an entry. The college paid 6s. 8d. for this service. It was not the last revision, for we read that the statutes received the latest expression of the founder's will, and were sealed in 1458-9, the occasion, doubtless, on which the followers of Pecok as well as the Lollards were excluded from the benefits of the foundation. On this occasion, Rotheram and another fellow were sent 'ad concilium Angliae ad Coventriam,' by which is probably meant the famous Parliament of Nov. 20 and Dec. 20, 1459, these fellows having been deputed to the duty in the year Sept. 1458-Sept. 1459. In 1460, during the summer between June 26 and July 8, messages are sent eight times, *pro novis audiendis*. It was indeed a time of anxiety for the fellows of Henry's foundation, for York was preparing

to summon that Parliament, which, after the victory of Northampton, was to hear and acknowledge the title of Richard to the throne. Another incident of the times, and contained in the notes of the same year, is the payment of 1*s.* 8*d.* made to Joseph Mann, who had been despoiled at Northampton¹.

¹ Under the year 1470 (Vol. III, p. 679. ii) is an entry from the Norwich register of 1470-1, in which an account is given of the assistance sent by the Corporation to the King at the battle of Tewkesbury. In this passage the following remarkable words occur:—'Ubi adjudicatus fuit Edvardus filius Henrici nuper regis Angliæ, et mater ejus capta.' The use of this participle seems to me to imply that there was a military trial of the unfortunate youth, and that he was executed after the battle was over. One of the forty archers whom Norwich equipped and paid was probably the authority for the clerk's entry. See Lingard's note in his history of the event.

CHAPTER XXV.

ON PRICES GENERALLY BETWEEN 1401 AND 1582.

I HAVE now dealt with the several facts which have been collected, and have commented on them in order. I have drawn averages for each year in which I have been able to note particulars, and have further collected the annual averages into decennial averages. I have then taken a third set of averages, in two portions; the first, for the first hundred and forty years of the enquiry; the second, for the last forty-two. The reader will find that a notable but variable rise is effected in every commodity but one during the later period. This exception is glass, the price of which is slightly lower in the second division. This fact, concurrently with others, will be found to supply a valuable corrective to the inferences which are to be derived from the general aggregate of evidence.

The division of the period comprised in these volumes into the two quantities of a hundred and forty and forty-two years, is in a sense arbitrary. There had been, during the last half of Henry VIII's reign, a gradual exaltation in the price of all provisions, on which I shall hereafter comment, and at first I thought of dividing at the year in which Henry made the last reduction in the sterling currency. Had I taken this as my point, the average prices of corn would have been less than they were in the period comprised in the first two volumes, and those of cattle only slightly in excess. But I abandoned this purpose, partly because it seemed to me that the slight rise which occurs at and after 1527, does not indicate any relation to the change from 1·55 to 1·378, the difference between the intrinsic value of Edward IV's coinage and Henry VIII's, partly because I was convinced that the real

cause of the permanent rise was the first debasement of 1545, and the successive issues of similar and even worse coinages. It was, however, convenient to take 1541 as the beginning of the new epoch, though undoubtedly to commence it at so early a date is to depress the later average. The shrewdest men of the time saw that the base money was the cause of the dearth. The reversal of Henry's disgraceful fraud on his people was desired by Edward and Mary. But the camarilla of courtiers prevented it during the boy's life, and the Spanish marriage postponed it during that of his elder sister. It was achieved by Elizabeth at the beginning of her reign. But sixteen years of base money, and that of variable debasement, had produced their effect on prices, and the hope which Elizabeth entertained, that old money values would be restored, proved abortive. I shall, in a later part of this chapter, comment on such evidence of a general rise or fall in correlated articles as may appear manifest in the course of the whole period contained and examined in these volumes.

Again, upon several articles of the first importance, there is a marked decline in the price from the average of 1261-1400 to that of 1401-1540. This would have been more conspicuous, if I had in my earlier volumes compared all prices from 1261 to 1350 with those of 1351-1400. But even over the whole range, every kind of grain, except wheat and peas, is dearer in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries than it is in the first hundred and forty years of the present period, and had I taken the average price of wheat during the last fifty years of the fourteenth century, it would have been (6*s.* 1½*d.*) dearer than the average of 1401-1540 (5*s.* 11¾*d.*), heightened as this is by the dearness of the last thirteen years. It seemed, therefore, in view of the inferences derived from the first two volumes, that the limit taken in these for the period in which prices are assumed to have suffered no material change from those which had ruled before, was judicious, and has supplied fairly accurate results.

The comparison of such prices as are contained in these

volumes, and are contrasted in the two periods which have been taken, must be made in certain subdivisions. The most obvious of these are the prices of home and of foreign products. Under home prices we may take other divisions, those of provisions, of labour, and of manufactures. Manufactures, again, may be distinguished according to the importance or dearness of the raw material, and as they derive their value from the labour actually expended in making them immediately merchantable. Examples of the former kind are manufactured metals; of the latter, tiles and bricks, stone and boards. The labour, as before, is that of the husbandman or of the artisan; provisions are vegetable, as corn and hay; or animal; or mineral, as salt. Again, manufactured goods are often of foreign origin, and occasionally there is a competition between the English and the foreign producer. Lastly, there are certain articles which are distinctly cheapened by improvements in the process of manufacture. Of these the most noteworthy is glass. But the relative prices of iron and iron goods suggest similar improvements.

It will be most convenient, in comparing the two epochs, to take provisions first, and to deal with those under the two heads of animal and vegetable products. In all the tables given, the first column is the average between 1401-1540, the second that of 1541-82, the third is the ratio of the rise in the later period, approximately calculated to two places of decimals, the first column being taken as unity. It should be observed, that, in giving the prices of those products which have been most enhanced in value, the entry is of the best price of the year in oxen, calves, muttons, boars, and poultry.

	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>		<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	
Oxen	20	7	.....	70	7½	..... 3.43
Calves	2	3	.....	8	3	..... 3.59
Boars	8	6½	.....	23	7½	..... 2.52
Muttons	2	2½	.....	6	4	..... 2.84
Ewes	1	5½	.....	3	8	..... 2.51
Hoggs	1	7	.....	4	5	..... 2.79
Lambs	0	11½	.....	3	2½	..... 3.37

	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>		<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	
Saddle Horses	58	11½	.....	132	5½	..... 2.59
Capons	0	6¾	.....	1	1¾	..... 2.04
Geese	0	4¾	.....	0	10	..... 2.10
Hens	0	2½	.....	0	4¾	..... 2.11
Chickens	0	1½	.....	0	3	..... 2.40
Ducks	0	2½	.....	0	4¾	..... 2.11
Swans	2	9¾	.....	5	1	..... 1.81
Pigeons, doz.	0	5½	.....	1	1	..... 2.36
Rabbits, couple ...	0	5	.....	0	7¾	..... 1.55

Oxen, calves, and lambs are the only articles, the average price of which, in the last forty-two years, rises to more than three times the old average. It is possible that the breeds of sheep were improved; we know how very many varieties there were of wool. It is perhaps the case that, most of my later entries of cattle and sheep being taken from the records of consumption, the quality and size of the animals has to be reckoned in the enhanced price, and thereupon in part accounts for it. It is also possible that cattle were improved by selection. The rise in the other articles will not be found to differ materially from that discoverable in other provisions, with two exceptions, swans and rabbits. The entries of the former of these are not numerous, and come mainly from the eastern counties, where swans were common. Rabbits, I make no doubt, became commoner than they were in early times. They were very scarce and dear in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries; they multiply later on, and in the sixteenth century became a nuisance against which legislation was directed.

The average rise in three items, oxen, calves, and lambs, is 3.46. The average of the residue, excluding swans and rabbits, is 2.44. The difference is marked, but it would have been more significant if I had taken poultry only, when the rise would be found to be only 2.18. The explanation of the fact must be found in the general maintenance of poultry by the peasants and small occupiers, and the consequent cheapness of the produce.

Ox-hides rise proportionately to the price of oxen, as follows—2*s.* 5*d.*, 8*s.*, 3*3*¹/₄.

The rise in the price of the quarter of grain is represented by the following figures—

	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>		<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	
Wheat	5	11 ¹ / ₂	.....	13	10 ¹ / ₂	2.32
Barley	3	8 ¹ / ₂	.....	8	5 ¹ / ₂	2.27
Oats.....	2	2 ¹ / ₂	.....	5	5 ¹ / ₂	2.40
Beans	3	9 ¹ / ₂	.....	9	1 ¹ / ₂	2.36
Peas.....	3	10	.....	8	8	2.26
Malt	4	1	.....	10	5	2.55
Oatmeal	7	9 ¹ / ₂	.....	20	10 ¹ / ₂	2.67

In the previous 140 years the prices of these articles by the quarter are 5*s.* 10¹/₄*d.*, 4*s.* 3¹/₄*d.*, 2*s.* 5¹/₄*d.*, 4*s.* 3¹/₄*d.*, 3*s.* 9*d.*, 4*s.* 3¹/₄*d.*, 8*s.* 0¹/₄*d.*, as will be seen in Vol. I, pp. 245, 247.

The average rise in the price of the different kinds of corn is 2.40. The least rise is in peas and barley, but the reader will discern that in each case the quantity is but slightly in excess of, or below, the average rise of the whole taken together.

Closely connected with the price of grain of various kinds are the following, which form the next group:—

	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>		<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	
Cheese, wey	10	10 ¹ / ₂	.....	26	3 ¹ / ₂	2.43
Butter, dozen.....	1	1 ¹ / ₂	.....	2	8	2.37
Honey, gallon	1	2 ¹ / ₂	.....	3	4	2.81
Candles, dozen	1	3 ¹ / ₂	.....	2	7 ¹ / ₂	2.07
Hay, load	3	8 ¹ / ₂	.....	9	6	2.58
Straw, do.	1	5	.....	4	1	2.88
Wool, tod	6	2 ¹ / ₂	.....	17	4	2.81
Salt, qr.	4	9	.....	10	10 ¹ / ₂	2.29

I have included salt in these articles, because, from its extensive use in curing provisions, it is one of those products, the demand for which must have been nearly the same as that for food. The average rise in the above eight articles is 2.53, a little in excess of that which is discovered in corn. If we

take the four sets together, (1) oxen, calves, and lambs; (2) other produce, excluding swans and rabbits; (3) corn of all kinds; (4) the articles given in the last table, the general average rise is represented by the decimal 2.71, the previous prices being taken as unity.

I now come to a set of prices which form a striking contrast to those of the necessities and secondary necessities of subsistence. The same analysis employed on the wages of day labour gives the following results:—

	s.	d.		s.	d.	
Carpenter, highest price	0	6½	.....	0	11½	..... 1.67
Do. average	0	5½	.....	0	10	..... 1.70
Mason	0	6	.....	0	9½	..... 1.58
Mason's man	0	4	.....	0	6½	..... 1.69
Sawyers, pair	1	0	.....	1	5½	..... 1.46
Sawyers, c. foot.....	1	1	.....	1	4	..... 1.23
Tiler	0	6	.....	0	9½	..... 1.62
Thatcher	0	5½	.....	0	9½	..... 1.76
Thatcher's man	0	3½	.....	0	6½	..... 1.86
Plumber.....	0	6½	.....	0	9½	..... 1.46
Unskilled labour	0	4	.....	0	6½	..... 1.62

The average derived from these eleven kinds of labour, representing, in eight cases, artisans' wages, in three, those of labourers in husbandry, is 1.60; and it will be obvious, without further immediate comment, how seriously depressed the condition of the working classes was, when contrasted with that of the same classes during the fifteenth, and the first forty years of the sixteenth century.

We may now revert to other products. The figures of wax by the dozen and hundredweight are respectively 6*s.* 3*d.*, 9*s.* 1*d.*, 1.45; 52*s.* 2½*d.*, 75*s.* 2½*d.*, 1.44. The ratios are nearly identical, but the change in the religious habits of the people after the Reformation is sufficient to account for the decline visible in the demand for this article, and consequently in its price.

Hops were, comparatively speaking, rarely used before 1540.

This will account for the proportion which my results afford. Cwt., 14*s.* 0½*d.*, 26*s.* 8½*d.*, 1.90.

We now turn to another kind of provisions, the different kinds of salted fish which have been reduced in a foregoing chapter to their averages.

	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>		<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	
Herrings (red), cade	6	4½	.....	10	1½	..... 1.58
Do. (white), barrel	11	6	.....	22	9	..... 1.98
Sprats, cade	1	6½	.....	2	8	..... 1.75
Salmon, barrel	27	3½	.....	55	8	..... 2.04
Ling, <i>c.</i>	104	3	.....	183	9	..... 1.76
Cod, <i>c.</i>	44	9	.....	55	4	..... 1.23
Stock fish, <i>c.</i>	27	4½	.....	37	9½	..... 1.38
Salt fish, warp	1	8½	.....	2	1½	..... 1.24

The average derived from all these entries of fish is a difference of 1.62, the old prices being taken as unity. It is quite probable that the decline in demand previously usual from the consumption of the monastic orders, may have notably contributed to this result, but I cannot help seeing, from the rise in the price of these articles, which so closely corresponds to that in the wages of labour, that the fact of the value of these products being almost entirely derived from human labour, is the explanation of the close correspondence between their later price and that of labour.

There are certain products, the value of which depends more immediately on the labour expended on them, than on those conditions which affect provisions, but are still related to land. The most significant of these are the kinds of fuel.

	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>		<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	
Faggots, <i>c.</i>	7	11	.....	13	11½	..... 1.76
Fuel, <i>c.</i>	7	9½	.....	11	10	..... 1.52
Charcoal, qr.	0	7½	.....	1	0½	..... 1.65
Charcoal, load	7	5½	.....	14	5½	..... 1.94
Firewood, <i>c.</i>	7	11	.....	15	0	..... 1.90
Sedge, 1000	20	6½	.....	30	3	..... 1.47

The average rise derived from these six entries is 1.71. But

the reader will observe that sedge, that which is more than any the mere product of labour (for the rent of no ground on which this article grew could, for any value of the produce, bear an analogy to coppice land), experiences the least rise in the whole six.

I now come to building materials. The list is more numerous, and the results will require a rather longer comment.

	s.	d.		s.	d.	
Lime, quarter	1	2½	.....	2	9½	..... 2.37
Lime, load, &c.....	2	9½	.....	5	5	..... 1.94
Laths, m.	6	3½	.....	9	3½	..... 1.48
Do. load	10	0	.....	17	6½	..... 1.75
Plain tiles, m.	5	5½	.....	10	1½	..... 1.85
Concave, do. c.	9	4	.....	10	1	..... 1.08
Slates, m.	5	3	.....	12	0½	..... 2.29
Tile pins, bushel ...	0	8	.....	1	3½	..... 1.94
Bricks, m.	6	0	.....	11	3	..... 1.88
Planks, c.	2	9½	.....	4	5½	..... 1.60
Lath nails, m.	0	11½	.....	1	2½	..... 1.24
Board nails, m.	4	3½	.....	4	6½	..... 1.05

The average of all these articles gives a difference represented by 1.71, the older prices being taken as unity.

The average taken from the four last tables, that of labour, that of fish, that of fuel, and that of building materials, will be found to be contained in the product 1.64. In general terms, then, the relations of value subsisting between labour and these special products, which owe most of their value to the labour expended on them, are found to closely correspond, when they are tested by the averages taken from the price of the services and the products which have been brought together for the purpose of comparison, and are thus seen to be related.

There are, perhaps, a few of the articles given in the last table in which the later price may be depressed by improvements in manufacture, by foreign competition, and perhaps by the fact that during a portion of the time the market was glutted, owing to the dissolution of the monasteries and the

sale of materials. Such a cause as the last very likely affected the price of concave tiles and planks. Bricks were probably, too, manufactured more cheaply as the use was diffused, and the same may have occurred with plain tiles.

Home-made English nails, as we can see from the facts collected in Vol. III, were open to the competition of Flemish nails even before the rise in prices. The rise in the price of lime is also remarkable, for it is nearly the only article which is affected in as considerable a degree as that of provisions. That in the price of slates is less significant, as the price of slates varies so considerably, according to their size and their distance from the quarry.

Glass, as I have stated above, actually falls in price, the figures being 7*d.*, 6½*d.*, '93. Hurdles, now mainly used for building, especially in the later period, are 1*s.* 10½*d.*, 4*s.* 5½*d.*, 2'39; and rope, 13*s.* 2½*d.*, 26*s.* 9¾*d.*, 2'03. Glass is lowered in price, despite the general rise, entirely in consequence of improvements in manufacture. Millstones stand thus: 64*s.* 10*d.* 130*s.* 11*d.*, 2'02. The price of metals is also suggestive.

	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>		<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	
Iron (raw), cwt.....	5	4½	.....	10	6½	..... 1'94
Do. (wrought), cwt.	15	7½	.....	26	2½	..... 1'96
Lead (pigs), fother...	74	9	.....	159	2	..... 2'13
Do. (rolled), fother	134	0	.....	219	8	..... 1'63
Solder, doz. lbs. ...	3	5½	....	6	5	..... 1'86
Pewter, doz. lbs. ...	3	10½	.....	7	3½	..... 1'89
Brass, doz. lbs.	3	9½	.....	6	8½	..... 1'78
Silver (wrought), oz.	3	4½	.....	5	10	..... 1'85

Here, again, the average of the whole is 1'88, an excess, as might have been expected, over those articles which depend for their value on labour only, but considerably less than that witnessed in provisions.

There is a further set of articles, partly of foreign, partly of English origin, the various kinds of textile fabrics, linen for table and wear, and cloth. The following are the averages, treated in the same manner:—

	s.	d.		s.	d.	
Table linen, doz. ells...	6	9½	.....	18	6	..... 2.71
Shirting & sheeting, do.	6	1½	.....	12	7½	..... 2.06
Canvas, do.	4	4½	.....	7	7½	..... 1.75
Sacking, doz. yards...	2	10	.....	5	3½	..... 1.80

The last two kinds are, I conceive, entirely of English origin; the others are largely imported from France and the Low Countries, and the proportion accords with that which has been several times illustrated.

The three qualities of cloth supply the following:—

	s.	d.		s.	d.	
Pannus of 24 yds., 1st quality	55	8½	.....	152	10	..... 2.45
Do. do. 2nd do.	48	0	.....	80	6½	..... 1.68
Do. do. 3rd do.	34	1	.....	76	0	..... 2.24

Information as to the third quality is, as my reader will find on turning to p. 589, scanty, and the figures are not to be entirely depended on. But the comparison between the first and second quality is again suggestive. The first is frequently of foreign origin, the second regularly English.

Paper is said to have been, though the assertion is of suspicious accuracy, entirely of foreign origin at this time. Parchment, on the other hand, is probably entirely of English manufacture. It will be observed that the rise by the ream is greater than that by the dozen quires, while that of parchment is less by the roll than by the dozen. This seems to imply that paper being more frequently used than in the early period, breaking bulk was not met by so high an extra charge as formerly, while the contrary is the case with parchment, the use of which was becoming scantier.

	s.	d.		s.	d.	
Paper, ream	3	5½	.....	5	1½	..... 1.50
Do. doz. quires ...	3	0½	.....	3	10	..... 1.20
Parchment, doz.....	2	3	.....	4	2	..... 1.81
Do. roll	11	0	.....	16	8	..... 1.51

The low rate of increase in the price of these articles is to be

explained by improvements in the process of production, or more regular demand and supply, or both combined.

Lastly, I have to deal with articles of entirely foreign origin. These articles are of two kinds, those which are derived from the Continent, and Eastern produce, originally supplied through Egypt, but in later times principally introduced into Europe by the Cape passage.

Of the first kind I find the following:—

	s.	d.		s.	d.	
Oil, gallon.....	1	2½	.....	2	8½	..... 2.26
Wine (red), doz. gls.	8	5½	.....	16	4½	..... 1.93
Do. (sweet), do.	14	6	.....	26	6½	..... 1.83
Do. (red), tun.....	128	9	.....	262	3	..... 2.04
Almonds, cwt.	26	11½	.....	60	1½	..... 2.23
Currants, doz. lbs....	3	0½	.....	4	9½	..... 1.56
Raisins, do. ...	1	9½	.....	2	4½	..... 1.35
Figs, do. ...	1	1½	.....	3	0	..... 2.70
Dates, do. ...	3	5	.....	7	5	..... 2.17
Rice, do. ...	1	11	.....	4	4	..... 2.26

I have designedly excluded sugar by the doz. lbs. (12s. 10¾d., 1.07), for reasons already referred to in the chapter on the price of foreign products, to which I shall recur.

For other reasons I have omitted saffron from the list, the proportion of which by the pound, 11s. 11½d., 16s. 6½d., is 1.38. Some of it was of English origin, and there is reason to think that the belief in its extraordinary therapeutic virtues was being weakened by the progress of medical science.

The second is that of Indian produce.

	s.	d.		s.	d.	
Pepper, doz. lbs. ...	17	1	.....	32	6½	..... 1.90
Cloves, lb.	4	3½	.....	7	9½	..... 1.82
Mace, lb.	3	4	.....	6	1½	..... 2.28
Cinnamon, lb.	3	4	.....	6	1	..... 1.84
Ginger, lb.	2	0	.....	3	4	..... 1.67
Sanders, doz. lbs. ...	19	7½	.....	32	0	..... 1.80

The rise represented by the figures given for foreign produce of European, or at least of Mediterranean origin is 2.03, the prices

of the period 1401-1540 being taken as unity. That of Indian produce is 1.88, but there are circumstances connected with the Indian trade to which I have made reference already, the extraordinary rise in the price of all such produce after the conquest of Egypt by Selim the First. Had the records before 1520 been compared with those in 1521-82, the contrast would have been far more striking.

I have now gone through those principal articles the prices of which are recorded in the third volume, and tabulated in the present. It will now complete the contrast if I sum up the various heads under which I have presented the results of my facts to the reader.

Ratio of rise between 1540-1582 under the following heads:—

I. Live stock and poultry . . .	2.62	VII. Building materials and nails .	1.71
II. Grain of all kinds . . .	2.40	VIII. Metals	1.88
III. Farm produce and salt . . .	2.53	IX. Linen	2.08
IV. Labour, mechanical and agri- cultural	1.60	X. Clothing	2.12
V. Fish	1.62	XI. Paper and Parchment . . .	1.50
VI. Fuel	1.71	XII. Foreign produce, western .	2.03
		XIII. Foreign produce, Indian .	1.88

It will be clear from these facts that the producer of animal food, grain, and other agricultural necessities commanded a better market than the dealer in any other article of value did, and that, as I have stated above, labour and those commodities the value of which was principally derived from labour, partook in the least degree of that rise which was effected in all commodities alike, glass alone excepted. That it was exceedingly difficult to raise rents, is, I think, proved, not only by the actual record of the Corpus rent-roll, but from the indirect manner in which landowners strove to better their condition, by demanding corn payments in lieu of money, a custom begun early in the eastern counties, and enforced on corporations under 18 Eliz., cap. 6 (1576), a statute which was certainly not acted on for six years; and by demanding fines¹

¹ The oldest fine which I have found in those documents which I have inspected is in 1533 (Vol. III, p. 682, ii), when King's College receives £50 from the Earl of Derby, as his 'fine for introit to Prescot.'

on the renewal of leases with the old rents unchanged, except in so far as such a rent is modified by the statute of Elizabeth.

That the small freeholder and the tenant of an estate at customary rents was mulcted indirectly by the usurpation of commons and other enclosures is plain from the complaints of the time, and the ineffectual remedies proposed. It is possible that these curtailments of his ancient rights may have nearly deprived him of all the advantages which a rising market in corn, cattle, and farm produce gave him; but it cannot, I think, be doubted that the yeoman and husbandman on a fixed rent were the persons who suffered least from the rise in prices¹. To them labour was relatively cheaper, and what they had to sell was relatively dearer. Under such circumstances, it is not surprising that the yeomen of England increased in numbers and importance, and ultimately, when the spirit of the people was effectually roused, united in order to resist the authority of the Crown, as it was interpreted in Stewart times by Churchmen and lawyers.

I purpose to deal with the condition of the labouring classes, by which I mean those who lived by wages, in the next chapter but one, but it may be observed here that as the agriculturist proper, to judge from the relation found to exist between values in the last forty-two years of this period, was best off under the altered state of things, so the labourer was the worst off. The wages of labour, taken collectively, exhibit the least rise of all articles of value, except the unimportant eleventh head in the foregoing table. Nor did matters mend as time went on. In 1588 the harvest was abundant, for in Oxford the price of wheat was 14s. 2½d. This was the last occasion on which it fell to what would have been fifty years before a famine rate: and only very rarely, three times in the sixteenth, and once in the seventeenth (1654), did it after this date fall below 20s. a quarter.

¹ This fact is quite consistent with the poverty of the Crown, and the inelasticity of the revenue. It is always very difficult to raise a revenue from taxes on agriculture. Hence agricultural communities are taxed by a levy on rents, or by excises and customs on consumption.

But it is well known that when labour is hired, such incidents as dear times, and even extraordinary demand, do not raise wages as they raise rents and profits, this last fact in the case being the only result which the advocates of Protection seem able to recognise.

It is now my business to deal with prices in so far as they are seen to fluctuate in the two portions of the period as I have divided it. I must allow, and allow for the last time, that I might possibly have found a dividing line which would have been more suggestive in special cases than that which I have taken, in fixing the older period of money values as concluding with 1540, and the new departure in 1541. But the division has been found convenient in all cases but one, that of Eastern produce, and it has at least this advantage, that it does not exaggerate the discrepancy between the price of necessities and the wages of labour, while it assists the theory, that the prime cause of the discrepancy was the issue of base money, and the second the sudden shift in the distribution of property which was effected by the dissolution of the monastic bodies, and by the lavish dissipation of their treasures, followed by the confiscation of the guild estates.

Prices are generally high during the first ten or twelve years of the fifteenth century. I am not referring particularly to those which, like the prices of corn and salt, depend on what I have ventured on calling solar fertility, and which have been, as far as prices of corn are concerned, discussed in the comments which I have made on the harvest of each year. The same fact applies to wool, which is dear during the first decade, and onwards to 1414. Cattle and sheep are similarly dear during this space of time, as are also salt, lime, and iron. The same may be said of certain materials, as nails, which are frequently as dear at the beginning of the fifteenth century as they are at the end of the whole period, and sometimes even dearer.

The most remarkable fact, however, is the period of general low prices which prevails in all products other than those which are merely agricultural from 1490 onwards, for thirty,

forty, or even fifty years, as the case may be. The fact may be detected in nearly all the tables, and there are slight, but only slight, indications that the price of labour was similarly affected by this general prevalence of low prices.

The price of grain seems to be permanently affected by the base currencies of the years 1545-6. Three years, the middle being very cheap, follow; but it seems to me distinctly clear that the prices of 1545—15s. 6½d. wheat, 9s. barley, 4s. 8d. oats, 10s. oatmeal—indicate a departure which cannot be assigned to the seasons. Even in 1547, when wheat was for once again 4s. 11d., oats are dear. Thenceforward a rate which is not more than 50 or 60 per cent. over the old average indicates a year of plenty. For hay and straw the rise is first noticeable in 1548. The same year suggests the first great rise in the price of cattle and horses. Sheep are really dear for the first time in 1545. The price of fattened boars is nearly doubled in 1551.

The first great rise in the price of wool is in 1545, when it is at the highest rate which I have registered. In 1547 candles are nearly double the price at which they stood in 1501-10. Cheese and butter appear to be similarly affected at the same time. In 1524 butter was 10s. the barrel; in 1545 it is 26s. 8d. Ox hides are 4s. 8d. in 1535, and 6s. in 1548, no entry having been found in the interval.

The rise in the price of fuel begins generally in 1548, that of sedge, the poorest fuel, gathered by the poorest people, not beginning till 1553. In 1547 salt begins to be double the average, though it is not so persistently, never, however, falling again to less than 75 per cent. above the old price. The rise in the price of lime begins in 1550. My records of iron are unluckily broken, and I cannot discover the rise till 1554, when it was fully affected, there being no entry between this year and 1547, when the price was unaffected. I have no entry of the price of hurdles between 1542 and 1551. In the former year they are 1s. 9d. the dozen, in the latter 4s. 10d.

The price of building materials is exceedingly suggestive when taken in connexion with the facts stated above. There

is nothing which illustrates the opulence of the fifteenth century more than its buildings. That costly material, brick (the reader will observe how much dearer it was than stone, and how slowly it became cheaper), was employed as an article *de luxe* by the wealthy or extravagant. It was Henry the Eighth's favourite material, and if any wise person could be in love with brick, the bricks manufactured some four centuries to three centuries and a half ago, were worth loving as works of genuine ceramic skill. English bricks from 1460 were the most perfect material conceivable. Hence in this especially, and in other building materials generally, fifteenth century prices were high.

Now it will be remembered that a vast mass of old building materials was immediately saleable after the dissolution of the monasteries. Most of my later entries come from places close to these convenient quarries. It is said that not a little of medieval Rome was built from the Colosseum. Every monastery was a Colosseum to the neighbourhood. The lead went first. The tiles, especially the costly ridge and gutter tiles, went next. The timbers followed, and even the laths to the ceilings. The work was so good, and the bricks were so recent a material, that there was not much to be made of them. Iron was dear, and old wrought iron was certainly useful. Still, there was a considerable importation of wrought iron from the Low Countries in the shape of nails, though English nails were better, and under present circumstances cheaper.

Laths begin to be dear in 1551; plain tiles in the same year. Crests and ridge tiles remain cheap, unless we take into account some exceptional demand, for there were plenty on the ridges and gutters of the old buildings, now doomed to pass from political to fanatical Churchmen. Slates become dear in 1563, bricks in 1547, lath and board nails scarcely at all. There were plenty to be drawn out of the old timbers and roofs.

The same circumstances influence the price of metals. Pig lead is not really dear till 1562; rolled lead is dearer in 1549,

and is nearly doubled in 1552; solder rises permanently in 1547; pewter vessels in 1548. But brass or copper utensils, of which the religious houses had plenty, became dear from other causes as early as 1540. The natural price of these articles does not suffer a permanent rise till 1560, and even after this date is liable to frequent fluctuations.

The miserable rise in the wages of labour needs a more careful scrutiny. The only way in which it seems possible to illustrate this is by comparing it with the price of food, especially wheat. As I have often said, our forefathers lived on wheaten bread, and would have scorned, at least in the south, rye cake as heartily as the French soldier of the legend contemned Pumpnickel. The most obvious way in which the contrast may be exhibited is to supply a table, from 1520 onwards, of the price of wheat, and the week's wages of such kinds of labour as are found in p. 515 sqq., and may serve for a continuous aggregate. The most convenient elements of the labour rate are, the average payment of the carpenter, the mason, his labourer, the pair of sawyers, the tiler, the thatcher's man, and the unskilled labourer, by the week. As in other calculations, fractions beyond the farthing are added or rejected as they are more or less than half the divisor. It is also necessary to take the value from the average of all the eight items, when the particular kind of labour is not represented in any given year. E.g. in 1522, the pair of sawyers are reckoned, though they do not appear in the annual register, at 1*s.* 0½*d.* or 6*s.* 3*d.* a week. It will be seen that in this calculation five are artisans, if the undersawyer may be so reckoned, and three are 'unskilled,' that is, in the legal sense of the time, workmen who had not been apprenticed, i.e. five-eighths of the total is artisan, three-eighths agricultural, or equivalent to agricultural, labour. When the wages are of London labour only, the item is reduced to the average of that kind of labour for a few preceding years.

	Average price of wheat by the qr.	Average price of labour by the week.		Average price of wheat by the qr.	Average price of labour by the week.
	s. d.	s. d.		s. d.	s. d.
1520	9 4½	2 9	1552	10 6½	3 11½
1521	7 8½	2 7½	1553	10 0	4 6½
1522	6 0½	2 8	1554	18 8½	3 11½
1523	5 6	2 7½	1555	22 0½	4 0½
1524	5 1½	2 8	1556	28 5½	4 3½
1525	5 5	2 7½	1557	8 4½	3 10½
1526	6 2½	2 8½	1558	9 3½	3 6
1527	12 11	2 10½	1559	11 0½	4 0½
1528	8 10½	2 9½	1560	14 2½	5 0
1529	8 10	2 9	1561	15 8	4 9½
1530	8 5	2 8	1562	10 11½	4 9½
1531	8 2½	2 8½	1563	19 9½	4 0½
1532	8 0	2 8½	1564	10 10½	4 7
1533	7 8	2 9½	1565	10 7	4 7½
1534	7 0	2 10	1566	16 5½	4 8½
1535	10 3½	2 11½	1567	11 1	5 1½
1536	10 7½	2 10½	1568	11 3½	4 6½
1537	7 1	2 7½	1569	11 9½	4 11
1538	6 11½	2 11½	1570	9 10	4 7
1539	5 7½	2 8½	1571	12 5½	4 7½
1540	5 8½	2 9½	1572	13 6½	4 10½
1541	9 0½	2 10½	1573	26 3½	4 11½
1542	7 11½	2 10½	1574	14 2½	4 8
1543	9 3½	2 11	1575	15 11	4 11
1544	9 0½	2 10½	1576	22 2½	4 8½
1545	15 6½	2 10½	1577	20 2	4 10½
1546	8 3½	2 7½	1578	17 4½	4 8
1547	4 11	2 10½	1579	17 6½	4 9½
1548	8 1½	3 2½	1580	20 0	4 11½
1549	16 4	3 6	1581	21 5½	5 5½
1550	18 0	3 4	1582	19 1½	4 10
1551	20 4	4 1½			

I have taken the year 1520, because the reader will find, on turning to the annual entries and averages, and the decennial averages, that in the most important of these items the rate of wages is practically identical through the whole of the fifteenth century, and for the first twenty years of the sixteenth. There are indeed years and decades of years in which the price is slightly higher or slightly lower than the average, and it is clear that common or unskilled labour secures through the course of the century or more, though with trifling fluctuations, rather better terms. The other variations are to be assigned to transient or trivial causes, to exceptional demand, or the reverse, and to summer and winter rates.

I purpose in a subsequent chapter to deal with the purchasing power of wages at the two epochs into which I have divided the years of my present enquiry, and therefore do not now comment on the continual relations of the figures in the foregoing table. It is sufficient to point to the fact that during the period 1520-47 there is very little variation in the quotient which is the average wages of the eight kinds of labour which have been added together and divided. There are slight traces of higher rates being paid in dear years, as in 1527, 1535, and 1536.

The first rise discernible is in 1548. The price of wheat was very low in 1547, singularly low, considering the fact that in 1546 Henry had issued coins containing only one-third of their weight fine, a debasement which was never carried lower till 1551, when an issue was made by Somerset and the rest at only one-fourth fine¹. Nor were the years 1546 and 1548 dear. It is not improbable that the goodness of the seasons may have blinded Henry and his executors to the effects of that which they were doing, and in their eyes have justified the expedient.

In 1548 the rate of wages on the average is over 3*s.* a week, and from this time it never falls below 3*s.* In 1559 it becomes permanently 4*s.* at least. Three times in the remaining twenty-three years it is 5*s.* and upwards. But throughout

¹ *Essays on Money and Exchanges*, by Henry James, ii. 104. See also Tooke's *History of Prices*, vol. vi. p. 370 sqq.

the whole period subsequent to 1548 it is only once double the lowest rate in the years preceding 1548, and is never double the average. But the price of wheat had risen more than two and a half times.

There are indications, rather stronger than in the earlier period, that the high price of wheat in a given year was accompanied by an elevation in the rate of wages. Sometimes it occurs in the dear year, more frequently it appears in the following year. But it is quite manifest that the rate of wages now earned by the labourer was hardly sufficient for the existence of himself and his children—I assume that his wife aided the family resources by her wages—and that many persons suffered the direst poverty, those in particular who could not eke out their wages by the cultivation of small plots of land. It is thus, too, that we can see that the policy of Elizabeth's abortive statute, 31 Eliz., cap. 7¹, was to supplement insufficient wages by making allotments of land to cottagers obligatory on the owners of property.

The rise in the price of fish begins at a somewhat earlier date. The evidence is rather scanty, as might be expected, after the dissolution of the monasteries, but a marked exaltation in prices is seen as early as 1542. It is practically permanent at and after 1548, though, as must be allowed in an article, the yield of which is so uncertain or capricious, there are occasionally very cheap years even in the latter period. This is notably the case with deep sea fish from 1564 to 1568 inclusive.

The price of linen and clothing is of less obvious interpretation, as the earlier entries sometimes exhibit very high prices. But if the decennial averages are taken, the rise will be seen to be sharp after 1541, and to steadily increase in the next

¹ This statute prohibited, under the penalty of £10, the erection of any cottages unless four acres of land were attached to them, and prescribed that not more than one family should inhabit a cottage. I think I am right in inferring, notwithstanding the language of the preamble, that the purpose of this act was to better the condition of the poor.

two decades, falling slightly in the last twelve years. The most trustworthy evidence, however, is that of shirting the permanent rise in the price of which occurs in 1549, while that of woollen cloth is exhibited as early as 1544, though this rate is a great deal exceeded by that of 1549. Sacking is found so seldom in the latter part of the period, that I cannot suggest a date for the rise, other than that derived from the analogy of canvas, which also rises permanently in 1549.

From these facts it will be seen that the rise in prices occurs in all objects of domestic produce, or of near foreign origin, in some year between 1545 and 1549, those materials alone excepted which could be procured plentifully from the ruin of the monastic houses. In such materials the rise is postponed till about 1551.

My reader will now be able to connect these facts with the issues of base money by Henry and Edward. I take the figures from the essays of Mr. James on Money and the Exchanges.

Years of issue.		Fineness of silver.	Shillings coined from lb. Troy.	Grains of silver in one shilling.	Value of shillings in coinage of 1560.
		oz. dwt.	s.		d.
1527	18 Henry VIII.	11 2	45	118.4	16.07
1543	34 „	10 0	48	100.0	13.57
1545	36 „	6 0	48	60.0	8.14
1546	37 „	4 0	48	40.0	5.42
1549	3 Edward VI.	6 0	72	40.0	5.42
1551	5 „	3 0	72	20.0	2.71
1552	6 „	11 1	60	88.4	11.80
1560	2 Elizabeth	11 2	60	88.8	12.00

It will be seen that the government of Edward not only continued the issue of base money commenced by Henry, but lowered the quantity of the mixed metal which they put into circulation, coining in the first two issues seventy-two shillings from the pound troy, so that while the first issue of Edward was finer than the last of Henry, its intrinsic value was exactly the same, while the second was only half the value of the lowest debasement and depreciation hitherto com-

mitted, and the intrinsic value of the issue was little more than one-sixth of that at which the unit stood in 1527. The coinage of 1552 has been treated as a reform by some writers, but it is certain that it was not accompanied by a redemption of the base coin at its nominal value, and it was probably intended only for that financial operation by which Gresham restored the King's credit, as far as the foreign exchanges went, at Antwerp. Good and bad money never circulate together at equal rates in the same market.

My reader will now, I think, conclude with me that the rise in prices which occurs between 1545 and 1549—he will remember that 1545 means from September 29th of that year to the same date in 1546, and so throughout the entries in these volumes—follows so closely on the issue of the base coin as to be referable to that cause entirely. A shilling of 1543, when the first debasement was effected (the amount perhaps at that time escaping the attention of the general public), was worth two shillings and sixpence of the issue of 1546, almost the same amount as the difference between corn prices in 1401–1540 and 1541–1582, and five times the issue of 1551. No wonder that Latimer in 1549 stated that ‘the naughtiness of silver is the occasion of dearth of all things in the realm,’ and quoted Isaiah, that ‘thy silver hath become dross’¹.

It is, I believe, impossible to determine the extent to which a government can exact a seignorage upon the metallic currency, or issue inconvertible paper, which it professes that it will hereafter redeem, without disturbing internal prices. It may even give the appearance of prosperity to the country in which such a policy is adopted, by heightening the price of exports, for assuredly English wool, when the weight of the piece of silver was lessened, whatever might have occurred to articles produced and consumed at home, sold at better nominal prices in the Flemish market, since the coin in such transactions became bullion. The monetary history of communities is full

¹ The reader may find more on the facts of the case in Ruding, ii. 460.

of instances illustrating the tendency of men to acquiesce in over-issues of paper, or in the coinage of an over-valued metal, because such practices give the appearance of briskness to trade, of good prices, and higher profits. The appearance is delusive indeed, and sooner or later is followed by reaction and loss, in which the working classes are the greatest sufferers.

But the issue of base money is instantly and irremediably mischievous. It affects all, except those who can interpret the fraud at once, and forthwith turning the base coin into an article of traffic, can trade on the knowledge or skill which they have acquired. To the poor, to all who live by wages or fixed salaries, it is instantly ruinous, and, as we have seen, the effect of these sixteen years of base money in England can be traced in the history of labour and wages from that period to the present time.

I have still to refer to the gradual and steady exaltation of the price of provisions during the last half of Henry the Eighth's reign, and before the issue of the base money. That a rise in such money values was noticed at the time is certain, as I have observed above, p. 111. Such a phenomenon ought to have stayed Henry's hand when he meditated and effected his great fraud on the English people. The following will serve to illustrate the fact.

	Wheat.	Barley.	Oats.	Sheep.	Boars.	Oxen.
	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>
1501—1510	5 5½	3 7½	2 0½	2 4	9 7	22 6½
1511—1520	6 8½	4 0½	2 2	2 5½	8 5½	23 2
1521—1530	7 6	4 9	2 8½	3 4	10 6	30 10½
1531—1540	7 8½	4 11½	3 1½	3 3	11 6	28 7½

The contrast is the more marked, because all prices had been exceptionally low during the previous forty years, the rate of the first decade in the above table being in excess of that which ruled in the previous decade of years.

I account for the rise by the inference that money was

slightly cheapened, and was progressively getting cheaper; and I think that, had Henry held his hand in 1543, the rise in prices, inevitable from the discovery of the New World, would have gone on the lines and by the degrees indicated in the above figures, though it might have been accelerated, as the new silver was rapidly added to the currencies of Europe¹.

¹ The actual weight of the base money was 631,950 lbs. Its nominal value is said to have been £638,113, a nearness of amount which gives colour to the possibility hinted at above (p. 188) and in the first volume, that payments were long made by weight. The actual amount of sterling silver in the base money was 244,416 lbs., i.e. at 60s. in the pound Troy, £733,248 in the new coinage. The average debasement was therefore 60 per cent. in the whole of the issues. It is not a little remarkable that the difference between the weight and reputed value of the base currency is very nearly the same as the ratio of rise between the old and new money values of provisions.

The story told by Stowe, that the dross left in the process of refining was so copious that the roads were mended with it, is absurd. The alloy was copper or brass, and would certainly have been reduced. See Ruding and James.

CHAPTER XXVI.

ON THE PROFITS OF AGRICULTURE.

I HAVE been unable to discover, as I did in the materials of my first two volumes, such full and distinct evidence as enabled me, by the proof of figures, to indicate the profits of agriculture before and after the Great Death of 1348¹. That economical revolution was fortunately recorded in the struggles of those who were unwilling to accept the events to which, within a few years, they were forced to succumb, and in the unavailing efforts of Parliament to arrest the disasters of suddenly exalted wages in the face of deficient crops and declining profits. But the facts of the situation once fairly understood, it is possible, even in the absence of decisive evidence as to the numerical value of the details of what constituted the costs of production, and of what was the price of produce on any particular estate, or aggregate of estates, to give general statements as to the position of those who carried on agriculture on their own account, either with their own land, or by a stock and land lease, or in an ordinary occupancy, and even to suggest a probable balance-sheet.

I stated above (p. 128) that, from an analysis of a farm belonging to New College during the latter half of the fifteenth and the first quarter of the sixteenth century, the profits of the landowner's stock may be taken at a gross amount of 15 per cent., the inference being supported by figures. So large a rate of profit, land being generally in the same period bought at twenty years' purchase, would have induced most landowners, if they could contrive to maintain such an investment, to con-

¹ Vol. I, pp. 678-681.

tinue stock and land leasing, even under the onerous terms of doing all their tenant's repairs, and insuring him against extraordinary losses of live stock. That this was done is also shown by sufficient evidence. It is not equally, but it is sufficiently clear that, up to the time that the monasteries were dissolved, the custom of letting on stock and lease still existed, that it was profitable to the corporation, and was not disadvantageous to the poorer tenant.

That the tenants who could occupy land with their own stock did so, and gradually declined the stock and land lease, was similarly inevitable. The result is partly to be seen in the growing infrequency of such a lease, partly in the progressively low value assigned to the stock which is to be treated as indestructible, partly in the landlord's covenants that he would not only do the repairs, but even insure the stock. It is impossible to doubt that, except in such extreme cases as Fitzherbert hints at (p. 65), the tenant was secure against the landlord's rapacity, and we may imagine that he was perhaps even able to take advantage of his landlord's necessities. The tenant knew moreover that the common interest of landlord and tenant would be used against the crown, against grants in parliament, against the officials of the exchequer. The early conviction that there was a common interest between landlord and tenant has endured to our own time, long after it has ceased to be true.

It appears again, from the record of the rentals at Corpus Christi College, Oxford (p. 136), that it was difficult to raise rents directly, and that there could have been at this time, and for a long time afterwards, little competition between occupants for the use of land; that in fact competition rents had not come into existence. The fact is further illustrated by the expedient adopted in the interests of the Cambridge Colleges, of taking corn in place of money rents from their tenants, and even in some cases, cattle and sheep, long before the statute of Elizabeth was passed. The same difficulty in raising rents, notwithstanding the rise in prices, led to the custom of exacting fines¹

¹ See for fines paid to All Souls in 1559, Vol. III, p. 685.

on renewals for terms or for lives. Nor do I conceive that the grantees of the monastic lands could obtain much better terms from the tenants of the dissolved monasteries than the old landlords did. The same causes or influences were at work here, new tenants could not be extemporised, and it is reasonable to think that the custom of sheep-farming may have been quite as much stimulated by the fact that the new grantees had not the stock which the monasteries possessed, and therefore the opportunity of making a profitable bargain with the occupants, as by the price of wool and by foreign demand for it. In one direction certainly the landowner, i.e. the lord of the manor, could improve his position. He could inclose commons at the expense of the tenants, freehold and occupying, and it is manifest that he did so.

The position of the small freeholders and of the occupier had been greatly bettered during the long epoch of prosperity and good seasons, which continued without a break and with scarcely an alteration through the fifteenth century and the early part of the sixteenth, and this although prices were low and wages were high. The proof of this is to be found in the remarkable rise in the value of land, which was sold for at least twenty years' purchase, and in the occupation or purchase of base tenures by persons of opulence and social rank¹. Such light as is shed by contemporaneous testimony, for instance that from Fortescue's work, on the social condition of England in the fifteenth century, exhibits an independence and energy which could have only been the outcome of continued prosperity.

The rent of land in the immediate neighbourhood of London is illustrated by the record of the rents paid to the Nunnery of Barking for land in close proximity to the Convent. It will be noticed that the whole is general grass land, which always bore a far higher rate than arable². An enclosure of eleven

¹ The last *chivage* (*capitagium*) of which I have found an entry is under the year 1530. The word properly means the head-money paid by non-resident *serfs*. In this case it is probably no more than the small sum which every tenant paid the steward on the occasions when a manor court was held.

² 'If a juror in civil causes,' then a witness as well as a judge of facts, 'be convicted by

acres is, in 1540, let at 1s. 4d. an acre, another of six acres at 3s. 4d., and a third of eleven acres at 4s. A vineyard empaled with elms and well stored with conies—the vines must have been trained on high rails to be out of the way of the rabbits—five acres in extent, and sixteen acres of ‘grange meadow’ are let at 4s. an acre. These payments for the use of meadow land in 1540 may be compared with those quoted on p. 298, and certainly indicate that no rise had been effected at this later date.

When the rise in prices occurred—generally, as is shown in the foregoing chapter, about 1547—the farmer had to reckon on the following basis. As far as regarded tools and implements, and materials which must be purchased for the proper working of his land, he had to meet fully double prices for them; for it is not to be supposed that he could purchase his small parcels of iron or steel, and similar goods, at the same rate as those who made large purchases. His cart, which he could have procured at 52s. 5d. a generation before, now costs 128s., and such tools as he had to buy would have risen in the same proportion. From this side of his expenditure he could not save sufficiently for any notable increase of rent; for if the cost of production from land proceeded *pari passu* with the price of that produced, rent would be *in equilibrio*; and if it were only a little less on the whole, but liable to fluctuation from year to year, the increased value of the holding would probably be not discovered, and would certainly be disputed.

But he could and did gain on the relatively diminished wages of labour. Here however we must take into account the amount of employment offered. Coke’s testimony is to the effect (p. 513, note), that in the latter part of Edward VI’s reign there was a very serious diminution in the number of hands employed in husbandry, owing to the laying down of land in grass, and the growing practice of sheep and cattle breeding as contrasted with arable husbandry. It is possible

attaint of perjury, his houses and buildings shall be razed and thrown down, his woods felled, and his meadow grounds ploughed.’ Fortescue, *de Laudibus legum Angliæ*, cap. 26.

that while the price of such labour as was employed was low, little labour was actually employed, and that therefore the economy of lessened wages would not appear manifestly in the reckoning of the occupier. This will be referred to more fully in the next chapter.

Still, difficult as it was to raise rent directly, I cannot but think that the profits of the agriculturist were sensibly increased after the rise in prices, and that he would have been indirectly compellable to admit the landowner to a share in his growing gains, had it not been that there was some process going on which as sensibly lessened his advantages. . And this I conclude was the practice of enclosures. The right of common pasture must, in such a condition of agriculture as that in which the husbandman was ignorant of the advantages of winter roots, artificial pasture and deep ploughing, have been of extreme value. We have seen indeed (p. 50) how highly Fitzherbert estimates the advantage of possessing enclosed meadows, and makes the best success of sheep-breeding depend upon such kinds of property. That the prospect of such advantage stimulated enclosure is plain, that the cattle and sheep of the wealthier landowners kept the common pasture closely cropped is asserted expressly by Fitzherbert, but the eagerness with which the conveniences of such pasture were appropriated is proof of how great the advantage was, and how much by implication was lost to the poorer husbandman when these rights of common were curtailed. When Coke says that the landlord enclosed a mile round his home, and thereby impoverished his poorer neighbours, he is thinking of much more than a goose common, or such similarly scanty fragments as a century and a half of continual enclosures has left from the great open spaces on which the cattle and sheep of all the villagers wandered.

I do not however doubt that during the reign of Elizabeth the yeomanry became numerous, and, relatively speaking, rich, or that the numerous freeholders whom we read of in the next century had, if not their beginning, their first settlement on the soil at that time. We know indeed next to nothing of the manner

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in which these thriving freeholders lived during the fifteenth century. But it is manifest that they need not have denied themselves many of those luxuries which they certainly did not indulge in a century later. Then they were undoubtedly thrifty, and probably lived in the plainest possible manner; for in a time when the extraordinary necessities of government had no other practicable resource, except direct taxation on visible property, there would be every temptation to avoid the appearance of opulence. Accumulations of wealth from agriculture, especially when agriculture is unprogressive, are very slow, and may be easily concealed under a penurious mode of life¹, and competition for occupancy, was, I am persuaded, almost unknown.

Progressive agriculture is in many ways a cause of public wealth. It gives opportunity for engaging an increasing section of the community in other industrial pursuits. It stimulates foreign trade by the exportation of surplus produce, and enlarges the market for home products by the increase of population. But the agriculture of the sixteenth century made no progress. The cultivation of the soil was still on the system of Walter de Henley and Fitzherbert. Only one new article, the hop, was introduced into English agriculture, and the cultivation of the hop was, at least in the first instance, supposed to be mischievous, and was denounced or dreaded.

Nor does the poverty of the revenue and the decline of tax-paying resources prove much. It is very hard to extract a revenue from a purely agricultural community, which has few manufactures and a narrow foreign trade. However much philanthropists may regret it, the chief hopes of the financier and the most fruitful sources of revenue depend on the power which a community has of spending its means upon articles of voluntary consumption, and especially on those articles which a great many people now think that the consumer

¹ It may serve as an illustration of the inelasticity of competition rents that, as late as the Restoration, quit-rents or fee farm rents were a favourite form of investing charitable donations or devises. Had farm rents shown symptoms of progress they would have been preferred, as they were in the next generation.

would do far better without. The Dutch were quick at discovering this in the course of their long war with Spain, and adopted excise regulations. The Parliamentary party soon saw that the effective but costly army which Cromwell collected and trained would be starved on direct taxation, but would be easily maintained on an excise to which persons would seem to contribute voluntarily. Still, I have very little doubt that Charles owed his restoration much more to the costliness of the Protector's army, and to a searching and vexatious excise, than he did to a revived loyalty. Of this I am sure, that, till some distance into the seventeenth century, England was not possessed of a mercantile marine, which, as compared with that of other European nations, was nearly equal to that commercial navy which she had in the first half of the fifteenth century, when she claimed and exercised the sovereignty of the narrow seas, a sovereignty which, two centuries later, Selden reasserted in theory.

I shall now attempt, though with some hesitation, the experiment of constructing, from the evidence given of the seed and harvest account for four years of the manor of Cuxham, in Oxfordshire, between 1333-6 inclusive (Vol. I, pp. 38-45), and from the profit and loss account of 1332, what was the position of a farmer of the same estate (as far as expenses are concerned, and on the hypothesis of similar sales to those effected in the last-named year) in the decennial period of 1561-70. My inferences are hypothetical, except that prices are recorded, and that the state of agriculture was manifestly stationary. The prices are extracted from the various tables for the decennial period in question, as far as materials, produce, and labour are concerned.

The average extent of land under cultivation at Cuxham, in the four years of the fourteenth century, is 181 acres. Half as much was probably in fallow, both then and in 1571-80. Of these acres, the average in the four years, omitting fractions, is 87 wheat, 9 barley, 26 drage, 52 oats, 13 peas and vetches. The produce, on an average of four years, is a little over two

quarters of wheat per acre, a fraction over a quarter of barley, nearly a quarter and a half of drage or bere, more than a quarter and a half of oats, and nearly a quarter and a half of peas. It is clear that the Cuxham estate is, or was, essentially wheat-growing land, the average quantity produced on the acre being very large for medieval agriculture. The average price of the five kinds of grain for these four years is—wheat, 4s. 7½d.; barley, 3s. 5¼d.; drage, 2s. 10d.; oats, 2s. 1d.; peas, 3s. 1¼d. the quarter. In the decade 1561–70, the averages of the same kinds, omitting drage, which was no longer purchased, perhaps not cultivated, are—wheat, 12s. 10¼d.; barley, 8s. 11¾d.; oats, 6s. 3¼d.; peas, 9s. 4¼d. the quarter. But the quantity of barley and bere grown on the farm is inconsiderable.

In the four years the average gross value of the wheat is £41 3s.; of the barley, £1 14s. 4d.; of the drage, £5 7s. 8d.; of the oats, £8 19s. 2d.; of the peas, £2 3s. 9d. The whole value of the grain crops is £59 8s. 2d.

Now, if we assume that the rate of production in the decade 1561–70 was the same as in 1533–6, the value of the produce in the decade would be—wheat, £114 13s. 3d.; barley, £4 10s.; drage (in the proportion, 3s. 5¼d., 2s. 10d.; 8s. 11¾d., 7s. 5d.), £14 2s. 6d.; oats, £26 19s. 3d.; peas, £6 11s. 10d.; in all, £166 16s. 10d. The rise in price is 2·81, the range of prices in the four years of the thirteenth century being ¼ below the general average, and the quantity presumed to be reaped in 1561–70, as much in excess of the fact, as interpreted by prices which are assumed to register scarcity and plenty precisely.

In 1332 the corn sold at Cuxham was valued at £33 10s. 10¼d. If the amounts be taken on the above valuations, corn amounting on an average to £25 17s. 4d. is consumed in the labour of man and beast at the earlier epoch. In the latter, the sales would amount to £91 6s. 3d., and the expenses, on the head of charges for man and beast, to £75 10s. 7d.

Now I pointed out in the last chapter that the general rise on all kinds of farm produce during the last forty-two years of my period is 2·71 to unity. If we multiply the gross profits

of the year 1332-3 by this quantity, we shall arrive at that which, on my hypothesis, would be the later value of that which might have been sold from the same acreage in 1561-70. The amount so sold in 1332-3 is worth £49 16s. 2d., including those manorial incidents which certainly did not go with the lease. This, multiplied as above, would be £125 19s.

The expenses, however, incurred in procuring the sum of £49 16s. 2d. are, again omitting those which would not appear in the farmer's account, about £27; so that the actual profit gained in 1332 from a cultivation of an average of 181 acres is only £22 16s. 2d. Of these expenses, less than £4 is money wages for labour. Upon £23 then must be induced the rise effected in implements and materials in husbandry, and this cannot be less than double, while on the money wages only will the lower rate of increase be reckoned. Taking the multiplier of the £23 at 2, and of the £4 at 1.6, the corresponding deduction will be £52 8s., and the net value of the sales will be £73 11s. Thus far it would seem that the profit of the Elizabethan farmer in money, is more than three times that gained in the early years of Edward III, and that therefore there should have remained a considerable margin for an increase of rent.

The comparison, however, is not quite complete. We must still take into account the value of the capital stock, and the rate of profit derived from this item. I reckoned the profits on the capital of 1332-3 at 18 per cent. Now the rise in the price of the most important kind of live stock is to more than three times that at which it stood in 1332; the rent of the land must be supposed at any rate to have included interest on the landlord's outlay for repairs and buildings; and assuming that the tenant expected as full a rate of profit as his landlord could have made had he taken the land into his own hands, it appears that the utmost on which the landlord could derive a further rent from the Cuxham estate, would be about £7 10s. But from this is to be deducted the loss to the farmers from the enclosures of the common fields, for I do not doubt that

it was by these enclosures that the landowners augmented their incomes, little being available as yet for a rise in rents, directly or indirectly, on the old tenancies. And if the tenant, in consideration of the landlord doing all the improvements and repairs and insuring the stock, paid double the rent, viz. 1*s.* the acre, 6*d.* being generally gotten in 1332, nearly the whole additional profit would have been exhausted. Nor should we lose sight of the fact that as servants in husbandry are almost universally boarded, this part of their wages would inevitably rise in the ratio at which the price of food rose; and we may conclude that as, to judge from the rate of money wages, it was more expedient to pay money than to feed labour, the employer must have had some strong inducement to adopt the latter course.

I am quite aware that the figures which are contained in this estimate, result in no more than an attempt to form a hypothetical balance-sheet of a farmer's tenancy under a corporation in Oxford, in the middle of Elizabeth's reign, and are therefore far removed from the absolute accuracy of the two balance-sheets in Vol. I, pp. 678-681. But the figures are derived from facts, and from averages constructed from the facts, and I have no doubt that, were the record discoverable, it would be found that the Cuxham estate of two carucates was let in 1561-70 at about £12 a year, and that when the statute of Elizabeth (18, cap. 6) came into force, it was virtually raised to £16 or £18; since a quarter of wheat, or its value, was to be paid for every 6*s.* 8*d.*; a quarter of malt, or its value, for every 5*s.* of rent¹. This provision can have been made, only because it was, in the absence of the means for inducing competition for occupancy, the sole process by which the landowner was able to gain a share in that extra profit which was being derived from increased prices and diminished cost. It is also noteworthy that the statute was passed in 1576 (the Parliament began to sit on Feb. 6 and was prorogued on March 15), but did not come into operation till 1582. This

¹ Since making the above calculation I have examined the Merton College register, and find that in 1590 the Cuxham rental was £16 1*s.* 6*d.*

fact is to be accounted for by the difficulty which corporations would have in inducing their tenants to accept an innovation which was intended to have the effect of raising their rents in an indirect way.

'You came,' says Fortescue (chap. 29), 'very young out of England, so that the distribution and character of that country is unknown to you¹. If you knew them and compared them with the advantages and characteristics of other countries, you would not wonder at these matters which you question. England is so fruitful in comparison with them, that it surpasses all other countries in fertility. There are fields and pastures, enclosed by hedges and ditches, planted with trees, so as to be a defence to herds of sheep and cattle against the storm and the heat. The pastures are generally watered, so that the animals which are enclosed in them need no keeper day or night. There are no beasts of prey, and sheep can lie by night unwatched in their folds, and so enrich the soil. Hence the people of that country are not weighted by heavy labour, but breathe freely like those patriarchs who chose rather to feed cattle than oppress themselves with the anxieties of husbandry. Moreover, the same country is so dotted and filled with landowners, that hardly a hamlet in it is without knight, esquire, or franklin, who is not enriched with good property. There are freeholders also and yeomen, many of the latter of whom could spend a hundred pounds, and knights and esquires whose income does not fall short of five hundred marks.' I suspect that Fortescue is exaggerating matters, when he is encouraging the young prince to study the laws and constitution of the people over whom he hopes that he may reign, after a campaign and counter-revolution, and is contrasting it with the beggarly condition of France, where the civil law is supreme, and the kingdom is not 'political,' as he calls a constitutional monarchy, borrowing his term from Aristotle, but one which is absolute in theory and arbitrary in practice.

¹ He is addressing the unlucky Edward of Lancaster who was either slain at, or executed after, Tewkesbury fight.

As far as the yeomen and husbandmen were concerned, there is no reason to doubt that their condition remained as fortunate in the sixteenth as the contemporary witness of their prosperity asserts that it was in the fifteenth. A rise in the price of agricultural produce, unless it be the result of moderately bad seasons, is always advantageous to those who are tilling land, whether it comes from a change in the value of money, or from an increased demand, or from a greatly deficient supply. Rent can only be increased by the growth of population in countries which are as yet sparsely occupied, though in such countries there is a violent contrast between the rent of fully settled districts and those which are scantily inhabited, as is seen in various parts of the old states in the American Union, or by the development and diffusion of agricultural improvements. Now England in the time of the Plantagenet and Tudor sovereigns was as fully peopled as it could be, for the produce of the country was only adequate to the comfortable maintenance of a population which had always hitherto demanded and obtained an ample and nourishing diet. Improvements in the arts of agriculture, as I have often said, had not yet been developed, and until the skill which appropriated and used them had become the common property of all agriculturists, and the habits of farming capital had become migratory, there were no means by which the landowner could bring his tenants under the influence of competition rents. This was to be effected in the future; it could not be achieved as yet. The student of agricultural history, and especially of that phenomenon in it, the rise of agricultural rents a hundredfold over ancient rates, will find that what economists call fertility, is not only that of the earth and the sun, but of that acuteness, skill, foresight, and diligence which constitute the best qualities of a competent husbandman in our day. Fertility is and must be in the soil, but it is still more in the intelligence of the man who handles the soil. The former kind of fertility is, and may remain, a capacity only; the latter is an energy.

CHAPTER XXVII.

ON THE PURCHASING POWER OF WAGES.

I HAVE now nearly completed the task which I set before myself in commenting on the large array of facts which are contained in my third volume. I have attempted to analyse and formulate those prices of articles in use and in demand, which the Englishman of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries produced by labour, or exchanged by trade and commerce. The course of prices has been followed through a long period, and the reader will be able to see and distinguish those fluctuations which arise from purely natural causes, as the course of the seasons and their attendant plenty and dearth; those which were derived from the action of government, as the extravagance and misconduct of the last king of the house of Lancaster, and the second of the house of Tudor, and the difficulty which there was in any recuperation when such evils were long dominant; and lastly, the effects which were induced upon society by a universal but variable rise in prices. He will have also seen that in the end the king and the labourer were impoverished, that the landowner had to make strong and continuous efforts in order to recover his share in the products of the soil, and that the yeoman or franklin, who cultivated his own land with his own capital, and by his own labour and superintendence, prospered in the dear times, as did also, though perhaps to a less extent, the occupier of a yearly holding or the lessee for a short term. I have attempted to point out what were the consequences of these altered times to all those members of the social system. There is one class, however, over whose condition more lasting effects were induced than were felt by any other. The king recovered his

revenue, and almost his independence in the early years of the Stuart family, the landowner was gradually able to take advantage of the diffusion of agricultural skill, and to employ all the force of law to increase his rents at the expense of the tenant first, and of the general public afterwards. The manufacturer or merchant, up to the time at which my volumes conclude, a small factor in the system, was gradually to become the prime cause of wealth to all. But the labourer was to get poorer and poorer, and to earn the least share of the opulence in the future, till in our own day, thanks to the energy with which he has employed his liberty to form labour partnerships, and the general discretion with which he has used and studied his powers; to the free trade which he tardily, but in the end fully, saw was the charter of his economical liberty; and lastly, to some acts of legislation, which have given him assistance against the fraud or the folly of his employers, the artisan has made material progress. Unluckily, his brother, the agricultural labourer, has been unable to attain the beneficent results of combination; and has, by a perverse and unnatural alliance between ignorant landowners and equally ignorant tenants at will, been made less efficient and increasingly scarce. The last forty-two years of my present period are the commencement of the change.

The average wages of an artisan between 1401 and 1540 are 3*s.* a week; those of a labourer in husbandry, or unskilled labourer as I have called him, more to distinguish him from the artisan than to state a fact of which I should affirm the contrary, are 2*s.* There is no doubt that the best farm hand of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries was, as far as his particular calling was concerned, as good and as varied a workman as the farm hand was in rural England before he had an opportunity of escaping from his ill-paid labour, as he is described in Elizabeth's proclamation, p. 121.

Now the cost of maintaining labour is given over and over again in the accounts of the third volume. It was necessarily dearer in London than it was in country places. It was more

liberal in harvest time, when the wages of the farm hand were fully up to those of the artisan, than it was at other times. Thus at Teffonte, Wilts, in 1401, harvest men are paid 4*d.* a day with their food, which certainly cost not less than a shilling a week. The same payment is made at Alton Barnes, also in Wilts, in 1403 and subsequent years. At ordinary times, the labourer who was dieted had 1*s.* a week in money wages, as in 1407. Such persons are apparently single men.

The value of the food of labourers is constantly given in the accounts of King's Hall, Cambridge, from 1414 onwards. By this time low prices had begun to prevail. In these accounts it is 8*d.*, 8½*d.*, 9*d.*, and 10*d.* a week, according as the price of provisions in any given year rose and fell. But it is most generally 8*d.* It is probable that, as the remuneration for food is almost invariably paid to artisans, this arrangement was part of the bargain made for their services. It is likely that when the labourer was employed at a house in which a sufficient establishment was regularly kept, especially at an opulent college, the board is given in, the workman taking his place at the servants' table, as at Perten Hall in 1518. In the same year it is clear that board is reckoned in Hickling Priory at 2*d.* a day. In 1533, 4, 5, it appears to be at about the same rate in hirings of carpenters and sawyers at Lewes, or a little more, as sawing by the hundred feet is at the common rate, 1*s.*, when the labourers are not maintained, 7*d.* when they are, for in this case of course a pair of sawyers is intended.

In 1542 board and lodging are still reckoned at 2*d.* a day. The locality is Withingham, a place which I have not identified. In 1543 board is set at 1*s.* 4*d.* the week in Ludlow. In 1551 and 1553 the board of workmen per diem is reckoned at rates varying from 3*s.* 6*d.* to 2*s.* 6*d.* a week, the rise in prices being now fully effected. In 1561 'bread' and drink for three men is reckoned at 7*d.* a day together, and in 1562 bread and drink for a slater and his man are set down at 1*s.* 8*d.* for a week. I have adverted before (p. 511) to contracts entered into in the years 1562, 1563, 1570, for boarding the Queen's workmen at the

navy yards of Deptford, Gillingham, and Portsmouth. Similar contracts were made in later years. In 1573 the contracts for the four successive quarters at Gillingham are 4*s.*; in 1577, 4*s.*, 5*s.* 3*d.*, 4*s.* 6*d.*, and 5*s.* for the same periods. In 1578 they are 4*s.* for the last quarter at Gillingham; 4*s.* 4*d.* and 4*s.* 6*d.* for two different quarters of the same year at Portsmouth. There are contracts indeed made by the Queen, and are probably higher than those which would represent the charge to which private persons were put. But 1551 is a dear year, wheat being 20*s.* 4*d.* the quarter, while in 1553 it is only 10*s.* In 1573 it is 26*s.* 3½*d.*; in 1577, 20*s.* 2*d.*; in 1578, 17*s.* 4½*d.* It is plain, however, that the cost of boarding a labourer is at least three times as great in 1551 and 1553 as it was in 1542, and this, I can fully believe, was, generally speaking, the measure of the change in his condition, and of the purchasing power of money over provisions as interpreted by a workman's board, when that board was provided by his employer.

In my first volume, p. 683 sqq., I attempted to show how far it was possible for a small freeholder or copyholder on a twenty-acre farm to live plentifully, but coarsely, to have saved before the visitation of the Great Plague, and to save to a still greater extent, if he were a survivor of the calamity, after that event. I do not conceive that this power of living comfortably and saving steadily was curtailed during the whole of the fifteenth century and the first forty years of the sixteenth. If I have made myself plain in the foregoing chapter, the reader will allow that the opportunity of bettering himself was still more open to the peasant proprietor and the tenant farmer, after the rise in prices occurred, and indeed that all these events were advantageous to those who possessed land, or had capital wherewith to stock that which they rented. Moreover, up to the rise in prices, there were opportunities for the farm labourer, if he were thrifty and prudent, to acquire possession of land.

But I am at present concerned with those who lived by wages only. That they became numerous in the sixteenth century is proved by the statute 31 Eliz., cap. 7, to which I

have referred above. It is probable that during the land hunger of the fifteenth century, the less provident and helpful labourers might have lost those curtilages of their cottages, which we see were the characteristics of the serfs in the court rolls of the fourteenth century, and Elizabeth wished to restore to them, and it is certain that they would be the principal losers by the enclosures, even though these enclosures were made by the rule of distributing the land so appropriated in proportion to the extent which each commoner had, at the date of the transaction, in severalty. But such was not the rule in Elizabeth's time, as we may infer from the complaints and the abortive law of 1589.

Now the artisans undoubtedly benefited by the prosperity of the fifteenth century. I discover this fact in the infrequency with which raw materials of certain kinds are purchased, in order to be made up, as iron and steel, by the local smith, for though I have fairly full prices of raw iron, those of wrought are far more numerous. Besides, some articles, such as clouts and clouts nails, iron plough shoes and horse-shoes, become infrequent and finally disappear. The work is done by the village smith or wheelwright as part of his ordinary employment, and he must therefore have had capital sufficient for buying iron and steel and fashioning the material into such articles and tools as were in constant demand. The same fact is not visible in the case of building materials, where the outlay on stone, brick, lime, timber, roof and ridge tiles, and slates is still made by the parties who construct buildings, the trade of a master-builder not being yet developed, though there are a few examples of contracts to be found, especially for timber work and lime burning. As a rule, however, the workmen or the master workman seem to have supplied the plans¹, and at least to have supervised the structure.

I do not then infer, that, after the statute of apprenticeship was enforced in the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, the higher class of artisan, though his real wages were greatly diminished, suffered so severely as other labourers did, for he had the

¹ See the free-masons' wages, p. 122.

advantage, frequently or even generally, of being a capitalist, and of dealing in the article on which he worked, as well as receiving wages for his labour. I draw my inference again from the fact that, when he was impressed in the service of the Crown, he is brought from long distances, well fed and lodged by the Crown, paid pretty well in addition, and presented with journey-money when he was dismissed. That inferior artisans shared in that decline of the condition of ordinary work, which is so marked in unskilled labour, may readily be believed.

The artisan, before 1540, could earn on an average, taking fifty weeks as the amount of his yearly labour, about £7 a year. It is to be noted that at Windsor, in 1408, four carpenters are paid 6*d.* a day all the year through, weekdays, Sundays, and holidays alike, and receive therefore £9 2*s.* 6*d.* a year each. Not to dwell on the extraordinary demand made by Henry VIII on his workmen, who are kept to labour constantly, not only on Sundays and holidays, but sometimes by night, two things are clear as to the labour of those who worked for ordinary employers. In the first place it is plain that they did not cease working on all Church holidays, as a cursory glance on the wages paid by the fellows of Merton in building their tower will prove, though if the workmen ceased from their labours the employer only reckoned halves of days. The second point is that the hours of customary labour could not have been long. This, I think, is proved by the very short portion, only the darkest part of the year, in which the slight reduction, 6*d.* a week, is made from weekly wages. The masons on the Merton bell-tower get 3*s.* 4*d.* a week up to the fourth week in October, and 2*s.* 10*d.* from this date to the last week in January, when the old rates are resumed. These rates appear to me, deducting meal times, to point to an eight hours' day. The inference which I draw is confirmed by the large number of night hours occasionally given by a man who has done a day's work already, in Needham's account of Henry's building charges. The ordinary payment for day work, in 1532, is about 7*d.* But the extra hours are paid at 1*d.* an hour. Now if the

number of hours in the working day was thus limited, it is easy to see that an artisan might be able to employ his extra hours in some other calling or in odd jobs, no record of the earnings of which has been preserved.

It may be worth while here to collect the evidence as to the amount of work done and money earned by one of the masons on Merton tower. Thomas Wykes receives at the rate of 3*s.* 4*d.* a week for thirty-eight weeks in the year, and 2*s.* 10*d.* for the remaining fourteen, in the year 1449-50, February to February. In the second week of April he works for only three days (Easter day was on April 13 in 1449), in the third and fourth five days only. During the first week in June (Whitsunday was June 1) he again works for three days only; for the third week of July for three days only, when there could have been no religious reason. At Christmas time he does no work for three weeks, perhaps having taken a holiday, as one of his fellows works on the third week. The whole of his money wages during the year are £6 17*s.* 6*d.* Besides Sundays, he does no work in twenty-nine days in the year, of which ten appear to be of voluntary absence. The mason of 1551-82, at 10½*d.* a day, working for the same time, and at an analogous reduction during the fourteen weeks, would have earned £10 18*s.* 4½*d.*, that is, a little less than 1·6 to 1.

I reckoned that the earnings of the owner, free or by copy, of an estate of twenty acres, with of course a homestead, at about £4 a year in the time which preceded the Great Plague, and that it exceeded this amount after that event. Such earnings would not have been less in the fifteenth and part of the sixteenth centuries. But an artisan earned in money wages at least fifty per cent. more than the peasant proprietor. If a labourer at 2*s.* a week was employed in husbandry for the same time that Wykes was, his earnings would be £4 14*s.* a year, an amount which corresponds with the estimate which I made of the gains of a peasant on a twenty-acre holding. During the last thirty-two years of the period comprised in these volumes, the wages of a labourer in husbandry would

amount for the same space of time to £8 4s. But while the price of wheat in the fifteenth century was about 5s. 4d. the quarter, it is at an average of nearly 15s. in the last thirty-two years, and other provisions have risen in an almost equal proportion. The rise in wages is from 1 to 1'72, of corn from nearly one to three.

I am taking a favourable case, when I assume that the artisan and the day-labourer in husbandry would look forward to regular employment for forty-seven weeks in the year during the latter part of the sixteenth century. Elizabeth's proclamation for Rutland (sup. p. 120) reckons the maximum money wages of an expert or first-class servant in husbandry at 40s. in money and 6s. for clothing, and the food of men at 4d. a day, of women at 3d., and the wages of a labourer who keeps himself, at 7d. in the summer, and 6d. a day in the winter. The rate prescribed (1563) for summer wages, is that which I have inferred from my accounts as the earnings of an unskilled labourer. The proclamation, therefore, reckons the wages of a first-class hind, hired by the year, clothing and board included, at £8 7s. 8d., and those of a carpenter and other artisans, for a year of the same duration, at £11. But the wages of the carpenter are considerably less than those which I have taken above, being by the proclamation 4s. 6d. a week for half the year, and 4s. for the other half. It is most unlikely, however, that the wages earned by the artisan would amount in the aggregate to nearly this sum, and that he would be very fairly employed if they reached £10.

I reckoned that the cost of a peasant's family of four persons in the early part of the fourteenth century was £3 4s. 9d., and I put down £1 3s. 6d. for wheat, 7s. 7d. for beer, 16s. 8d. for meat, and 17s. for clothing. There is no material change in the money values of these articles up to the time in which prices permanently rose, but during the last forty-two years of the period the same quantity of wheat would cost £2 18s. 6d., of malt, 17s. 6d.; of meat, £2 10s.; of clothing, £1 14s.; £8 in all. But, as we see, the wages and allowances of a first-

class hind are reckoned at £8 7s. 8d., so that he could hardly live at the same standard of comfort that his ancestor did a century before on his earnings, and hardly save at all. But as the statute of Elizabeth complains, the custom of building cottages without curtilages had attracted the attention of the government, and we must conclude that the house rent of the labourer, which, in my first volume, I treated as wholly unimportant, or at the worst paid by poultry rents, was now becoming a serious addition to the family charges of the labourer in husbandry. Even if we take the wages of a labourer in husbandry, not hired by the year, at £8 4s., the margin of earnings by the side of expenditure is very narrow. That the labourer had to reduce his expenditure is plain. The general cost of maintenance in the early period is 8d. a week of six days, the Rutland proclamation makes it 2s., and so acknowledges, unconsciously, a triple rise. Had I made such a difference in my calculations, the cost of a family of four on the old standard would have been £9 4s.

Still the labourer of Elizabeth's time was better off than his descendant was in the time of Arthur Young. I have quoted, vol. i. p. 690, his average price of farm labour by the week. It is 7s. 3½d., or £18 14s. 7d. the year, and deducting house rent and firing, £15 12s. 6d. But wheat in 1771, was 48s., butter 6¼d., cheese 3d., meat 3d., and malt not much less, the duty included, than 30s.; i. e. the necessaries of life were from three to four times as dear as they were in the latter part of my period, while the wages of labour were not much more than double.

Still more striking is the contrast between the rate at which Elizabeth's proclamation estimates the wages and board of a first-class hind, and that which Young thinks exceedingly high. In 1563 they are rated at £8 7s. 8d., in 1771 at £10 8s. 6d. Even in Elizabeth's days, however, the cost of living had become so disproportionate to the rate of wages, that the legal relief of destitution was the only remedy discernible against a growing pauperism.

But evil as the condition of the labourer was as contrasted with that which had been witnessed a century before Elizabeth's age, a contrast which I have attempted to exhibit, though it was a condition which even Henry looked at with uneasiness, even Somerset could not help pitying, but which Elizabeth tried to grapple with, the labourer in husbandry was doomed to still greater penury as the centuries passed on, and to a prospect of unrelieved hopelessness. When Young wrote, England was just engaging herself in the struggle with the American colonies. To this foolish effort succeeded another foolish effort, the great Continental war, when manufacturers, merchants, landowners, and farmers, made huge profits out of the miseries of the English peasant and artisan. The working people of England had to bear the great burdens of these struggles, and won none of the gains and glory of those who bragged of their heroism and their sacrifices. The war over, the powerful and rich strove to bolster up their falling rents by enacting that the people should starve before they could be relieved, and that the bounties of Providence and the benefits of trade should be denied to their fellow-countrymen.

It is proved beyond doubt that during that fearful time which intervened between the outbreak of the Continental war and the repeal of the taxes on food, the heaviest part of the suffering fell on the labouring classes in the towns where manufactures were carried on. In the country, it became necessary to supplement wages by allowances from the poor-rate, and by constant relief. In course of time, it was seen that pauperism would devour rents and probably in time profits. That the new poor-law was a necessity we may well admit, and sharp as the surgery was, it has been beneficial to the English labourer, because parochial relief, when properly administered, has attached discredit to the unworthy recipients of it, but may be made merciful to the prudent, but unfortunate, and considerate to infancy and old age. But like many economical reforms it was taken in the wrong place and time. It should have followed, not preceded the repeal of the corn-laws. As long as



... which the money, might have bought, but was
to buy. From that unlucky precedence given to c
reform, animosities have sprung up and still smoul
needs much wisdom and laborious patience to quenc
which is too often vicarious.

Meanwhile the errors and crimes of the past :
their present punishment. The man who for ger
laboured on the soil, and has received no justic
mercy from those who have reaped the profit of l
fled from his ungrateful occupation. A serf with
centuries, he has at last found out that he is not l
and the question now is, how can English land be
they who could have tilled it are irrevocably gone?
which I foresaw sixteen years ago has occurred.

INDEX.

A.
 en,
 of, 534 *note*.
 smith,
 strictures on apprenticeship, 97.
 n,
 of production at, 39.
 ation,
 teenth century, 148.
 464.

 rally in favour of gold,
 9.
 ture,
 onary in fifteenth and
 teenth centuries, 39.
 on, difficult, 726.
 nulation of wealth by,
 3.
 tural labourer, the,
 : a residuum, 499.
 tural profits,
 ates of, 745.
 h, Bp.,
 ler of, 9, 174.

 culent fishes, 536.

 s of, 618.
 l beer,
 ence of, and prices of,
 6.
 ler de Anima, 600.
 rories, the,
 eason of, 9.
 nts,
 te of 31 Eliz. cap. 7,
 object, 733 and *note*.
 nces,
 labourers, of beer &c.,
 8.

Almonds,
 kinds of, high and low
 prices of, 673.
 Altar basons,
 price of, 626.
 Altar cloths,
 prices of, 576.
 Alton Barnes,
 lease of land and stock at,
 in 1455, 129.
 Amolassarum,
 cade of, 678.
 Andirons,
 price of, 610.
 Anise seed,
 price of, 663.
 Anvils, 464.
 Apples,
 kinds of, and prices of, 362.
 Apprentice,
 attempt of Parliament to
 make property qualifica-
 tion for, 71.
 Apprenticeship,
 motives for enacting, 97.
 statute of 7 Henry IV, 117.
 6 Eliz., efforts of, 499.
 Appropriation,
 of great tithes, custom of, 9.
 Apuldrum,
 a home farm of Battle, 2.
 Archers,
 grant of the, in 1453, 74.
 Arches, Court of,
 and patrons of livings, 4.
 Architect,
 hired at Edmondsbury, 503.
 Architecture,
 of fifteenth century, 434.
 Arconius,
 of hay, 298.

Aristocracy,
 of Scotland, its low charac-
 ter, 80.
 Armour,
 price of, 613.
 Army, English,
 excellent, but costly, 14.
 Artisans,
 in fifteenth century began
 to be dealers, 754.
 Artuarius,
 de Urinis, 601.
 Ashlars,
 price of, 450.
 Ash trees,
 price of, 446.
 Assessment,
 of 1503, character of, 82.
 Astrachan,
 route by, 657.
 Astrolabe,
 price of, 633.
 Attainder,
 Parliamentary, use of, 22.
 Attorneys,
 number of, limited by law,
 61.
 Augers, 464.
 Augustine, St.,
 works of, 601.
 Axes, 464.

 B.
 Badges,
 in glass, price of, 629.
 Bailiff,
 change in the account of
 the, in fifteenth century,
 2.
 Balances,
 common, in towns, 150.
 price of, 633.

- Banker, the,
in the hall, 609.
- Bargaining,
practice of, universal, 110.
- Bargains,
character of, in middle ages,
427.
- Barking,
vineyard at, 636.
rent of meadows at, 740.
- Barley,
kinds of, 43.
- Barm,
price of, 620.
- Barnacles,
pair of, 598.
- Barrel,
tar, sold by, 394.
- Barrel of fish,
size of, 532 *note*.
- Barrels,
prices of, 619.
- Base coin,
amount of in 1560-1, 197.
- Base money,
effects of, 715.
amount of, and value of,
737 *note*.
- Base tenures,
occupied by persons of rank
and wealth, 744.
- Basins and ewers,
price of, 610.
- Bastard,
prices of, 648.
- Bates,
his case, and the tax on his
goods, 667.
- Battle abbey,
home farms of, 2.
wine consumed at, 641,
note.
- Beans,
malted, 219.
- Beaufort, Cardinal,
his liberality to Henry, 59.
visit of, to New College,
658.
- Bedding,
price of, 576.
- Beef,
food generally, 325.
price of, 332.
- Beehives,
purchase of, and prices, 361.
- Beekkeeping,
practised, 361.
- Beer,
bought from the common
brewer, 273.
- Beer and ale,
difference of, and prices of,
546.
- Bees,
should be kept by husband-
men, 54.
- Bell, for bellman,
price of, 633.
- Bell-metal,
price of, 481.
- Bellows, hand,
pair, price of, 611.
- Benevolences,
character of, 16.
nature of, 181.
- Bereager,
prices of, 618.
- Bible, the Mazarin,
its merits as a specimen of
printing, 21.
- Bibles,
purchases of, 600 sqq.
- Birdlime,
price of, 620.
- Biscuit,
price of, 678.
- Bishops,
conduct of in the fifteenth
century, 9.
Marian, attitude of to Eliza-
beth, 34.
- Bits,
price of, 423.
- Blancorn,
price of, 279.
- Blankets,
prices of, 567, 576.
- Blotting-paper, 594.
- Board,
kinds of, and prices of, 448.
- Board nails, kinds of, 455.
- Board of labourers by week,
505, 753.
- Boars,
price of, 339.
- Boats,
price of, 632.
- Boilers,
price of, 614.
- Boleyn, Anne,
cost of buildings and
ornation, 509.
- Bonner Bishop,
his action towards the
pacy, 13.
- Book chains,
price of, 603.
- Books,
distribution or sale of,
purchases of, 599 sqq.
- Boots,
price of, 580.
- Bosworth, battle of,
fewness of combatants,
25.
- Bottles,
price of, 620.
- Bourchier, Archbishop,
his pliancy 10.
- Boy bishop,
dress of, 582.
- Boys' labour, 496.
- Bradford,
cloth manufactured at, 14.
- Bran,
price of, 621.
- Brandirons,
prices of, 614.
- Brass,
kinds of, and prices of, 614.
- Brawn, round of,
price of, 633.
- Brazil,
cultivation of sugar at, 15.
- Breadth of cloth,
prescribed by Statute, 35.
- Bream,
price of, 537.
- Brewing utensils, 429.
- Brick,
use of, a sign of great
opulence, 74.
of fifteenth and sixteenth
centuries, its excellence,
729.
- Bricklayer,
first appearance of, 507.
- Bricks,
first use of, and quality,
434.
price of, 439.
weight of, 704.

rk,
ence of, in fifteenth and
teenth centuries, 435.
7.

hair,
of, 620.

n the opulence of, be-
tween 1453 and 1503, 84.
manufacture at, 106.
ants of, and the mari-
's compass, 141.
men of, reach Iceland,
3.

of, 614.

of, 620.

tops,
ly for scab, 49.

paper,
of, 594.

of, 620.

ering,
of, in Papal grants,
3.

of, 620.

tub,
of, 620.

m, 556.

eat,
of, 621.

of, 621.

materials,
ge prices of, 468-473.
f, 721.

rice of, 331.

557.

ers, 464.

es,
liament, wages of, 96.
of Norwich in the fif-
teenth century, 580.

3,
olume of Elizabeth's
clamations, 198.

reed,
in dockyards, 374.

57.

ures of, and prices of, 359.

Byce,
price of, 630.

C.

Cabbage seed, 277.

Cade, rising of,
character of, 17, 99, 173.

Calais,
loss of, rage of English at,
33.
possession of, its significance
in trade, 139.

Calculation,
modes of, 597.

Caldrons,
price of, 614.

Caligæ,
price of, 580.

Caliver stocks,
price of, 633.

Calves,
best time for dropping of,
52.

Cambridge,
University of, its sympathy
with the Reformation,
73.
prices of malt and barley
low in, 212.
vineyard at, 636.
to London, carriage from,
710.

Camlet,
prices of, 570.

Camphor,
price of, 664.

Canterbury,
woods near, 704.
effects of Reformation on,
711.

— Christ Church,
grant of wine to, by St.
Louis, 637.

Candles,
price of, 367.

Candle-mould,
price of, 622.

Candlesticks,
price of, 611.

Cannel,
perhaps the same as cinna-
mon, price of, 662.

Canvas,
kinds of, for sails, 557.

Canyngs,
builder of Redcliffe church,
78.

— Lord Mayor, letter of
Pecok to, 11.

Capers,
price of, 621.

Capons,
kinds of, price of, 342.

Caps,
price of, 580.

Carp,
price of, 537.

Carpenters,
wages of, 500.
common, universal, 501.

Carpets,
price of, 577.

Carraway seed,
price of, 664.

Carriage, 2,
price of, 621.

Carriage,
various kinds of, 694.

Carrier, common,
appears to have insured
money, 694.
charges of the, 706.

Cart hire,
cost of, by day, 708.

Carts and waggons,
prices of, 417.

Cartridge paper, 594.

Cassons,
price of, 678.

Cast iron,
prices of, 399.

Castle Combe,
manufacture of cloth in,
106.
purchases of cloth at, 565.

Cattle,
various names of, 331.
weights of, 332.
medicines, use of, 393.

Cecil, his book of rates, and
its effects, 667.

Cesspools,
cleaning, by day, 496.

Chafing dishea,
price of, 611.

Chairs,
price of, 609.

- Chancellor,
his mission to Russia, 152.
- Charcoal,
prices of, and measures of,
371.
- Charnel stools,
price of, 627.
- Cheese,
bought by the wey, prices
of at Hornchurch, 358.
kinds of, 359.
— fat,
prices of, 620.
- Cheltenham,
tenants of, their assessments,
71.
manor, award at, 91.
- Cherries,
price of, 363.
- Cheshire,
improvements in, 65.
- Chess, game of,
quoted to illustrate society,
41.
- Chests for linen, &c.,
prices of, 613.
- Chete,
prices of, 278.
- Chichele, Archbishop,
his reported advice to Henry
V, 8.
wages paid by, 515.
- Chivage,
exactd from non-resident
serfs, 4.
last entry of, 740 *note*.
- Church, the,
offices in, who held, 3.
vestments, 577.
books, purchases of, 600 *sqq.*
- Churn,
prices of, 429, 620.
- Cider,
entries of, few, 362.
- Cinnamon,
price of, 661.
- Cisterns, leaden,
price of, 616.
- Civil contracts,
enforced severely, 60.
- Clasps and hooks,
price of, 622.
- Cleavers,
price of, 614.
- Clergy,
action of, in 1399 and 1688,
7.
proposed tax on, 166.
- Clerk,
wages of, 511.
- Clock and spring,
price of, 622.
- Cloke bags,
price of, 578.
- Cloth,
measures of, 206.
qualities of, 565.
varieties of, 552.
colours and origin of, 567.
specially good qualities of,
569.
carriage of, 706.
rise of, 723.
- Cloth of gold,
prices of, 591.
- Clothes,
male and female, 577.
- Clouts,
uses of, 421.
- Cloves,
price of, 660.
- Coal-baskets,
price of, 611.
- Coals,
carriage of, 146.
- Cockles,
price of, 538.
- Cod, salt,
various names of, 534.
- Coinages,
of Edward IV and Hen. VIII,
714.
- Coins,
gold, in England, 199.
- Coke, John,
on labour in England, 513
note.
his debate between the
heralds, on wine in Eng-
land, 647.
- Colanders,
price of, 614.
- Coleshull,
sheep farm at, 48, 306.
- Colleges,
foundations of, in fifteenth
century, 101.
- Colonia, John de,
wages of, 504.
- Colosseum,
a quarry in Rome, 7.
- Combs, curry,
price of, 622.
— ivory,
price of, 621.
- Comfits,
prices of, and kinds of,
- Common rights,
valuable in sixteenth
94.
- Commons,
character of, in Fifteenth
time, 93.
- Communion tables,
price of, 626.
- Compass, mariner's,
use of, 534.
price of, 633.
- Compasses,
carpenter's, 464.
- Confectionery,
prices of, 677.
- Congers, salt,
price of, 533.
- Constantinople,
effects of fall of, on
655.
- Consumers,
on a large scale, vs
distant markets, 213.
- Coots,
price of, 344.
- Copes,
prices of, and kinds of,
- Copper,
prices of, 480.
- Copperas,
price of, 596.
- Cordage,
kinds of, 453.
- Coriander,
price of, 664.
- Corn,
exportation of, by licen-
Crown, importation
3 Ed. IV, 147.
rise in, 718.
- Corn laws,
repeal of, should have
ceded poor-law re-
760.
- Corn measures,
varieties of, 207.

- n of, practised in
edge, 135, 213.
cing, 725.
739.
statute of, and ap-
n of, 747.
- 1 favour of, 16.
- 532.
- 1,
e farms, 2.
il and monastic,
1 everything to
embers, 552.
sti College, Oxford,
, 135.
- 533.
- wicks, 365, 368.
- 1,
570.
- 597.
- f, in 1460, 693.
- of, and political
, in fifteenth cen-
8.
t of, 712.
rliament,
the, 18.
- eaper than oxen,
gh prices of, 333.
334.
619.
of, 362.
- 399.
- ce of, 464.
- rchbishop,
of, to Northumber-
1.
- 360.
- r, 555.
- Cromwell, Lord,
his wealth in the fifteenth
century, 3.
his report on the debts of
the Crown, 162.
- Crown, the,
poverty of the, in Elizabeth's
reign, 137.
debts of the, in 1433, 162.
probably paid high wages,
505.
purchases of wine by the,
become deceptive, 649.
- Cruetts,
price of, 672.
- Cumin,
price of, 664.
- Cups, wooden,
price of, 620.
- Curlews,
price of, 344.
- Currants,
price of, and trade in, 666.
- Currency,
debasement of, by Hen. VIII,
30.
changes in the, 186.
- Curtain-rings,
price of, 622.
- Cushions,
price of, 610.
- Cyprus sugar,
origin of, 675.
- Cuxham,
cultivation of, at different
periods, 744 sqq.
- D.
- Dace,
price of, 537.
- Dairy farming,
slight information about,
334.
- Dairy and farm produce,
rise in, 718.
- Dale, manor of,
description of, 94.
- Damask, diaper, 556.
— silk,
prices of, 572.
— water,
price of, 622.
- Dates,
prices of, 671.
- Dauber,
wages of, 508.
- Day,
hiring by, more frequent in
the later period, 493.
- Dead stock,
in husbandry, kinds of, 46.
- Débat des Heraulx d'Armes,
on English trade, 643.
- Decline, commercial,
of Italian and German towns,
cause of, 655.
- Deerskins,
price of, 621.
- De Moleyns, Bishop,
murder of, 9.
- Dentrices,
probably pike, 536.
- Desk for chapel,
price of, 627.
- Diaper,
kinds of, and prices of, 591.
- Diet,
of the fifteenth century, un-
ctuous, 59.
- Digging,
by day, 496.
- Dissolution,
of monasteries, precedents
for, 12.
- Distrain,
liability to, 131.
- Distribution of wealth,
effects of a sudden and new,
114.
- Ditching,
price of, 496.
- Dockyards,
timber for, 448.
- Dolabrum, 464.
- Domestic servants,
wages of, 512.
- Dover castle,
church in, 434 *note*.
- Dowlas, 557.
- Down,
price of, 622.
- Drageum,
use of, abandoned, 219.
- Dragge,
price of, 678.
- Drake,
voyages of, 153.
expedition of, 662.
- Dripping-pans,
price of, 615.

Dudley, Dud,
the reputed inventor of cast
iron, 399.

Dung pots and carts,
price of, 412.

Dung spreading, 496.

Dunkirk,
capture of, its popularity,
33.

Dunlings,
price of, 344.

Durham,
See of, dissolved by North-
umberland, 31.

Dutch,
first used hops, 546.
Indian commerce of, causes
of, 656.

E.

Eastern counties,
prices of malt and barley,
cheap in, 212.

— England,
use of paper in, 590.

— produce,
whence distributed, 150.
rise of, 1521-40, 656.

Edmundsbury,
abbot of, hires an architect,
503.

Education,
among artisans, 402.

Edward IV,
his abilities, generosity, and
errors of policy, 24.
his leniency, 180.

Edward VI,
ministers of, their character,
31.

Edward of Lancaster,
birth of, 19.
death of, 713 *note*.

Eels,
fresh and salt, by tale or
barrel, 531.

Eggs,
prices of, 357.

Egrets,
price of, 344.

Egypt,
the route of Eastern produce
through, 654.

Elizabeth,
indifferent to the recovery
of Calais, 33.

Elizabeth,
her great abilities, 34 *seq.*
statute of, fixing corn rents,
112.

proclamation by, in 1563,
fixing rates of wages, 120:
her reformation of the cur-
rency, 198.
cost of housing, when an
infant, 509.
her charters to the Levant
Company, 667.

Ell,
a usual measure, not distin-
guished from yard, 554.

Elms,
price of, 446.

Emancipation,
probably purchased frequent-
ly in fifteenth century, 5.

Enclosures,
value of, 54.
effects of, 499.

England,
how divided, in the Civil
War, 18.
poverty of, in sixteenth cen-
tury, 36.
condition of, in fifteenth cen-
tury, according to Fortes-
cue, 748.

English,
dirty habits of, 106.

— glass, 451.
'English Policy, Libel of,'
its contents, 140.
authorship of, 533 *note*.

Entail,
of large estates, not custom-
ary till War of Succes-
sion, 3, 21.

Erasmus,
on the habits of the English,
105.
works of, 601.

Estrich board,
price of, 446.

Europe, Western,
rise of trade of, 656.

European produce,
rise of, 724.

Ewes,
price of, 339.

Ewers,
prices of, 610.

Excises,
origin and development of,
744.

Expenditure,
of this period, *passim*
59.

Extra work,
by hour, rates of, 52.

F.

Faggot-making,
by piece, 496.

Faggots,
prices of, and *passim*.

Fairs,
use of, in middle ages
to recent times, 13.
west country, *passim*
to recent times, 54.

Fans, 429.

Fardel,
a measure of malt, &c.

Farina,
price of, 278.

Farmer's outlay,
costs of, 741.

Farming stock,
amount of, in 1530, 6.

Farm produce,
prices of, 376-382.

Fastolfe, Sir John,
a great trader in malt,
3.
his purchases of cloth,
565.
wealth of, 146.
his books, 600.

Fat,
kinds of, and prices of,
620.

Fatt,
of London, the, 204.

Feathers,
price of, 375.

Fenwick, Sir John,
his attainder, 22.

Ferrets,
price of, 622.

Fertility,
agricultural, what it is
solar, effect of, on
salt, 391.

Fetterlocks, 424.

Fifteenth century,
decline of prices,
labour, in, 715.
beginning of, prices
727.

- ures of, and prices of,
o.
- ntry, first notice of,
5 *note*.
- s and shovels, 611.
- mption of, in pre-
formation and subse-
quent times, 526.
- ges of, 540-545.
- 1, 720.
- vert,
s of, on agriculture and
veying, 40 sqq.
- eatise on surveying, 92.
- e of, as to plough oxen,
3-
- es, Bishop,
- ases of cloth by, 565.
- ce of, 633.
- s,
ty towards, 142.
- by the, 306.
- nails, 459.
- g tiles, 438.
- of, 364.
- rs,
of, 537.
- bourers, money value
752.
- of, 464.
- exchanges,
s of, on currency, 188,
9.
- tervention,
e of English to, 34.
- roduce,
al averages of, 680-
9.
- of, 609.
- ue,
ondition of England in
teenth century, 748.
- tions,
giate and monastic, dis-
tribution of revenues of,
13.
- Fox's 'Martyrs,'
price of, 602.
- France,
war with, popular, and why,
14.
- Franchise,
limitation of, in 1429, 162.
- county,
in 1406 and 1430, 8.
- Frauds,
in trade, recognised by legis-
lature, 148.
- Freeholders,
improvement in condition
of, 740.
- Freemason,
a master artisan, 502.
- French enterprise,
restoration of old commercial
route by, 656.
- Freight,
rates of, 144.
- Frieze,
prices of, 567.
- Fringe,
prices of, 573.
- Froude, Mr.,
on the depopulation of Eng-
lish towns, 109.
- Fruit-dishes,
price of, 612.
- Fruits, foreign,
kinds of, and measures of,
665.
- Frying-pans,
price of, 614.
- Fur,
kinds of, 582.
- Furniture,
mean character of, in medi-
eval houses, 609, 625.
- Fustian,
prices of, 568.
- G.
- Gallipots,
price of, 623.
- Galls,
price of, 596.
- Gardiner, Bishop,
his dislike to the Papacy, 13.
- Garlic,
prices of, 276.
- Garnishes,
price of, 611.
- Gascoigne,
on the church and its patron-
age, 4.
- his 'Liber Veritatum,' 20.
- on the litigious spirit of the
time, quoted, 61.
- his gifts of books, 600.
- Gascony wine,
the commonest, 636.
- Gastrimargi,
price of, 345.
- Geese,
price of, 343.
- Geldings,
first mention of, 336.
- 'General,'
price of, 631.
- Gerard, friar,
his wages as a copyist, 504.
- Ginger,
price of, 662.
- green,
price of, 665.
- minced,
price of, 665.
- Girdles,
price of, 623.
- Glass,
kinds of, and measures of,
451.
- bottles,
price of, 612.
- Glaziers,
wages of, 507.
- Gloves,
kinds of, and prices of, 581.
- Glue,
price of, 628.
- Gold,
ratio of, to silver, 199, 474.
- fringe,
price of, 574.
- leaf,
price of, 475.
- rings,
price of, 612.
- Goldsmith's Hall,
property long held by the
same persons, 98.
- Gong spokes,
prices of, 412, 623.

- Government,
can give fictitious value to
internal currency, 188.
- Grain,
price of, 1401-1540, almost
same as in fourteenth cen-
tury, 39.
price of, 219 sqq.
identity of averages of, in
1260-1400 and 1401-
1540, 200.
- Grains,
price of, 621.
of Paradise,
origin and price of, 662.
- Grants,
in Parliament, forms of, 158.
- Grasses, artificial,
unknown to Fitzherbert, 44.
want of, 296.
- Grass land,
rent of, 298.
- Graters,
price of, 615.
- Grates, iron,
price of, 611.
- Grease,
kinds of, and prices of, 363.
- Greece,
and islands of, origin of
currants, 666.
- Gresham,
his financial expedients, 735.
- Grey de Ruthyn, Lord,
his vices, and his family's
vices, 174.
- Gridirons,
price of, 614.
- Grindstones,
price of, 413.
- Grievances,
on land questions in sixteenth
century, 109.
- Grudgins,
price of, 278.
- Guicciardini,
on the commerce of Antwerp,
150.
- Guienne,
revolt of, in 1452, 177.
salt trade with, 391.
- Guilds,
the, of Middle Ages, 5.
benefit societies, 6.
bye-laws, legislation on, 124.
- Guildhalls,
of burghers, their club-houses,
69.
- Guinea-pigs,
price of, 345.
- Gum,
price of, 596.
- Gunpowder,
kinds of, and price of, 631.
- Gurnard,
price of, 537.
- Gynne, 464.
- H.
- Haddock,
price of, 537.
- Hair,
for mortar, price of, 449.
- Haircloth,
price of, 429, 563.
- Hammers, 464.
- Hand-baskets,
price of, 623.
- Handleband,
price of, 578.
- Hangings,
price of, 576.
- Hanse towns,
trade of, 139.
privileges of, in London, sup-
pressed, 152.
- Harness, cart or draught,
price of, 623.
- Harrison,
his account of English saffron,
660.
- Harrowing,
known in Fitzherbert's days,
45.
- Harrow pins,
price of, 412.
- Harvests,
comments on, from 1401 to
1582, 221-269.
- Harvest work,
by day, price of, 495.
- Hassocks for pews,
price of, 623.
- Hat,
of the Mayor of Norwich,
579.
- Hawks' bells,
price of, 623.
- Hay,
importance of, to milk
farmer, 46.
— and straw, 294, 295.
- Hayrack,
price of, 623.
- Headington stone,
price of, 467.
- Hecker,
on the sweating sickness,
103.
- Hedges,
value of, 54.
- Hedging,
price of, 496.
— bills,
price of, 412.
- Hempeed,
price of, 277.
- Henley, Walter de,
on plough oxen, 332.
- Henry IV,
accession of, and night
paralleled by that of Wil-
liam III, 6.
unpopularity of, and his
demand for grants, 116.
- Henry VI,
character of, 18.
degradation of the monarch
during reign of, 13.
- Henry VII,
his policy, 25.
- Henry VIII,
favourable position of, at
accession, 26.
profusion of, 28.
extravagance of, and ex-
penditure of, 112.
his brick buildings, 505, 72.
- Hens,
price of, 342.
- Hérons,
price of, 344.
- Herrings,
kinds and prices of, 596.
- Hickling,
labour prices at, 501.
- Hides,
number of, in the acre,
325.
duties on, 303.
- High and low prices,
occurrence of in 1401-
and 1490-1530, 727.

high prices,
and good wages, falsely sup-
posed to be connected,
491.
Hippocras,
price of, 641.
Hoes,
price of, 412.
Hoggs,
price of, 339.
Holland,
originator of modern agri-
culture, 56.
the source of vegetables, 653.
Holland,
entries of, and prices, 560.
Homilies, the, 601 sqq.
Hone, Galion,
glass dealer in sixteenth cen-
tury, 452.
Honey,
prices of, 360.
Hoops,
price of, 623.
Hops,
cultivation of, in sixteenth
century, 57.
price of, 279.
use of, 546.
rise in, 720.
cultivation of, denounced,
743.
Horse,
points of the, 53.
Horse-cloths, 424.
Horse-combs, 424.
Horse-dealer,
bad character of, in Fitz-
herbert's time, 53.
Horse-hides,
use of, 325.
Horse-linen, 557.
Horse-muffler,
price of, 623.
Horse-shoes,
price of, 421.
Horses,
and oxen, comparative merits
of, in husbandry, 41.
breeding of, rules for, 52.
cart, prices of; saddle,
numerous entries of, 335.
pace of, colour of, 336.
Hours,
of artisan labour, amount of,
in day, 755.

VOL. IV.

Houses,
made more comfortable in
fifteenth century, 433.
Hoys,
hire of, 698.
Hugh de Vienna,
works of, 600.
Hulkescorn,
price of, 279.
Hundred, long, the,
use of, 209.
Hundredweight, the,
becomes a common weight,
209.
Hurdles,
price of, 414.
averages of, 431.
rise in, and uses of, 722.
I.
Iceland,
reached by Bristol fishermen,
533.
Impressment,
right of, by Crown, 509 and
note.
Improvement,
in land, means taken for, 64.
Incense,
kinds of, and price of, 627.
Incle,
by the pound, 556.
Income tax,
of Tresham, graduated, 168.
Indian produce,
rise of, 724.
Ink and inkstands,
prices of, 596.
Insanity,
of Henry VI, 178.
Insurance,
of tenants by landowners,
common, 62.
Intercursus Magnus,
the, and its effects, 84, 143.
Ireland,
products of, in fifteenth cen-
tury, 141.
Irish linen,
by the stany, 555.
Iron,
high price of, its effects on
agriculture, 421.
prices and kinds of, 398.
high and low prices of, 400.

3 D

Isleworth,
home farm of Sion Abbey, 2.
J.
Jack, kitchen,
price of, 614.
Jacks, leathern,
price of, 612.
Jacktowel,
price of, 610.
James, Mr.,
on Money and the Ex-
changes, 734.
Jane,
accession of, and resignation
of, 32.
Jenkinson,
his journey to Astrachan,
152.
Jewel, Bp.,
his books purchased, 602-3.
Joined stools,
price of, 634.
K.
Keels,
carrying coals, 146.
Kemp, Abp.,
his negligence, 9.
Kenilworth,
flight of Henry and Mar-
garet to, 174.
Kent,
decline of the county of, in
1503, 85.
Kent hundreds,
population in nine of the,
temp. Hen. VIII, 132.
Kersey,
price of, 568.
Ket,
rising of, 124.
Kettle,
price of, 615.
Keyes, Dr.,
his description of the sweat-
ing sickness, 103.
Keys and locks, 460.
King's College, Cambridge,
purchases of cloth by, in
detail, 566.
statutes of, 712.
— provost of,
his house at Blackfriars, 295.
his allowances, 564.

- King's Lynn,
injury by sea to, 207.
- Kneading-trough,
price of, 620.
- Knights' fees,
in England, number of, 59
note.
- Knives,
kinds of, and prices of, 615.
- Knots,
price of, 344.
- L.
- Labour,
agricultural, evidence on price
of, 489.
kinds of, hired by Henry VIII,
510.
average prices of, 514-525.
its suffering during the great
wars, 759.
- Labourers,
suffer most in bad times, 491.
hired by the year, 498.
— boarded,
wages of, 497.
- Ladles,
kinds of, and prices of, 615.
- Lamp-glass,
price of, 634.
- 'Lamplack,'
price of, 630.
- Lampreys,
kinds of, 538.
- Lancashire,
improvements in, 65.
manufacture of linen in, 106.
- Land,
distribution of in country
places, 92.
— carriage,
kinds of, 699.
of goods of value, 706.
— hunger,
keen in fifteenth century,
295.
— laws,
changes in the, in Henry
VIII's reign, 27.
'Lands,'
portions of, to tenants, 95.
- Landlord,
did all repairs and insured
his tenants, 62.
duties of in Middle Ages,
127.
- Landlord and tenant,
relations of, 66.
joint interest of in past
times, 739.
- Landlords,
rapacity of, in sixteenth
century, 65.
- Landowner,
effects on, in fifteenth cen-
tury, by change of system,
2.
repairs defrayed by, 433.
- Landowners,
numerous in Fitzherbert's
time, 58.
- Lanterns,
price of, 415.
- Larks,
price of, 345.
- Latten work,
price of, 623.
- Lattice work,
price of, 623.
- Lath-maker,
wages of, 508.
- Lath-nails,
price of, 454.
- Laths,
kinds, prices, and measures
of, 435.
- Latimer, Bp.
on the base money, 735.
- Lawn,
measures and price of, 555.
- Lawyers,
learning of, in the fifteenth
century, 20.
- Lead,
prices of, and measures of,
476.
— red and white,
price of, 630.
- Leaden letters and 'antics,'
price of, 629.
- Leases,
short in fifteenth century, 3.
long, of abbots and priors, 29.
- Leather buckets,
price of, 623.
- Legislature,
success of, in degrading the
agricultural labourer, 499.
- Leominster,
price of wool of, very high,
304.
- Lichinum,
price of, 368.
- Lime,
varieties in the measure,
210.
prices of, and measures of,
- Limons,
price of, 678.
- Linches, 538.
- Linen,
breadth of, doubtful, to
be interpreted, 553.
origin of, 556.
notes on particular kinds,
558.
rise in price of, 723.
- Linen and clothing,
averages of, 583-589.
- Ling, organ,
price of, 535.
- Lining,
prices of, 575.
- Links,
price of, 634.
- Lion and dragon in stock,
cost of, 629.
- Liquorice,
price of, 664.
- Literature,
poverty of, in the fifteenth
century, 20.
- Litigation,
spirit of, general, 61.
- Live stock,
rise in, 716.
- Living,
style of, lowered after
Reformation, 137.
- Load,
amount of a, 694.
— of hay,
probably 19½ cwt., 294.
- Loaves of sugar,
weights and prices of, 6
- Locks and keys, 460.
- Lollards,
temper of, 73.
- Lollardy,
in the fifteenth century
effect and cause of, 72.
- London,
merchants of, on the York
side, 16.

- London,**
 a great growth of, between 1341 and 1453, 76.
 falling off in 1503 due to fire of that year, 85.
 city of, guilds in, untouched, 125.
 market constant in, 154.
 prices high near, 212.
 dearness of hay and straw in, 297.
 wages of labour high in, 490.
Louis, St.,
 grant of wine by, to Christ Church, Canterbury, 637.
Low countries,
 origin of brickmaking, 507.
Lullington,
 a home farm of Battle, 2.
- M.**
- Mace,**
 price of, 661.
Magari, 538.
Magdalen Mead,
 cost of mowing, 494.
Magistrates, the,
 fixed rates of wages, 499.
Malaga,
 farthest point to which English ships went in sixteenth century, 146, 647.
Males,
 price of, 578.
Malikis de, rice, 673.
Malmsey,
 measures of, 640.
 price of, 648.
Malt-making,
 by day, 496.
 by quarter, 497.
Manors,
 number of royal, on which repairs were made, 511.
Manufactures,
 police over, 148.
Map of England,
 fourteenth century, in Bodley's library, 692.
Maps of the world, 600-1.
Margaret, Queen,
 unpopularity of, in 1449, 16, 167.
Margaret, Countess of Richmond,
 visits of to Cambridge, 691.
Mariner's compass,
 use of, at beginning of fifteenth century, 142.
Maritime enterprise,
 English, origin of, 153.
Marling,
 usefulness of, in husbandry, 65.
Marmalade,
 price of, 678.
Marriage,
 fines on, continued, 4.
Mary Tudor,
 misfortunes of the reign of, 32.
 nothing but service-books bought in her reign, 602.
Maschal, Leonard,
 reputed to have introduced carp, 536.
Mason, principal,
 at Cambridge, 503.
 wages of, 505.
Masons,
 chapters of, made illegal by 3 Hen. VI, 118.
Massicot,
 price of, 630.
Masters,
 in all artisans' work, general, 502.
Match,
 price of, 632.
Materials, agricultural,
 averages of, 404-410.
Mats,
 price of, 578.
Matthiolus, 602.
Mattrasses,
 price of, 576.
Maund,
 price of, 620.
Meadows,
 rent of, by acre, 741.
Meal shovel,
 price of, 616.
Meal tub,
 price of, 616.
Measures,
 become more uniform in fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, 202.
 of ale and beer, 547.
 — scales, and weights, 429.
Meatbags,
 price of, 616.
Meatsafe,
 price of, 616.
Medlars,
 price of, 362.
Members for boroughs,
 duty imposed on them of seeing that proper measures are kept, 204.
Merton College,
 bell-tower of, particulars of, 466.
Metals,
 averages of, 482-488.
 rise in price of, 723.
 precious, care taken to secure, 146.
Mexico,
 cultivation of sugar in, 675.
Mileage,
 cost of, in carriage, 700.
Milford haven,
 value of as a port early recognised, 657.
Milk,
 prices of, 360.
Miller,
 tenure of, in manor of Dale, 95.
Millstones,
 price of, 424.
 in Oxford, 425.
 highest prices of, 432.
 cost of carrying, 707.
 rise in price of, 722.
Millwheels, 424.
Mithradates,
 reputed inventor of 'treacle,' 665.
Mole-catching,
 by day, 496.
Moleyns, Adam de,
 reputed author of the I of English policy, *note*.
Monasteries,
 suppression of, long in
 nent, 27.
 impropriations by, 101.

- Monasteries,**
 dissolution of, and the consequences, 113.
 their services, 114.
 destruction of, cheapened some materials, 478.
 dissolution of, effects on price of materials, 721.
 a quarry for new buildings, 729.
Monastic property,
 estimate of annual value of, 29.
Moneduli,
 price of, 345.
Money,
 carriage of, cost of, 709.
 — base,
 issues of, and dates of, 734.
 — wages,
 amounts of, by year, 755 sqq.
Monks,
 how far unpopular, 113.
 introduced fish, 526.
Monuster, a, 602.
 'Morris' pikes,
 price of, 633.
Mortars,
 kinds of, and prices of, 616.
Mowing,
 price of by acre, 494.
Mullobrass, 481.
Mum,
 contained malted beans, 219.
Muratori,
 on invention of spectacles, 598.
Murrain,
 in Fitzherbert, probably cattle plague, 51.
Muscadel,
 price of, 641.
Mustardvilers,
 a kind of cloth, 566, and *note*.
Mustard seed,
 prices of, 276.
Muttons,
 price of, 338.
 N.
Nails,
 kinds of, used at York Minister. 457.
Nails,
 other varieties, 458.
 home made, competition of Flemish with, 722.
Napkins,
 prices of, and kinds of, by dozen, 555, 561.
Navigation acts, 142, 144.
 suggestions of, in fifteenth century, 644.
Navy,
 wages in the, 512.
 — timber,
 kinds of, and prices of, 447.
 — mercantile,
 of England, 744.
Needham,
 accounts of, 28.
 his accounts signed by the principal artisans, 502.
Needles,
 kinds of, and prices of, 465.
Nerval,
 a horse medicine, 395.
Netherlands,
 alliance of Elizabeth with, 152.
Nets, fishing,
 price of, 632.
New College, Oxford,
 house property of, 125.
 fellows of, scantily provided, 564.
New World,
 discovery of, and effect of on prices, 492.
Nicholas of the Tower,
 at Bristol in 1442, 165.
Nippers, 465.
Nonconformity,
 its association with opulence, 72.
Norfolk,
 prosperity and opulence of, 4.
 manufactures of, 72.
 — dukes of,
 their unfriendliness to the house of Lancaster, 19.
Northampton,
 battle of, 713.
Northern counties,
 low contingent of, in 1453, 79.
Northumberland, Duke of,
 made the Reformation odious, 6.
 character of, and designs, 31.
Norton Mandeville,
 cloth manufactory at, 106 565.
Norwich,
 property of citizens of, 5.
 wealth of, in fifteenth century, 18.
 great fire at, in 1507, 107.
 hat of Mayor of, 579.
Numerals, Arabic,
 late use of, 597.
Nutmegs,
 price of, 661.
 O.
Oaks,
 price of, 446.
Oakum,
 price of, 454.
Oatbags,
 price of, 663.
Oatmeal,
 use and price of, 220.
Oats,
 kinds of, 43.
Ochres, red and yellow,
 price of, 631.
Oil,
 kinds of, and prices of, 366.
Oil-bottle,
 price of, 623.
Oldhall, Sir William,
 his Speakership, 176.
Onions,
 prices of, 276.
Onion seed,
 price of, 277.
Opera manualia,
 collection of, in money, 4.
Oreniado,
 price of, 678.
Organ bellows and pipes,
 price of, 626.
Organs,
 price of, 625.
Oriel College, Oxford,
 purchases of wine by, 637.
Orfreyse,
 price of, 574.
Ostrich feathers,
 on harnesses of armour, 613.

- Ox-bows and yokes, 412.
- Oxen,
signs of good quality of, 51.
and horses, comparative
merits of, 41.
- Oxford, fair at,
a market for books, 155.
salt dealer at, than at Cam-
bridge, 392.
vineyard at, 636.
to London, carriage from,
710.
- Oxfordshire,
high rating of, in 1453, 80.
wealth of, in 1503, 85.
few roads in, and why, 702.
- Oxhides,
rise in price of, 718.
- Oysters,
price of, 538.
- P.
- Pails,
prices of, 620.
- Painted cloth,
price of, 575.
- Painters,
wages of, 508.
- Paints and colours,
kinds of, 629.
- Pannage,
origin of, 94.
- Pannus,
a measure of 24 yards, 565.
- Pans, earthen, and pots,
price of, 623.
— brazen, price of, 617.
- Papacy,
hostility to, in the fifteenth
century, 13.
- Papal court, efflux of money to,
147.
- Paper,
averages of, 605. 6.
use of in fifteenth century,
21.
early use of in Eastern Eng-
land, 590.
sizes of, 592-3.
rise in price of, 723.
- Parchment,
averages of, 607-8.
price and qualities of, 595.
rise in price of, 723.
- Parells,
in chimneys, price of, 629.
- Paring irons, 465.
- Paris,
candles of, 368.
- Parliament,
exclusion of lawyers from,
61.
— English, character of, 96.
— acts of, purchased,
600-3.
- Parliaments,
fewness of, in the reign of
Henry VII, 26.
- Parsley seed,
purchases of, 374.
- Partridges,
price of, 344.
- Paston, John,
his books, 600.
- Pasture,
cattle, horses, and sheep,
should be together in, 53.
- Pastures,
enclosures of, the effect on
rent, 742.
- Paving bricks, 441.
- Pavior,
wages of, 508.
- Peacocks,
price of, 344.
- Pea hackers, 413.
- Pears,
kinds of, and prices of, 362.
- Peas,
kinds of, 220.
- Peas and beans,
garden, 275.
- Pecok, Bishop,
his career, 10.
- Penedys,
price of, 678.
- Penny nails,
kinds of, 456.
- Pepper,
price of in 1411, cause
of, 154.
high and low prices of, 658.
— long,
price of, 659.
- Percers, 465.
- Periods,
of 1401-1540, and 1541-
82, reasons for choosing,
714.
- Pewits,
price of, 344.
- Pewter,
price of, 478.
- 'Pharmacographia,'
by Messrs. Flückiger and
Hanbury, its value as a
work, 664.
- Pheasants,
price of, 344.
- Phials,
prices of, 623.
- Philip II,
his marriage with Mary, 32.
- Piece work,
some rates of, 508.
- Pigeons,
price of, 343.
dung of, value of as manure,
45.
- Pig rings, 429.
- Pigs,
prices of, 340.
- Pike,
statement that they were
a late introduction false,
536.
- Pincers, 465.
- Pines,
price of, 673.
- Pins,
price of, 623.
- Pisagra,
probably tar, 395.
- Pitch,
price of, 395.
- Pitchforks,
price of, 412.
- Plague,
visitations of, 102.
saffron believed to protect
against, 659.
- Plaice,
price of, 537.
- Plane, brass, 464.
- Plasterers,
wages of, 508.
- Plaster of Paris,
price of, 628.
- Plate, silver,
purchases of, 189.
- Ploughing,
rules for, 42.
by acre, price of, 495.

- Ploughs,
 prices of, 411.
 Ploughshares,
 prices of, 411.
 Plovers,
 price of, 344.
 Points,
 price of, 623.
 Poleyn,
 a kind of wax, 365.
 Pollen,
 price of, 279.
 'Pondus'
 the, of Wilts, a wool mea-
 sure, 208.
 Poor-law,
 English, origin of, 6.
 necessity for a, 498.
 Poor-laws,
 enactment of and reform of,
 759.
 Pope,
 power of, to redistribute cor-
 porate endowments, 101.
 Poplar timber,
 use of, 449.
 Population,
 of England in middle ages,
 131.
 Porcio,
 of hay, 298.
 Porpoise,
 price of, 537.
 Portugal,
 union of Spain and, its effects,
 656.
 trade of with India, 656.
 Potatoes,
 first entry of, 653.
 Pot, pewter,
 price of, 623.
 Pots,
 leather and copper, 613.
 earthenware and stone, price
 of, 623.
 brazen, price of, 616.
 Poultry,
 common in the fifteenth and
 sixteenth centuries, 58.
 Pound,
 cost of building a, 629.
 Powdered spice,
 price of, 664.
 Powdering tub,
 price of, 617.
 Precious metals,
 increase of, and increase of
 prices, 492.
 Prices,
 law of, in scarcity, 109.
 rise of, referred to in 25
 Hen. VIII, cap. 13, 109.
 attempts constant to keep
 up, 270.
 decline of, between 1461
 and 1540, 454.
 Primogeniture,
 effect of in 15th century, 3.
 Printing,
 its connection with the in-
 vention of spectacles, 599.
 Proclamation,
 unpublished, of Elizabeth,
 192.
 Property tax,
 of 1427, 161.
 Prosperity,
 remarkable, of the fifteenth
 century, 23.
 Provisions,
 rise of, in 1501-40, 736.
 Prunes,
 measures of, and prices of,
 672.
 Prynne,
 works of, 155.
 Pumps and pump shoes,
 price of, 620.
 Purses,
 prices of, 581, 623.

Q.

 Quaccum,
 a purchase of, 360.
 Quails,
 price of, 344.
 Quantities,
 small, evidence of market
 prices, 211.
 'Quart,'
 of beer, an Oxford measure,
 546.
 Quarter Sessions,
 archives of, lost, 120.
 Quarters,
 of beer, price of, 548.
 Querns and quern-stones, 428.
 Quicksets,
 kinds of, and time of set-
 ting, 65.
 prices of, 374.
 Quinces,
 price of, 363.
 Quit rents,
 issued numerously, out of
 estates, 126.
 Quiver, and arrows,
 price of, 633.

R.

 Rabbits,
 price of, 345.
 become more plentiful, 717.
 — skins,
 price of, 582.
 Raisins,
 measures of, and prices of,
 668.
 Rams,
 price of, 338.
 Rank,
 attained by military service,
 15.
 Rat poison, 395.
 Rates, book of,
 the publication a challenge.
 37.
 Razors,
 price of, 624.
 Reaping,
 by acre, price of, 493.
 rules for, 47.
 Recovery, common,
 device of, 22.
 Reformation, the,
 effects of, on roads, 711.
 Reins,
 price of, 424.
 Rent,
 fixed character of, 3.
 amount of, in fifteenth and
 sixteenth centuries, 128.
 increase of, difficult, 134,
 725.
 competition, not yet in exist-
 ence, 739.
 Representation,
 Parliamentary, of towns, its
 uses and burdens, 96.
 Resin,
 price of, 395, 627.
 Resina,
 probably tar, 395.
 Revenue,
 from agriculturists small,
 743.

- Rhenish wine,
measures of, 640.
prices of, 648.
- Ribbon,
prices of, 573.
- Rice,
price of, 673.
- Richard III,
his motive in making benevolences illegal, 16.
- Riga,
commercial treaty with, 84.
- Rips, for chicken, 413.
- Rise in prices,
date of in various articles,
728 sqq.
- Rise, ratios of,
method of, 716.
- River carriage,
examples of, 696.
- Roach,
price of, 537.
- Roads,
became worse in the sixteenth century, 217.
probable origin of many, in England, 692.
- Rock salt,
purchases of, 392.
- Romney wine,
price of, 640.
- Roots, winter,
unknown to Fitzherbert, 44.
- Rope,
prices of, 453.
- Rose water,
price of, 622.
- Rot,
in sheep, causes of, 49.
- Rotherham (afterwards Bp.),
at Coventry Parliament, 712.
- Royal paper, 593.
- Ruddle,
price and uses of, 396.
- Ruding,
on the coinage, 195.
on the issue of base money,
735 *note*.
- Rundle for towel, 610.
- Russet,
price of, 568.
- Russian company,
origin of the, 152.
- Rutland,
rates of wages in, 120, 757.
- Rye,
prices of, scanty, 219.
probable average price of in
1541-82, 274.
scanty use of in southern
England, 730.
- S.
- Sack,
price of, 641.
— the,
a local measure in Yorkshire,
211.
- Sacks,
size of and price, 428.
- Saddlecloths,
price of, 578.
- Saddles,
kinds of, and prices of, 422.
- Saffron,
price of, 659.
- Sagmen,
price of, 364.
- Sail cloth,
by the bolt, 555.
- Sails,
to mills, 424.
- Salmon,
carriage of by water, 697.
prices of, fresh and salt, 528.
— streams,
often franchises, 529.
- Salt,
price of, inferences from,
216.
prices of, affected by solar
heat, 390.
produce of, in France, 635
note.
rise in price of, 718.
- Salt-box,
price of, 633.
- Saltpetre,
price of, 632.
- Sand,
for mortar, price of, 449.
— glasses,
price of, 633.
- Sanders,
price of, 663.
- Sarsnet,
prices of, 573.
- Satin,
kinds and prices of, 572.
- 'Saules,'
i. e. hurdle stakes, 415.
- Saws,
kinds of and prices, 465.
- Sawyers,
wages of, 506.
- Say,
price of, 569.
- Scab,
remedies for, 49.
- Scales and weights, 429.
- Scapyn, 538.
- Scarborough,
fishermen of, 533.
- Scoops,
price of, 624.
- Scorpet,
price of, 633.
- Scorpetts, 466.
- Scotland,
alliance of with France, 79.
- Scot, Reynold,
on hop cultivation, 57.
- Scrive,
an allowance of Rhenish,
651.
- Scrope, Abp.,
execution of, 7.
- Scrusa,
price of, 634.
- Scythe-rubbers, 413.
- Scythes,
price of, 413.
- Sea calf,
price of, 538.
- Sea carriage,
rates of, 698.
- Sea coal,
prices of, and measures of,
371.
- Seasons,
not so much illustrated by
hay as by corn crops, 296.
- Securades,
price of, 678.
- Sedge,
prices of, 373.
- Seedlep, or seed cod, 412.
- Seignorage,
the possible, an unknown
quantity, 735.

- Selden,
his use of spectacles, 599.
- Selim I,
his conquest of Egypt, 654.
- Settle,
price of, 633.
- Sewing-hair,
prices of, 563.
- Sewing-silk,
prices of, 562.
- Sextary,
quantity of, 639.
amount in Gascony and
sweet wine, 650.
- Shaving-cloth, 557.
- Sheep,
numbers of, kept, according
to 25 Hen. VIII, cap. 13,
110.
kinds of, 337.
washing and shearing, by
hundred, 497.
— bells, 416.
— breeding,
rules for, 48-50.
— farming,
increase of, 63.
continued by landowners,
305.
- Sheets,
price of, 576.
- Sheffield, &c.,
property of Lord Shrewsbury
at, in 1578, 111.
- Shelda,
price of, 413.
- Shipwrights,
wages of, fixed by 6 Hen.
VIII, 119.
- Shirts,
price of, 553.
- Shoes,
prices of, 580.
- Shots,
i. e. young pigs, 340.
- Shrewsbury, Earl of,
his accounts in 1578, 111.
- Shrimps,
price of, 538.
- Sickles,
price of, 413.
- Sieves,
price of, 413.
- Signboards,
price of, 622.
- Silk,
skeins of, 574.
- Silk manufacture,
in London, in fifteenth cen-
tury, 149.
in England, 571.
- Silver plate,
prices of, by the oz., 475,
612.
- Simila,
price of, 278.
- Similago,
price of, 278.
- Sion abbey,
home farm of, 2.
often gives annual averages,
211.
purchases of butter by, 359.
- Skechons,
price of, 624.
- Skill,
exceptional, paid for at low
rates, 504.
- Skillets,
price of, 617.
- Skimmers,
price of, 617.
- Skochyns,
price of, 624.
- Skoppits,
price of, 624.
- Slates,
kinds of, and prices of, 442.
- Smiths' bellows, 466.
- Smollett,
on English trade in eigh-
teenth century, 693.
- Snipe,
price of, 344.
- Soap,
price of, 396.
- Sockets,
price of, 624.
- Soiling,
of horses, well known, 296.
- Solar fertility,
its register in the price of
salt, 391.
- Solder,
price of, 479.
- Soldering irons, 466.
- Soldiers' clothing, 578.
- Somerset, Duke of,
confiscation of guild lands
by, 6.
- Southwick, priory of,
prices at, 1414-23, 111.
- Sovereign,
revenue of, 157.
- Sowing,
rules for, 42.
- Sow with pigs,
entries of, 340.
- Sows,
price of, 341.
- Spades, or vangae,
price of, 412.
- Spanish iron,
kinds of, 399.
- Spanish whites, browns, &c.,
price of, 630.
- Spars,
in vineyards, 636.
- Speaker the,
his functions in the fifteen
century, 167.
- Spectacles,
prices of, and invention o
598.
— stone-breakers', 466.
- Speculative purchases,
unknown in Middle Age
402.
- Speculum,
price of, 624.
- Spigots,
price of, 624.
- Sponge,
price of, 624.
- Spoons, wooden and metal,
price of, 612.
— tin,
price of, 624.
- Sprats,
price of, and synonyms of
528.
- Spruce iron,
prices of, 399.
- Spurs,
price of, 424.
- Stable-rake,
price of, 624.
- Standard and vane,
price of, 624.
- Starch,
price of, 624.

- Statutes,
 6 Hen. VIII, cap. 6; 7 Hen. VIII, cap. 1; 25 Hen. VIII, cap. 13; 27 Hen. VIII, cap. 22; 32 Hen. VIII, cap. 18 & 19; 33 Hen. VIII, cap. 36; 36 Hen. VIII, cap. 4.—107, 108, 109.
 early, theory of lawyers as to, 117.
 on weights and measures, 202 sqq.
- Steel,
 prices of, 400.
- Steeling,
 of tools, done by local smith, 401.
- Stephens' Dictionary, 602.
- Stews for fish,
 common near houses, 526.
- Stints,
 price of, 344.
- Stirrups,
 prices of, 423.
- Straw, 294 sqq.
- Strawberries,
 price of, 363.
- Stock,
 value of, as compared with land, 3.
 insurance of, by landlord, 127.
 higher prices of, how to be interpreted, 214.
 — and land lease, the, 1.
 profits of, 738.
 — live,
 tables of, 346–356.
 prices of, 330 sqq.
 — raising,
 importance of, to medieval farmer, 47.
- Stock, pewter, for holy water,
 price of, 627.
- Stocks,
 cost of building, 629.
- Stone,
 kinds of, for building, 449.
 — wrought,
 names of, 450.
- Store pigs,
 price of, 341.
- Stourbridge,
 purchases of fish at, 526.
- Stourbridge fair,
 concourse to, 153, 693.
- Strainers,
 price of, 617.
- Strigil,
 price of, 624.
- Stub eels,
 probably from Holland, 532.
- Sturgeon,
 salt, by barrel, round, and piece, 530.
- Succession,
 War of, caused by the feebleness of the King, 77.
- Suet,
 price of, 364.
- Sucket,
 price of, 678.
- Sucking pigs,
 price of, 341.
- Suffolk, Duke of,
 story told about, in connection with Margaret's marriage, 16.
 his impeachment by Tresham, 169.
- Sugar,
 early prices of, 656.
 places at which manufactured, 657.
 kinds of, high and low prices of, 674.
 rise in price of, 724.
 — bread,
 price of, 677.
 — plate,
 prices of, 677.
- Suidas, 601.
- Sulphur,
 price of, 632.
- Survey,
 numerous roads in, and why, 702.
- Surveying,
 Fitzherbert's treatise on, 92.
- Swans,
 price of, 343.
- Sweating sickness, the,
 history and description of, 103.
- Sweet wine,
 kinds of, 638.
 names of, 647.
- Swine,
 breeding of, rules for, 54.
- Sye or size,
 price of, 633.
- T.
- Tables, hall,
 price of, 609.
- Takeley,
 lease of, 129.
- Tallow,
 prices of, 364.
- Tally-shop,
 in fifteenth century, 143.
- 'Tappe' paper,
 price of, 594.
- Tar,
 the remedy for scab, 49.
 prices of, 394.
- Tartaryn,
 prices of, 573.
- Tass,
 a measure of hay, 298.
- Taxation,
 chiefly direct, 15.
 distribution of, in 1453, 75.
 of an agricultural population difficult, 726.
- Taynton stone,
 price of, and carriage of, 467.
- Teal,
 price of, 345.
- Tench,
 prices of, 537.
- Tenures,
 slow changes in the character of, 91.
- Tewkesbury,
 battle of, 713 *note*.
- Thack,
 price of, 374.
- Thames,
 navigation of, in Middle Ages, 392.
- Thatcher,
 wages of, 506.
- Theophylact and Eustathius, 601.
- Thimbles,
 price of, 624.
- Thirning, Chief Justice, and others,
 their appeals for grants, 158 sqq.

Thomas, William,
his letter to Edward VI on
the currency, 195.

Thornback,
price of, 537

Thorpe, Speaker,
imprisonment of, 178.

Thread,
prices of, 562, 633.

Threshing,
by quarter, price of, 493.

Tiler,
wages of, 506.

Tile and slate pins, 444.

Tiles, 464.
weight of, 704.
kinds and prices of, 436.
origin of some, 437.

Timber,
prices of, and rise in, 444.

Tin,
prices of, 479.

Tolls on roads,
origin of, 712.

Ton,
cost of carriage of, by com-
mon carrier, 710.

Tongs, pair of,
cost of, 611.

Tools,
steeling, practice of, 401.

Towns,
decay of, in reign of Hen. VIII,
106.

Townsfolk,
condition of, in fifteenth cen-
tury, 5.

Trade,
of England, at beginning of
fifteenth century, 140 sqq.
English, in sixteenth century,
143.

Traders,
landowners sometimes were,
2.

Train oil,
price of, 364.

Trays,
price of, 620.

'Treacle,'
a medicine, price of, 665.

Tree-nails,
price of, 449.

Tresham, William,
his fourth election as Speaker,
167.
murder of, 175.

Trestles,
price of, 609.

Tripod,
price of, 617.

Trivet,
price of, 617.

Trousalyk,
price of, 678.

Trout,
price of, 536.

Tubs,
price of, 624.

Tun,
purchase of wine by, not
very common, 637.

Turbot,
price of, 537.

Turk, the,
influence of his conquests on
Eastern trade, 654.

Turkeys,
price of, 344.

Turnesol,
price of, 663.

Turves,
price of, 374.

Tusser,
his husbandry, his advice as
to the sale of meased
pork, 56 and *note*.

Twine,
prices of, and measures of,
633.

Twine, sewing, 454.

Twist to door,
price of, 624.

Tyr, or Tyre wine,
price of, 641.

U.

Underwood,
price of, by acre, 369.

Universities,
effects on, of Reformation,
711.

United States,
roads in, 692-3.

Usury,
denunciations of, effect of,
61.

V.

Valla, Georgius, 601.

Vasco di Gama,
discovery of, 655.

Veal,
food of, spring, 325.

Vegetables,
in England few, 653.

Vellum,
price of, 595.

Velvet,
price of, 571.

Verdigris,
price of, 630.

Verjuice,
purchases of, 362.
prices of, 619.

Vermilion,
price of, 630.

Vernage,
a kind of choice wine, 638.

Vexillum,
price of, 627.

Victualling,
cost of, 511.

Village,
fifteenth century, sketch of,
68.

Villénage,
extinction of, 4.

Vinegar,
price of, 617.

Vineyards,
in England, 374, 636.

Vinum Creticum,
a sweet wine, 640.

Visitation,
of estates, by colleges, 130.

W.

Wages,
high in fifteenth century, 5.
491.

interpreted by necessities,
best proof of material pro-
gress, 71.

acts regulating, 115 sqq.
rates of, first defined by 23
Hen. VI, 118.

rise in rates of, 719.
effects of high prices on,
727.

rate of artisan and husband-
man, 751.

Wages and wheat,
table of for sixty-three years,
731.

- Waggons,
prices of, 417.
- Wainscots,
price of, 444.
carriage of, probably of some
size, 698 and *note*.
- Wainscot work,
price of, 629.
- Wakefield,
cloth manufactured at, 106.
- Wallet,
price of, 624.
- Walnuts,
price of, 363.
- Walter de Henley,
his manual constantly used,
38.
- War of Succession,
the peculiarities of, 19.
- Washing and shearing sheep,
rules for, 50.
cost of, 497.
- Water,
supply of to London in 1236,
and 1443, 76.
— carriage,
charges of, 695 *sqq.*
— meadows,
flooding of, 64.
- Wax,
price of, 364.
rise in price of, 719.
- Waynflete, Bp.,
his foundation, 11.
- Wealth,
obtained by military service,
15.
- Weapons,
price of, 613.
- Weavers,
Flemish, settlement of in
England, 151.
- Wedges,
price of, 624.
- Weeds,
kinds of, 45.
- Weights and scales, 429.
- Welsh border,
low contribution of counties
near, in 1453, 79.
- Wheat,
kinds of, 44.
- Wheat and wages,
tables of for sixty-three
years, 731.
- Wheelbarrows,
price of, 414.
- Wheels,
prices of, 417.
- Wheelwright,
wages of, 508.
- Whetstones, 413.
- Whipcord,
prices of, 633.
- Whiting,
price of, 537.
- Wicker lattice,
price of, 624.
- Widgeon,
price of, 345.
- Wiklif's books, 600.
- William III,
accession of, parallel of with
that of Henry IV, 6, 7.
- Willoughby, Sir Hugh,
his expedition, 151.
its object, 657.
- Willows,
price of, 374.
- Wimbles, 466.
- Windsor,
vineyard at, 636.
- Wine,
kinds and prices of, 635
sqq.
occasionally produced in
England, 636.
carriage of, 706.
averages of, from Wardrobe
accounts, 652.
- Wine bottle, tin,
price of, 624.
- Winter roots,
unknown, 296.
- Wire, brass,
price of, 481.
- Wolsey, Cardinal,
his purchases of plate, 190.
- Women's labour,
price of, 495-6.
- Wood,
cultivation of, 67.
- Wood-ashes,
price of, 624.
- Woodcocks,
price of, 344.
- Woodlark, Provost of King's,
his journeys, 693.
- Wool,
rise in price of, 64.
various kinds of, 215.
importance of, and duties on,
303.
large sales of, 306.
measures, still local, 308.
comments on years' prices
of, 309-325.
averages of, 327-8.
- Woolfells,
sales of, and kinds of, 307.
- Woollen manufacture,
extension of, a cause of the
distribution of wealth, 81.
- Working classes,
privations of, in sixteenth
century, 733.
- Workmen's tools,
kinds of, 463.
- Worsted,
prices of, 570.
- Writ, *de heretico comburendo*,
grant of, to clergy, 8.
- Wykes, Thomas,
days of labour by, in 1449-
50, 756.
- Y.
- Yard,
measure of, and ell, 554.
- Yeomen,
rise of, in England, origin of,
726.
prosperity of, in the fifteenth
century, 4.
- York, growth of between 1341
and 1453, 77.
— Duke of,
return of, from Ireland, 174.
— Minster,
nails bought for, 457.
- Young, Arthur,
wages in time of (1771),
758.
- Younger son, the,
appearance of, 3.
- Z.
- Zanchius, 603.

1

.

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